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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION. By "Behind the Scenes"	1
THE EARLIEST RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CHINA. By E. H. Parker	12
THE COUNTRY OF THE DUNGAN REBELLION. By Colonel Mark Bell, V.C., C.B. (with an editorial note on the latest news of the MUSSULMAN RISING IN CHINA, and an extract from *Dr. Bretschneider's Map of China*)	23
INDIA AND AFRICA. By Captain F. Younghusband, C.I.E.	37
TRIBAL LAW IN THE PANJAB. By H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E.	46
BOMBAY AND MADRAS LAND SETTLEMENTS. By A. Rogers (late of the Bombay Legislative Council)	61
THE LATE SHAH OF PERSIA AND HIS SUCCESSOR. By Mirza Husain Kuli Khan	77
THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM AND THE GOVERNMENT. By South African	86
BRITISH RULE IN CEYLON. By Judge T. Berwick	103
UTMOST INDIAN ISLE—TAPROBANE. By A. W. Tocke	109
CHINESE DIVINATION: THE YIH-KING. By Monseigneur C. de Harlez	115
REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM. By Professor E. Montet	130, 360
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST: Thibaut's "Vedanta Sutras." By John Beames, B.C.S. (ret.).—"Pehlevi Texts." By the Rev. L. H. Mills, D.D.	134, 375
JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS — THE FESTIVAL OF THE CHERRY BLOSSOM—TATTOOING—THE BOYS' FESTIVAL. By Mrs. C. M. Salwey	139, 388
A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF BUDDHISM. Part I. By J. Beames, B.C.S. (ret.)	145
TINNEVELLY, BEFORE AND AFTER THE BRITISH CONQUEST. By J. B. Pennington, M.C.S (ret.)	162
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION (including speeches by Lord Reay, Sir Lepel Griffin, and others)	169, 406
THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE POWER IN INDIA. By Sir Charles A. Elliott, K.C.S.I. (late Lt.-Governor of Bengal)	233
THE INDIAN ARMY. By General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, K.C.B., V.C.	254
THE JURISDICTIONS OF THE INDIAN PRINCES AND OF THE PARAMOUNT POWER. By An Old Political	263
THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES AND IMPERIAL COMMERCIAL FEDERATION. By Sir R. Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.	272
THE AMIR'S PÆAN, THE MITÁI VALLEY AND THE KÁFIRS. By A Missionary	278
THE CONSCIENCE OF COREA. By E. H. Parker	291
THE MEDICAL NEEDS OF INDIA. By Dr. K. N. Bahadurji	298
THE DRUSE RISING IN THE HAURAN (with map). By Abdullah Shámi	306
THE CONDITION OF MOROCCO. By Ion Perdicaris	315
THE TRANSVAAL AND THE MATABELE RISING. By R. N. Cust, LL.D.	330
HONG-KONG. By Ex-Official	338
HONG-KONG AND LI HUNG CHANG. By An Old China Merchant	345
INDIAN DRAMATICS: THE BHARATA SÂSTRA. By Pandit H. H. Dhruva, LL B.	349

PAGE

NATIVE AND EUROPEAN ARABIC GRAMMARIANS. By M. S. Howell, LL.D., C.I.E. 365

THE FIVE ZOROASTRIAN GÁTHAS. By an Asiatic Quarterly Reviewer 370

SIX BRITISH MINISTERS IN CHINA. By Anglo-Sinicus . . . 381

CURIOUS BIBLICAL PROPER NAMES. By Rev. J. Chotzner, D.D. . 392

ABYSSINIA AND THE ABYSSINIANS (with map). By Consul E. de Léon and others 395

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, NEWS, ETC. 179, 416

The Siam Agreement and the Malay Peninsula, by Singapur Resident.—The Sudan, by Dr. R. N. Cust.—Boers and Uitlanders, by A German.—A Result of the Sudan Expedition, by Safir Bey.—England, Italy and Abyssinia.—The Amir and the Armenians.—"As Others See Us."—Yogis in London (*illustrated*).—Johore Independence, by W. A. P.—Russia's Countermove for Kafiristan, by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.—Questions on Chitral, etc.—Kafiristan and the Defence of India, by Lord Chelmsford.—Morocco.—Next Oriental Congress.—The New Oriental Translation Fund, by F. F. Arbuthnot.—Report on Dr. Bretschneider's Map of China, by E. H. Parker.—The Late Rev. Joseph Patrick Val d'Eremao, D.D. 179—197

Chinese Native News, Special Report by E. H. Parker.—Chinese Notes, by J. Edkins.—The Assassination of H.H. Jangi Shah, Facts.—Caste in the Indian Army, by Lord Chelmsford.—Lord Wolseley's Remarks, by General, Veteran, Colonel, Old India, Admirer, Madras Officer, etc.—Russia's Countermove for Kafiristan (the Merv-Kushk Railway, by Ex-frontier Officer.—Madras *v.* Bombay Land Settlements, by J. B. Pennington.—Madagascar.—Zanzibar.—The Late Raja Sucheyt Singh.—The Late Justice Pinhey.—The Moplas.—Li Hung Chang (with a coloured drawing).—The Malay States, by Senex.—Dalip Singh, by W. Irvine.—"As Others See Us."—India in Parliament 416—441

REVIEWS AND NOTICES 198, 442

A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour, with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India, by the Right Hon. Lord Egerton of Tatton, etc. New Edition.—Persia Revisited (1895), with Remarks on H.I.M. Mozuffer-ed-din Shah, and the present situation in Persia (1896), by General Sir Thomas Edward Gordon, K.C.I.E., C.B., etc.—Bartholomew's special large Scale Map of the Sudan, with a General Map of North East Africa and an Enlarged Plan of Khartum.—Some pages of the four Gospels re-ran-cribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, with a translation of the whole text, by Agnes Smith Lewis.—Professor Wright's Arabic Grammar. Vol. I. Third Edition.—The Life and Travels of Mungo Park, in Africa.—The Church Missionary Atlas. New (8th) Edition.—Industrial explorings in and around London, by R. Andom, with nearly 100 illustrations by T. M. A. Whitwell. Second Edition.—Boer and Uitlander, by W. F. Regan.—Three Lectures: The Reminiscences of the German University Life; the True Theosophist; and the Mricchakatikam, or, the Toy Cart, by Dr. Nishikánta Chattopádhyáya, Ph.D.—John Chinaman—his ways and notions, by Rev. G. Cockburn, M.A.—The British Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates, by George Gill, F.R.G.S.—The Timon of Lucian, with Notes and Vocabulary by J. B. Sewell.—Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697, translated from the original Chinese and Japanese by W. G. Aston, C.M.G. Vol. I.—Campaigning in S. Africa and Egypt, by Major-General W. C. F. Molyneux.—The Duties and Liabilities of Trustees, six Lectures by Augustine Birrell, M.P., Q.C.—Through Jungle and Desert, by W. Aster Chanler, M.A.—The Heart of a Continent: A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitrál, 1884-1894, by Captain Frank E. Younghusband, C.I.E.—Our Responsibilities for Turkey, by the Duke of Argyll, K.G., K.T.—A Photographed Edition of Háfiz Osman's Manuscript of the Koran.—Quarterly Statement, April, 1896.—Representative Men of Southern India.—Buddhism, its History and Literature, by P. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D.—A Turkish Grammar, by the Rev. A. Tien, Ph.D.—Cocoa—all about it, by Historicus.—Johannesburg in Arms, 1895-96, by C. J. Thomas.—Asia, Vol. I., Northern and Eastern

PAGE

Asia, by A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S.—The Indian Calendar with tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. dates and vice versâ, by Robert Sewell, late I.C.S. and Sankara Balkrishna Dikshit of Poona, with Tables of Eclipses visible in India by Dr. Robert Schram of Vienna.—The List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal.—Statistical Atlas of India.—The Literature of Bengal, by Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E. Revised Edition, with portraits.—The Poverty Problem in India, by Prithovis Chandra Ray.—A Directory of the Chief Industries of India, with two maps.—Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, N. W. P. and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1895.—A Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law, by Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., etc.—In the Kingdom of the Shah, by E. Treacher Collins.—A sketch of the Currency question, by Clive Cuthbertson, B.A.—From Cairo to the Soudan Frontier, by H. D. Traill 198—216

A few Flowers from the Garden of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi, by Major W. C. Mackinnon.—The Tale of King Counstans, the Emperor (old French Romances done into English, by William Morris, with an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs).—A Political Map of Africa, according to the most recent treaties.—Studies in Judaism, by S. Schechter, M.A., Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge.—"The Vigil," by Charles Montague.—Histoire du Peuple d'Israël, by Prof. E. Montet, D.D.—The Karakorum and Kashmir, by Oxar Eckerstein.—The Mystery of the Laughlin Islands, by Louis Becke and Walter Jeffery.—India; forty years of Progress and Reform, by R. P. Karkaria.—Une expédition avec le Négous Ménélik, by J. G. Vanderheym.—Die Sprache und Schrift der Juc'en, by Dr. Wilhelm Grube, Professor an der Konigl. Univ. zu Berlin.—Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's.—Thus spake Zarathustra—A book for all and none, by F. Nietzsche, translated by A. Tille.—Federation and Empire, by T. A. Spalding, LL.B.—With Wilson in Matabeleland, by Captain C. H. W. Donovan.—Queen Móo and the Egyptian Sphinx, by Augustus Le Plongeon, M.D.—The Journals of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.—Gold; a Dutch-Indian Story for English people, by Annie Linden.—His Honor and a Lady, by Sara Jeannette Duncan (Mrs. Everard Cotes), illustrated by A. D. M'Cormick.—The History of Mankind, Vol. I., by Professor F. Ratzel, translated by A. J. Buttler.—Behind the Great Wall, by Irene H. Barnes.—A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D.—Naval and Military Trophies, and personal Relics of British Heroes.—The Transcendental Universe, by S. G. Harrison.—The 9th volume of the Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society.—Hindu Castes and Sects, by Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., D.L.—The Girl at Birrells. An Australian Story, by Thomas Heney.—History of the Armenians in India, by Mesrovb J. Seth.—Hindu Classical Dictionary, by Devi Sahai 442—458

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES . 218, 459

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JULY, 1896.

THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION.

By "Behind the Scenes."

Never did a nation make a greater muddle of its splendid opportunities than the *novi homines* of Japan in the management of their "conquests." At first, everything went on with a military precision, a steadiness of purpose, and a lucidity of plan which appeared to European observers, accustomed only to shiftiness and vacillation in Orientals, as positively marvellous. It is known to a few, however, that the historical lines of march between China and Corea on the one hand, and between Manchuria and China on the other, are absolutely fixed by nature as well as by military records. The Han dynasty 2,000 years ago and the Sui-T'ang succession of dynasties 1,200 years ago, followed exactly the same land and water routes—in the reverse direction—which the Japanese followed in 1894. At the time when the Japanese consented to treat for peace, in the spring of 1895, their position was almost precisely that of the Manchu chieftain Taitsung in 1644: that is, they had the Chinese Empire within their grasp if they had only possessed the daring to seize it; but time was allowed to Russia to gather allies and forces, and the once brilliant opportunity has now passed away for ever. Taitsung died just as his efforts had resulted in the founding of an imperial dynasty. But his brother Torkun, the Yamagata of the time, taking in at a glance the importance of the situa-

tion, at once marched upon Peking. The last Chinese Emperor of the Ming dynasty had just committed suicide; Chinese rebels, in arms against the all-prevailing venality and tyranny, had seized and plundered Peking. China's "only general," in desperation, had gone north to secure Manchu assistance, and a decisive battle was fought at Shan-hai Kwan in the summer of 1645 between the Manchus and General Wu San-Kwei's Chinese troops on the one hand, and 500,000 Chinese rebel riff-raff under Li Tsze-ch'êng on the other. Doubtless the Japanese, who are well-read in Chinese literature, must have perfectly understood that when they had reached the city of Kin Chou they were exactly in the position of Taitsung and Torkun. At all events, the Chinese understood it, and, knowing well that the Shan-hai "Kwan" or Pass was the true and only north-eastern key to China, their desperate offers to conclude peace with Japan date from this moment. Count Ito, in his negotiations with Li Hung-chang, tried his very utmost to induce that wary statesman to consent to a Japanese occupation of Shan-hai Kwan, Taku, Moukden, and Tientsin as a security for the carrying out of such treaty as might be concluded. Of course, as this would have practically placed the hand of Japan upon China's throat, Li absolutely refused to listen to it, and meanwhile his attempted assassination by the madman Koyama Rokunosuki secured him both breathing time, and, what was more important, the sympathies of the civilized world. The bullet received by poor old Li Hung-chang in his humiliated face was worth at least £20,000,000 and a good province to China.

Torkun, uncle of the first Emperor of the now reigning Manchu dynasty, pushed on after his Shan-hai victory straight to Peking. The sagacious clemency of the Manchu chieftains contrasts strikingly with the blundering conduct of the Japanese, who, both in physical appearance and mental vigour, are men of a different calibre. The Chinese Empire then was in exactly the same rotten condition that

it is now, the grand old Manchu element having soon been absorbed. Every Chinaman was willing to sell himself to the highest bidder or the most powerful conqueror; and accordingly Torkun, *with the aid of Chinese renegades and Chinese armies*, soon completed the conquest of the whole of China for his juvenile nephew and nominal master, the Emperor Shunchih. Had the Japanese only possessed the nerve to act promptly, all they had to do was to march upon Peking at the first signs of spring, and before steam-navigation in the northern rivers became possible for European men-of-war. Half the Chinese statesmen at Peking would have turned traitors to the Manchus; the few remaining genuine Manchus at Peking would have taken to flight with the Empress; the degenerate Manchu or Chinese-Manchu garrisons in the provinces would have either fled, dispersed, or been massacred by the Chinese long before the arrival of the Japanese conquering forces at each local centre, and a Japanese dynasty would most probably now have been established in China. But the Japanese just failed at the critical point. Allowing for certain provocations, their general conduct and humanity (if second-hand) were correct and unexceptionable; their military strategy and naval evolutions were masterly; at all events they were triumphant, and it is ungenerous, besides being mere speculation, to cavil at complete success. The unpreparedness of Russia, the quite recent death of the pacific Czar, the fact that winter rendered Russia helpless (even if she had then been already "locally" prepared), the general desire on the part of all other European powers to see supercilious China thoroughly thrashed,—all this conspired to create an unrivalled opportunity for the Japanese, which, together with their chances of becoming a *Weltmacht*, has now gone for ever.

Then followed mistake after mistake. First the attempt to secure for themselves a portion of Manchuria, which, in any case,—the golden opportunity of seizing the whole empire having slipped away,—would have been a self-

weakening acquisition. Then its abandonment without making a stand for adequate compensation. Then the foolish attempt to seize Chinese passengers on board a British steamer in the high seas. Then the lamentable Miura incident, and the murder of the Queen of Corea. From a Japanese point of view all this is positively heart-breaking. After being "a new Power of the first magnitude," the dazzling star, which shot into the firmament of politics with such bewildering suddenness, has now gone out almost as suddenly. The Japanese are at present discredited, and their only hope now lies in practising their talents of imitation once more in the direction of "good form," in order to secure sound alliances.

What has Russia been doing all this time? The Corean treaties with European Powers were sprung upon the world so unexpectedly in 1883 that they were one and all taken by surprise. When the King of Corea wrote to the British Government in the winter of 1882-3, the Foreign Office was obliged to ask Sir Thomas Wade "Who *is* the King of Corea? What is his relation to China?" Before any other Powers had a chance, the capital of Corea was flooded with American missionaries. Under the pretext of "protecting" them, the United States of America has always exercised a strong influence upon Corean policy, mainly because the missionaries were the only white men able to converse with the King in his own language. Then came the Panjdeh incident, and the temporary occupation by Great Britain of Port Hamilton. The Americans were at that time pro-Japanese, the idea being to counteract the dark, retrograde, and Machiavellian policy of the Chinese Resident Yüan Shekai. Judge Denny of San Francisco, who had once gained Li Hung-chang's complete confidence as U.S. Consul at Tientsin, was sent for at that Viceroy's recommendation, to go to Corea as Foreign Adviser to the King in the place of Paulus von Moellendorff. During two years of intrigue, confusion and assassination, von Moellendorff, an ex-

Customs' official in China, subsequently German Consul at Tientsin, who had left his own country's service in a huff, had, at Li Hung-chang's instance, been employed in Corea to assist the King. Being an obstinate and self-willed (but, it must be added, a sufficiently honest and disinterested) adviser, he emancipated himself from Li Hung-chang, set up as a sort of Dictator, and *was* so for at least a year. The European representatives at Söul, and the Corean Premier himself considered it a great honour during 1885 to assist at a garden-party in von Moellendorff's residence. He sided with the Russians on the Port Hamilton question, and it consequently suited both Chinese and British interests to get rid of him. Li Hung-chang resolved upon it. Who more ready to aid than the Chinese Resident Yüan, with his Japanese-hating, Europe-veneered secretary, T'ang?

Whilst all these machinations were going on, M. Speyer appeared upon the scene on behalf of Russia. After reconnoitring for a few days he disappeared, and M. Waeber came as permanent Chargé d'Affaires for Russia. The British governments at that date were changing with a kaleidoscopic rapidity more characteristic of France than of England. Even if Great Britain had had a policy, that policy was subject to the expectation of some definite government getting into power and declaring it officially. One (negative) thing however the British Government did *not* do: it did not recognise the King of Corea's independence beyond going the length of appointing the British Minister at Peking to be also British Minister for Corea. This truly British compromise resulted in the appointment of a very amorphous official at Söul,—a "temporary-acting-consul-general." Meanwhile, the French determined to have a finger in the pie, and M. Cogordan appeared, with a great flourish of trumpets, as Minister Resident, disappearing immediately afterwards. Captain Richard Parker, an ex-Confederate naval officer, held the same nominal rank on behalf of the United States; but his career in Corea

was short and not glorious: he was speedily recalled, and a mere boy named Lieutenant Foulke (now deceased), who had most ably steered a clear course for the United States during three years of dense intrigue, was left in charge of American interests once more, until Mr. Rockhill, now Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, temporarily relieved him. The Italian Minister, the late M. de Luca, who ought to have taken a part in Corean affairs, and ratified his treaty, preferred, it would seem, to play a comfortable rubber in the Shanghai club.

What was M. Waeber's policy and character? M. Waeber is more of a German than a Russian, both in appearance and character: yet he is profoundly and loyally Russian. He is no intriguer. He is a plain, hardworking, unpretentious man, whose first experience was gained as a student-interpreter and junior officer at the Peking Legation. As men go, his character is upright and honest: his abilities are not of a brilliant order; but he is extremely circumspect, prudent, and persistent. It is a mistake to suppose that Russian diplomatists are left free to make fools of themselves as much as they like, and that only success is wanted to secure for them the Czar's approval of their pranks. It may be true that the Russian Foreign Office is portentously secret; but it is also true that its diplomatists are kept well in hand. Amidst the bullying intrigues of Yüan, the vacillating mole-like moves of Japan, the tentative drifting of England (diversified every now and again by some dashing, self-contradictory, or inexplicable act like the seizure of Port Hamilton, the abandonment of Port Hamilton, the conquest of Burma, the offer to pay "tribute" to China), the sentimental interferences of the United States, etc., it was difficult for M. Waeber to know *what* to do. He wisely did nothing; but he watched. The whole Corean situation was a puzzle to Europe. *No* government knew what to do. Of course, Russia wanted a port free from ice; she made no secret of it. But M. Waeber simply said: "We may want it, or we may not; that is *our* business;

anyhow, we have not seized it, as the British have seized Port Hamilton. Either that seizure is approved by Corea, or it is not. If approved, we apply for compensation. If not approved, and if Corea has not the strength, by herself or through China, to turn the British out, it will be a question whether we ought not to seize something too, until someone makes up somebody's mind to do something." At that time France had not yet conceived the idea of allying herself with Russia. She only had her hounded missionaries to protect, and a general desire to be a dog-in-the-manger to someone—no matter whom—so long as the French flag was seen. The instructions of the German Consul-General —who, by the way, during the assassination period was usually away from his post—seem to have been to follow the lead of England. When he *was* there he was apt to ask: What *is* the lead of England? Usually, a junior was in charge. Meanwhile, Söul being a dismal place of exile, all parties fraternised together socially. Mrs. Waeber, an accomplished linguist, in the absence of anything female except missionary society, got in with the Queen. Being a clever, ambitious woman (loyally ambitious for her somewhat slow, sure, and studious husband), she soon acquired a great personal influence over the Queen. The American missionaries of both sexes also became very intimate at the palace. Dr. Allen was first transformed from a missionary into a Legation doctor; then into a Corean "advising minister"; then into a Corean Secretary of Legation at Washington; finally into a U.S. Chargé d'Affaires. The key-note of Russo-American policy, so far as they had one, was "the independence of Corea." Until Miura showed his traitorous hand, Japan was fairly in with Russia and America. Great Britain did not see her way, so long as the Chinese continued to insist upon Corean tribute missions, to recognise Corean independence. Germany monopolised nearly all the trade which was not Japanese, and in any case the "*Reise Kaiser*" (as distinguished from the *Greise* and the *Weise*) had not yet conceived the idea of

abandoning the old "hang on to England's tail" policy in the East. Of course, the United States only wanted Corean independence on "general principles"; coupled, perhaps, with a bit of sentimental hatred for the cheap-labour "Heathen Chinee," and of sentimental half-contemptuous love for the progressive modernised Jap. Russia and Japan both wanted "independence," in order that they might have a free hand for loans, treaties, protection, etc. France and Italy were practically "out of it." The British Minister at Peking was too busy with Burma, missionary massacres, transit-passes, and *likin*, to run over to Corea. Since the first visit of Sir Harry Parkes in 1884, no British Minister or Chargé d'Affaires had ever even once visited any part of Corea. The flying visit of Mr. O'Conor in 1893 is absolutely the only one on record. Thus it may be said that Great Britain totally neglected Corea, and in this way the field was left invitingly open for Yüan's plots, Japan's countermining, Mrs. Waeber's petticoat influence, and general dissolution.

Then came the Tong-hak rebellion. Everybody, Great Britain and Russia included, thought that the Chinese fleet and Li Hung-chang's private army at least were serious quantities, not to speak of China's mysterious "resources." China made the fatal mistake—of course prompted by Yüan—of sending troops contrary to her agreement with Japan. Japan at once saw her opportunity, sank the "Kowshing," promptly set armies in motion, annihilated the Chinese fleets, tumbled her be-fanned and be-petticoated cowardly generals over one after the other; and, as we have explained, appeared knocking ominously at the Shan-hai Kwan.

M. Waeber still maintained a watchful attitude. His mind, like his bodily movement, is that of the tortoise rather than that of the hare. Yet it must not be imagined that he had been a Russian success. True, all Europe had been taken by surprise; not Russia alone. But his superiors could not help feeling that, amid such stirring events, he must have been half asleep to leave them so very

much in the dark. This time last year he was positively transferred to Mexico, and M. Speyer was sent out to replace him.

Now, however, occurred the tortoise's opportunity. The Japanese hare had won the race, and in a moment of infatuation, had "taken a nap." The Count Inouye, who, at least, is as honourable as any Japanese nobleman, was replaced by that strange recluse, General Miura. No more villainous intrigue, followed by cowardly butchery, ever took place in any country than the dastardly murder of poor Queen Min in Miura's time. Queen Min, whatever her faults, was at least a bright and plucky woman. She was also an affectionate and firm personal friend of Mrs. Waeber and of the American missionaries. Certainly, she "ran" her contemptible husband, but she was quite loyal to him and to China. Mrs. Waeber now shook *her* husband up. The wretched King, who, in spite of his amiable qualities, is a poor imbecile creature, fled to the Russian Legation. Only just in time to save M. Waeber. M. Speyer had already arrived. We can only divine by what womanly arts and manly diplomacy Mrs. Waeber then succeeded in turning events to the best advantage for her husband. Of course, the prudent M. Waeber (who was totally innocent of the profound plot leading up to these dreadful events) telegraphed to his Government for instructions. The blubbering King said, "I will never desert Mr. Micawber," and hung on to the Waebers so hard that the Czar (*i.e.* Prince Lobanoff) had to "re-advise himself." But apart from that, the whole occurrence was a perfect godsend for Russia, and Russia would indeed be foolish if she did not take full advantage of it.

Luck, nothing else, has thrown half the world at Russia's feet. China has always dreaded Russia more than any other Power, but even China must feel truly grateful to Russia for turning out the "Japanese dwarfs." Even Li Hung-chang said to Count Ito (when, at one of the Shimonoseki interviews the latter obstinately refused to listen

to a single plea of the old statesman): "A time will come when I shall remember this obduracy." A time *has* come. Japan, in her hour of presumptuous triumph, neglected the opportunity, actually offered by Li in spite of China's humiliation, to conclude a defensive alliance against Europe. To be conquered by stalwart Europeans is bad enough; but the mortification of being "sat upon" by insignificant Wo-jên eats deeply into the Manchu, as well as into the Chinese, heart. Japan is now at Russia's feet on precisely opposite grounds. Ill at ease as to the mysterious Chinese combinations that may be forming against her; impatient at her contemptuous neglect by Great Britain, and unwilling to pass through the ordeal of proving to Great Britain that the Japanese alliance is to be trusted and is worth having, she is desperately anxious at all costs to appease the Colossus. France, as we all know, has "effaced" herself to an extent that no independent nation in modern times has ever done, in order to obtain the Russian countenance. The nominal head of liberty, refinement, scepticism, and civilization denies her past for a vague future and trots obsequiously after the declared representative of autocracy, repression, pan-Slavism, bigotry, and (so far as the masses go) of Oriental barbarism. Germany, under her present Emperor, is an unknown quantity: suffice it to say that *no* one can trust her; that *any* one may get at her if he pays the price; but, in any case, it must be on an unmistakable *do ut des* principle if any advantage is to be obtained from her. Turkey,—which means the present Sultan so long as he lives,—is simply existing from hand to mouth, and will hold with the hare or hunt with the hounds from day to day according to circumstances.

What then is to be done? Russia has every country at her feet. That alone not only emphasises the fact that England has *no* one at her feet, but it also brings out the suggestive prospect that all countries are placing themselves under Russia's wing either in order to save themselves from one another, or to induce Russia to desert one in favour of the other, or to *induce Russia to join in a coalition*

against England;—there can be no other motives. Russia owes this favourable turn in affairs to the prudence, secrecy, and loyalty of her policy. There need be no danger to us, if we are fair and generous to Russia. Russia did not come out well in the Armenian affair, but this was because the Berlin Treaty had made *us* the responsible parties. Russia said to us: "It is for *you* to act. If you cannot do so, then do not *dictate* to us how we are to help you, but leave *us* to act." In Corea it is much the same thing. Russia tells us: "Japan has failed: so has China. America, Germany, and France are only makeweights; *you* can do nothing. *We* should be very glad to act; but it is you who forced China to make us promise that we would not, under any circumstances, occupy Corea; in consideration of this pledge you gave up Port Hamilton, which, by the way, you had no right to take."

The moral of the whole matter is that all the cards, trumps included, are now in the hands of Russia and of ourselves. Let us, therefore, arrange everything first in a fair spirit with Russia: the others can follow. But Russia will certainly begin by obtaining a moral satisfaction for the murder of the Queen of Corea, and turn out the Japanese.

P.S.—Just as these lines go to press, news arrives that the veteran statesman, Li Hung-chang, is shortly expected to set foot on these shores. So conspicuous a figure on the stage of "far eastern" diplomacy will, no doubt, receive a right royal as well as a popular welcome, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will be taken by those in power to come to a thorough understanding with the Grand Secretary based upon a friendly triangular *entente* with Russia. The entry of China into the Post Office Union (the rules and regulations for which are published in the native papers just received) is an event as auspicious as the arrival of Li Hung-chang, and it is to be devoutly wished that British Diplomacy may succeed in forming in addition a political union in the sense above indicated, that shall be advantageous alike to Russia, China, and England. The points upon which Great Britain will expect concessions are the free opening of the West River, the gradual absorption by the Foreign Customs Services of the *likin* stations, an adequate protection for missionaries, and permission to set up machinery for all purposes, at least in the open ports. As for China's requirements, she, of course, knows them best herself and they should be met, to the fullest possible extent, in the same spirit in which we desire her to consider our requests.

CHINA AND RUSSIA:

THE EARLIEST RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMANOFF AND AISINGHIORO HOUSES.

By E. H. Parker.

The first notice about Russia I can find in the annals of the Manchu dynasty now reigning in China is the following laconic announcement which appeared in the summer of 1655:

"The Chagan Khan of Olosz sent an envoy with tribute."

"Olosz," a trisyllable intended to represent the word "Russ," is still almost the only word used in China for "Russia." Sometimes it is contracted into the monosyllable *O*, just as England is called *Ying*. *Chagan* is a Tartar word meaning "White," and *Khan* is also a Tartar word, which first appears clearly in Chinese history in the fourth century: but there are traces of its derivation from the Tungusic races a century or two even earlier than that. The Manchu Emperors now ruling China consented to use the title Khan, instead of that of Emperor, during their first struggles with China, 250 years ago. At the present time many of the Mongol princes subject to China still use the title Khan.

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Nothing more in the way of official intelligence is given until the summer of 1660, when the following notice appears. I translate it from the beginning, word for word, just as it occurs,—*àpropos* of nothing in particular:

"Now, the White Khan of Russia had already in the year 1655 sent an envoy to inquire after the Emperor's health and bring tribute of local articles; but he had not submitted the usual written address. As this was the first time a tribute mission had come, the envoy was dismissed honourably, and at the same time an imperial order was bestowed, commanding that tribute should be sent every year. In the year 1656 another envoy came. Although he was provided with a complimentary address, he would only go through the forms in use in his own country; that is, he would only present the address standing: he declined to kneel or *kotow*.

Under these circumstances the Board advised that, as the envoy was unversed in court forms, he should not be admitted to audience. Accordingly his tributary articles were declined, and he was dismissed. The year after his return, the White Khan once more sent an envoy with an address and tribute, and now after a three years' journey the mission had only just arrived. The address contained the words '*anno* 1165' [evidently a misprint, either for 1665 or for 7165, Greek Church] and the expression '*Great* Khan.' It was referred to the Princes and Ministers, who unanimously advised that his envoy should be sent about his business and his articles of tribute declined, upon which the following decree was issued: 'With foreign states turning towards civilization some forbearance should be shown, in order to evince tenderness for distant men. Russia lies far away to the remote west, and has never participated in the blessings of civilization. Notwithstanding this, she has managed to send an envoy here to submit an address, which fact of itself is proof of the genuineness of her righteous yearnings. Let the proper Board give a banquet to the envoy who has come. His tributary articles may be accepted, and suitable rewards may be apportioned of our grace both to the White Khan and to his envoy. However, no return mission can be sent under the circumstances. You of the Board can explain to the envoy why, on account of the bragging and unsubmissive style of the address he cannot be admitted to audience, and then dismiss him.'"

* * * * *

The first-mentioned of the two missions above described is evidently that of Baikoff, despatched by the Czar Alexis in May 1654. It arrived in Peking on 3 March 1656, and left in September. The second must be that of Perfilyeff and Yarykin, who were both despatched (apparently at short intervals) in 1658. The object of these missions was in part doubtless to come to some arrangement about the new Amur settlements founded in 1650 by Khabaroff. In 1639, according to the Annals, a certain Nicoli was sent by the Manchu ruler on an expedition against the Hurkha tribes of the Amur. In 1640 the same Hurkhas were again attacked by the Manchus, and the city of Yaksa was taken. It is well known that Yaksa is the Chinese name for what the Russians used to call Albazin. The Manchus had several Europeans in their employ about this time, Adam Schaal amongst others, and possibly Nicoli was a Russian (Nicolai or Nicholas). It is a curious thing that in 1643 and 1644 an officer or officers named Olosê-ch'ên Patuli are twice mentioned as serving successfully on the

Manchu side against these same Hurkha tribes of the Amur. It is known that many Russians were taken prisoners at the final capture of Albazin in 1686, and that they served in the Chinese ranks: hence it is not extravagant to surmise that similar prisoners served the Chinese in 1643, and that "Patrick, a Russian subject" (ch'ên) may be intended by the uncouth name given above. At all events, it is known from European history that the Russians were at the Tungusic settlement of Albazin in 1643, that they attacked it, and that they sailed on a voyage of discovery down the Amur to the sea. Another later Chinese work states distinctly, however, that neither of the above missions, when at Peking, made any allusion to frontier matters.

* * * * *

In the year 1668 the name of Russia is just mentioned in the Annals, and no more. At the solemn new year's festivities the boundaries of the Manchu dominions are triumphantly stated to extend "northwards as far as the Kalka Mongols and the Russians." Dr. Dudgeon in the *Chinese Recorder* of 1870 says that the Chinese first starved the Russians out of Albazin between 1657 and 1660; but in any case he erroneously gives as 1667 a date which the context shows must be 1657.

* * * * *

In the summer of 1676 the following announcement appears in the Manchu imperial annals:

"The White Khan of Russia sent his subject Nicolai Han-pê-li-rh-o-wei-ts'ê [? Hambriolovitch] with tribute of local articles. His representation was to the effect that Russia lay far away in remote obscurity; that from ancient times there had been no relations with China; that he was ignorant of Chinese letters, and unacquainted with the proper style of address; that he now inclined towards civilization, expressed his devotion, and was desirous to open tribute relations, etc., etc. A decree was received as follows: 'Russia is situated very far away. Turning towards civilization in a loyal spirit, she makes a point of despatching one of her subjects to offer tribute of local articles. This is highly approved. Let the great officers of the Council report upon the matters contained in the address.'"

Nicolas Spafari, a Greek, was (according to the account cited contributed in 1870 by Dr. Dudgeon of Peking)

despatched to Peking in 1677 by the Moscow Tribunal of Envoys; and though the date is one year wrong, and the rest of Nicolai's name unintelligible in its Chinese dress, evidently his mission is the one intended. Two months later the Council recommended that

"presents might well be bestowed upon the White Khan of Russia in recognition of his tribute offerings and his turning towards civilization. As his ambassador Nicolai is unpractised in polite forms, it would appear inexpedient to give him an imperial mandate: the better course would be to direct the Colonial Board to command the envoy in the following terms: 'As thy master wishes to open friendly relations, it will be necessary to send back the deserter Gantimur, a subject of ours, and furthermore to send another envoy to conform with the practice of Chinese etiquette, after which permission will be given to trade on the usual footing.' This recommendation was followed, and presents of a saddled horse, robes, and clothing were bestowed upon the members of the White Khan of Russia's mission."

* * * * *

The somewhat disjointed account given by Dr. Dudgeon leaves a blank between 1667 and 1685. According to him, nothing drawn from Chinese sources touching these missions had ever appeared before the date of his writing, except of course the English translations of Gerbillon's account, given by Du Halde. Indeed, so novel was the subject, that the Czar Alexander II. took notice of Dr. Dudgeon's contributions to the *Chinese Recorder*. So far as the present writer knows, the extracts here translated, in some instances word for word, from the Manchu Annals, have never yet appeared in any European language. Possibly the Russians may have translated them, but most Russian work, if in the Russian language alone, is practically lost to the rest of Europe. From what Dr. Dudgeon says, however, it would appear that the Russians have usually drawn any information they may possess from the Manchu rather than the Chinese versions of the Imperial Manchu Annals.

* * * * *

In the autumn of 1682 some Manchu officers engaged in a mission of enquiry beyond Kalgan, reported to the Emperor that

"they had met outside the Wall ambassadors from the Dzungar monarch Galdan, and that these ambassadors had stated that one Blobdzang was

about to obtain Russian assistance in order to attack Galdan, in consequence of which Galdan's son had captured Blobdzang."

It is very likely that this passage is connected with the journey of the Jesuits Gerbillon and Pereira, who went to Kiachta under Manchu auspices in order to protest against the Russian occupation of Albazin. Gerbillon mentions a boast of Galdan that the Russians were going to assist *him*. The Blobdzang of the text is evidently the Kalka Mongol Lopzang, mentioned by Du Halde.

A few days later appears (in substance) the following paragraph in the Annals:

"Now the Lo-cha belonging to Russia had from time to time made plundering raids about the Amur frontiers, . . . building block-houses for their own use, etc. Mingai . . . was ordered by the Emperor to insist upon their removal, but they fortified themselves in Yaksa, cultivating the ground in the vicinity, hunting game, and sallying forth from time to time to plunder the neighbouring Tungusic tribes. . . . Under pretext of deer-hunting, military spies were now sent to the Daour country to beat up troops and surround the town. The Emperor in his instructions expressed an opinion that the Lo-cha would not come out to fight; but ordered that, in the event of their doing so, the forces under the spies must retire, and await further commands. In the event of the Lo-cha offering civilities and asking for food, these advances should be accepted. On the return journey a full examination of the land and water routes to the Usuri River and Ninguta should be made."

In the autumn of 1683 the Emperor issued a long and plaintive decree upon the subject of Russian encroachments, and especially about their wantonly harbouring the renegade Tungusic prince Gantimur. His Majesty was loath to exterminate them, and had frequently sent orders to them to return home and surrender all deserters. The Russian envoy Nicolai had also been exhorted to the same effect; but all in vain: on the contrary, they had enticed one Ordighy and 20 other Chinese Tunguses into a building, and burnt them alive. In consequence of this a force was sent to prevent a repetition of these misdoings; this force fell in with 30 Russians, who were taken prisoners, but not injured. The Colonial Board was now ordered to convey an ultimatum to Yaksa, Nipchu, and Locha [here apparently used as men's names]. They and their followers

must either go back, or take the consequences. If the distance be too great, then they are welcome to an asylum in China. This ultimatum can be sent by some of the captured men, to wit Ni-fan [Ivan], Mi-hai-lo [Michael or Michaeloff] and Mo-lo-tui [?], who will bring a reply.

Dr. Dudgeon's account of this transaction is in substance the same as the above. He takes this part of his story from C. de Sabir's *Le fleuve Amour*, published in 1861; but he assigns the year 1683 to the Emperor's instructions, and the year 1684 to the Emperor's plaintive message; he also states that in 1683 Gregor Mylnik and 67 Cossacks were taken prisoners by 300 Manchus.

In the summer of 1685 the Emperor issued another edict, explaining how sorry he would be to take extreme measures against the Russians, but how, in consequence of their ignoring his appeals, he had been obliged to send a strong force and capture Yaksa from them *after being occupied by them for* 40 *years*. This evidently refers to the capitulation of Alexis Tolbuzin, Governor of Albazin, in June 1685. One of the prisoners, the pope Wassili Leontyeff, settled in Peking, and subsequently translated, from the Manchu into Russian, the official report of Langtan, the Manchu officer charged by the Emperor with the duties above described in the Manchu Annals (as published in Chinese).

In the spring of 1685 an edict explains why Nipchu (Nertchinskoi) was not also taken:

"The reason is that it makes a good frontier, and so long as the Russians do not go beyond it they are perfectly free to trap for game. But it appears that the Russians have now re-occupied Yaksa. The question arises shall they be exterminated?"

This momentous question was accordingly referred by the Emperor to Langtan and the officers who had previously been engaged.

In the autumn of 1686 an edict was addressed to the Council of State recapitulating the failure of Nicolai to bring any favourable reply from the White Khan, and also the failure of the captured Russians sent with letters to the

Kalka territory to do likewise; the necessity the Emperor had been under of taking strong measures; and the re-occupation by the Russians of Yaksa after the Governor Alexis had been so kindly allowed to go free.

"Is it possible these letters can have all miscarried? Or is it possible that the Russians at Yaksu and Nipchu all belong to the criminal class, and cannot go home on that account? [A very shrewd guess.] Inquiry has been made from the Dutch envoy, who has undertaken to convey a letter to the White Khan by way of Europe. Should the White Khan send a reply by land, his envoys must be allowed free passage. Should the land route be impracticable, the reply may come by way of Holland."

With reference to this edict, I find that a Dutch mission under Van Hoorn went to Peking in 1664-5, but I cannot find mention of any others during the 17th century, nor can I find corroboration of this edict in any European quarter.

Towards the end of the same year the following decree appears:

"The White Khan of Russia sends an envoy who represents as follows: 'As to the letter which your Majesty deigned to send, my state below failed to understand its meaning. However, inquiry was made from Nicolai on his return, and he relates how the ministers of the Celestial Dynasty complain of the non-surrender of Gantimur and his fellow deserters, of our harrying your frontiers, etc. Should the border people of my state below give you any trouble, your Majesty has only to be pleased to send an army to the frontier, and I respectfully beg that you will ascertain who the culprits are, and either send them back or execute them. I am despatching envoys to arrange about the frontier, but in the first instance I send Mi-k'i-fo-rh Wei-niu-kao [Nicephorus Wenyukoff] and I-fan Fa-o-lo-wa [Ivan ? Fagarow] to take this letter with all speed, and to beg you to raise the siege of Yaksa, at the same time favouring my state below with specific commands.' In consequence of this the Emperor sends the following message to his chief ministers: 'The White Khan of Russia sends a polite and friendly mission, and begs that the siege of Yaksa may be raised. We had no intention of organizing a massacre; our desire was to let them off easily. Sabsu and his colleagues are hereby ordered to withdraw their troops from before Yaksa, and to collect them at some spot near the war-ships where a camp can be formed. He can at the same time notify the Lo-cha inside the town that they are free to pass in and out, but must not commit any depredations. The rest can stand over until the Russian envoys arrive.'"

According to Dr. Dudgeon, a German nobleman named Beuthen or Beiton was the man sent by the faithless

Tolbuzin in 1686 to re-occupy Albazin, and Nicephorus just arrived in Peking in time to save the town from falling into the besiegers' hands; but not before Alexis Tolbuzin had been killed. This was according to the Russians, in June 1687.

In the autumn of 1687 the following notice appears:

"His Majesty commanded Sabsu, etc., to lead a force back from Peking to Merguen in the Cis-Amur territory whilst the weather was still mild; to pass the winter there, burnish his arms, and fatten his beasts, at the same time erecting outposts at suitable places; also explaining to the Lo-cha inside Yaksa city that the troops had been withdrawn from the immediate neighbourhood in consequence of the arrival of envoys from Russia asking for peace."

Throughout all these documents the compilers seem to be uncertain whether *Locha* is the name of a place, of a man, of a tribe, or is simply another form of "Russia." It will be noticed later on that Governor Alexis, who was killed in 1687, appears to be mentioned again in 1689.

In the summer of 1688 the Emperor approved a recommendation of one of the Chinese Censors to the effect that both Chinese and Manchus should be employed on the mission to Russia. A few days after that, two Chinese Envoys were appointed, to wit, Chang P'êng-Koh, and Ch'ên Shï-an, and ordered to proceed on frontier delimitation duty. It had been intended to send the Censor himself, but his services were more urgently required on Yellow River duty, serious floods having occurred.

A little later a long decree announced that there had been fighting with the Locha on the Amur, Sungari, and Kumar rivers. The decree recapitulated the general history of the dispute. The Emperor considered the towns of Yaksa and Nipchu of importance

"because they were in a way the key, through the Amur, Sungari, and Hurka Rivers, to Manchuria proper: it was essential that the Chinese sphere of influence should include the habitats of all the Oronchon, Daour, Kailar, and other Tungusic and Mongol tribes, together with all the southern affluents of the Amur: not a jot or a tittle of this must be ceded to Russia. If Gantimur and the other renegades are surrendered, the Russian captives will be surrendered too, the frontier delimitation can be proceeded with, and trading facilities given."

Otherwise the commissioners were ordered to break off negotiations and return at once. Meanwhile news was brought of the war going on between the Kalkas and Eleuths, and the commissioners had to send word to the Russians announcing a probable delay on that account, to which the Russian commissioners replied that their own envoys had left, *viâ* Nipchu, for Peking. Consequently the Manchu general Sogdu with the commissioners were recalled.

The above is fairly supported by Dr. Dudgeon's account, which makes out that provisions were given to Beuthen by the Manchu general towards the beginning of 1688, but that permission to cultivate was refused; also that in August 1688 the Manchus withdrew to Ninguta.

In the early summer of 1689 the following announcement appears in the Annals:

"Russia sent envoys Fei-yao-to-lo [Feodor] and others to Nipchu with a request that the frontier delimitation business might be discussed, and the Emperor once more ordered Sogdu, with the others who had previously been appointed, to proceed to Nipchu in order to open negotiations."

From Dr. Dudgeon's account it appears that Feodor Golovin's imminent arrival at Nertchinskoi was notified at Peking during April. Towards the end of the year the Annals announce as follows:

"Now, a report had been received from General Sogdu and his colleagues announcing their arrival at Nipchu and their interview with the Russian envoy [? or envoys] Feodor Alexis (*sic*). He still maintained that Yaksa and Nipchu formed part of Russia's legitimate conquests, and argued this matter very obstinately. We pointed out to him that Onon (*sic*) and Nipchu belonged to our country, as being the old camping ground of the Mao Mingan Mongols [now near China proper]; that Yaksa was the old settlement of our hunter Albazi and his people, and that it had been filched from them. All this was expounded to him in detail, and he was censured for his unwarranted encroachments. Following up on that, we drew him a picture of your Majesty's merciful disposition and intentions. On this Feodor and his suite, together with the mass of Russians, all raised a cry of loyal submission, and then they proceeded to exhibit their maps and discuss the delimitation business; solemnities were exchanged, and all was arranged with a view to a lasting peace. On receipt of this report, the Emperor ordered the Council to assemble and

deliberate. The Council of Magnates recommended that stone tablets should be erected, with a view to perpetuating the agreement, at different places on the Kerbetchi River, inscribed in Manchu, Chinese, Russian, Latin, and Mongol characters. They added, however, that, although a treaty of peace had been concluded with Russia, and the frontier question settled, yet garrisons should be kept at Merguen [inland] and Saghalien Igoon [on the Amur] just as they were in the different provinces of China proper. In consequence of this recommendation, persons were sent to erect the tablets on the boundary, inscribed as follows: The Great Ts'ing Empire sends high officers to arrange the line of frontier with the Russian Empire. Article 1. The Kerbetchi River, near the Chorna or Urunmu River, running [? from the] north into the Amur, shall be taken as the boundary. Along the upper course of this river are the Stony Great Hingan [Mountains] reaching as far as the sea. All the streams running south of this range into the Amur shall belong to China, and all those running north of this range shall belong to Russia."

[The native Chinese maps make the Kerbetchi run south into the Amur a little to the east of Nertchinsk, and they place one of the tablets at the mouth: they place another tablet at the mouth of the Argun River, which they make to enter the Amur on the opposite side from the Kerbetchi, half way between Nertchinsk and Albazin.]

2. "The Argun River running into the Amur shall be taken as a boundary: the south bank shall belong to China, and the north bank to Russia. The Russian buildings of Melorka at the mouth of the River shall be moved to the north bank. 3. All the fortifications built at Yaksa by the Russians shall be demolished. All the Russian subjects living in Yaksa, with their belongings, shall be removed to the territory of the White Khan. 4. No hunters or other persons shall be allowed to cross the frontier. Should a reckless individual or two be indiscreet enough to cross the frontier for purposes of hunting or depredation, he or they shall be at once arrested and handed over to the nearest official to be punished according to the gravity of the circumstances. But should a dozen or more of individuals congregate, with arms in their hands, and take away human life whilst pursuing their hunting or depredating objects, they shall be at once put to death. In other words, small matters will not be allowed to affect the main understanding, and friendly relations with China will continue as before, without any trouble being raised. 5. All bygones shall be bygones. It will not be necessary for China to restore to Russia, or Russia to restore to China any of the subjects of each country who may now be held in detention. 6. This being a treaty of lasting friendship, henceforth any traders provided with proper passports will be allowed to trade backwards and forwards without let or hindrance. 7. Deserters subsequent to the solemn conclusion of this treaty may not be detained but must be sent back."

Dr. Dudgeon gives no account of the above treaty, beyond saying in a note that the "8th article" provides for its being engraved in Mongol, Chinese, Russian, and Latin, and for its being placed at the boundaries. He says in another place, however:

"the River Kerbetchi (Ouronon in Manchu) which flows into the Amur, shall be the boundary line, along with the chain of mountains which extends from the source of the river to the Sea of Okhotsk."

The Chinese expression "north flowing into the Amur" must therefore, in this case, mean the contrary of what it usually means; moreover the somewhat hazy Chinese wording of Article 1 does not leave it perfectly clear whether the Chorna is the same river as the Kerbetchi, or whether the Urunmu is the Chorna or the Kerbetchi. The word "Meilka" or "Melorka" is perhaps a Chinese misprint for "Shilka"; for Dr. Dudgeon says one boundary tablet was to be set up at the junction of the Argun with the Shilka. [But this is a guess.] Albazin, the Russian name for Yaksa, is of course derived from the Tungusic chief's name Albazi, cited above by the Manchu general Sogdu. "Onon" must mean the strip of territory between the River Onon and the Argun.

Towards the beginning of the Chinese year 1690 (about February) the Emperor, in issuing a rescript to his ministers regarding his personal responsibility and prerogative, says:

"And again, in the Russian affair, did not both Manchu and Chinese ministers advise me that the Russians were too far away from China, and that the negotiations could hardly by any possibility succeed? But I said: No! The matter cannot be allowed to stand in this inchoate stage; and I sent high officers to act according to my own views, the result being that Russia was at once brought to terms. I am making no vain boast of my own success; but I am not like such as you, getting someone to trumpet every little petty achievement for you with a view to promotion and reward."

THE COUNTRY OF THE DUNGAN REBELLIONS OF 1861 AND 1895-6.

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In continuation of the article on the Dungan rebellion, which appeared in the January number of this Review, I now add a short description of what I saw and learnt in 1887 of the rebellion of 1861 on my journey through the provinces of Kansuh and Shensi.

As my readers may have been led to anticipate, China, left to herself, has been able, for a time at least, to suppress the recent outbreak of the Dungans; we may therefore assume that, on this occasion, her forces were commanded by a man of energy and honesty of purpose. So served, China is quite capable of keeping the peace within her frontiers. That China should, by every means in her power, have endeavoured to pacify her Muhammadan subjects was most necessary to her interests; and that she did so shows that she is aware of the vital importance to her of the fertile bottle-necked strip of Kansuh, the natural and only line of communication between Mid-China, the Yangtse-Kiang and Turkistan. It is a misfortune to her that this strip of country is not held by more loyal subjects. She can best strengthen herself here by running (see article in this Review of January) a railway through it and, *paripassu* with its construction, developing its vast, latent resources. The most recent news from Peking (May 25, 1896), however, is to the effect that the rebellion is again active and that the town of Kia-yu-kwan has been captured by the Dungans who are advancing westwards, *i.e.* towards the desert. If the Peking Government has been wise, it will ere now have concentrated troops in Hami, Nyan-si-chow, Su-chow and Kan-chow, to check this movement; and if these act at once they should have no difficulty in nipping in the bud this renewed revolt. It will be seen later on that even in ordinary times there are considerable garrisons in these towns, and that Kan-chow is the headquarters of a military district. I found Hami in 1887 fairly well garrisoned.

To reach Lan-chow-fu, capital town of Kansuh, the communications from Peking are viâ the Great Central Asian trade route, to be described, or by cart road to Kwei-hua-cheng and thence by pack animal routes (camels, mules, etc.) to north and west of the Huang-ho, to Bauto, Ning-hia, etc. The northern section of the great trade route through Kansuh, between Liang-chow and Su-chow, can also be reached by cart tracks from Kwei-hua-cheng; and, besides these, numerous pack-animal tracks lead from the valley of the Fuen-ho, through Shansi, to the great N.E. bend of the Huang-ho; and, all combined enable a Chinese army to take post along the upper and middle courses of that river to Lan-chow-fu, and to reach Liang-chow, Kan-chow and Su-chow, the chief cities of Kansuh, by marching, as it were, around the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, and

yet by the most expeditious, although least favourable, routes as regards provisions, Liang-chow being reached by direct track in 26 days from Tai-yuen-fu as against 36 by the main road.

I will confine myself to a very general description of the Great Central Asian trade route and only incidentally mention the most important of the other roads as they branch off from it towards or in Kansuh. This important route, the main avenue of communication between the Pacific Sea and Central Asia since the earliest times, runs from Peking, over the flat and fertile plain of Pi-chili to Ching-ting-fu, 197 miles from Peking and 22 miles from the foot of the Shansi hills, which thence trend in a southerly direction to the great Huang-ho or Yellow river.

The passage over the löess hills to Tai-yuen-fu, the capital town of Shansi, a further distance of 178 miles, is by cart track, often through deep, narrow rifts in this solid but friable, porous and fertile earth, and over passes 4,000 feet high. The district is thickly populated and richly cultivated, although its treeless nature detracts from its picturesqueness. The löess requires but rain alone to fertilize it.

In Tai-yuen-fu, Muhammadans were not found to be numerous and they were said to meet with fair treatment; they did not join their co-religionists of Kansuh who in their progress eastwards were stopped by the Yellow river which runs between the provinces of Shansi and Shensi in a south to north line.

From Tai-yuen-fu, the route runs in a southerly direction down the rich valley of the Fuen-ho, still through a fertile and intersected löess country to Tung-Kwan, one of the principal passages over the yellow river, distant from Peking 719 miles.

I say nothing of the great agricultural and natural but undeveloped mineral wealth of Shansi. It was not till I reached Ping-Yang, 185 miles from Tai-yuen-fu that anything was met with to call to the mind of the traveller that unusual events had happened here within the past few years.

To the southward of this town ruined villages began to be somewhat frequent but they can be accounted for by former famines and laid to the charge of the Taipings, who were likewise, at the same time that the Mussulmans were devastating Shensi and Kansuh, harassing the Manchu government. Tung-Kwan, 720 miles from Peking, on the frontiers of Honan, Shansi and Shensi, has been the scene of numerous dynastic battles, and is the main gate through which the traffic between East and West China passes. It is as important to the Peking government from a military as from a commercial point of view, for it guards the entrance viâ Ho-nan-fu into the valleys of the Han-ho and the Yang-tze-kiang.

The revolt is said to have first shown itself in this vicinity in 1861 and to have spread Westwards in 1862; Mid-Shensi and Southern Kansuh suffered most at the hands of the rebels, some of whom, being mounted, moved with great rapidity from point to point.

It is 93 miles over a fertile and agricultural country, (when traversed in April an immense wheat field), in the basin of the Hwei-ho to Si-nan-fu, the capital of Shensi, the ancient capital and the most important city of Mid-China, of about one million inhabitants and whence main strategical

and commercial communications radiate in all directions:—*i.e.*, to the capital towns of Szchuen, Kansuh, Shensi, Shansi, Honan, Hupeh, etc. (See January number.)

Encircled by lofty and solid walls with a circuit of some 8 or 10 miles, it is unrivalled for open drains and to add to its many odours there are manufactories of dry earth manure within its walls in close proximity to its fine shops and inns and narrow and crowded thoroughfares: indeed from an olfactory point of view it is a city in which every Chinaman must delight,—so greatly does he love a "manurey" smell.

Si-nan-fu is stated to have been the first city in China in which Muhammadans settled; and at the time of the revolt there were some 50,000 of them in it. It was surrounded by rebel bands for 3 years (1867-1870), and was reduced to great straights; but the insurgents had no cannon, and its walls are solid and lofty. The Muhammadans were kept chiefly to the suburbs of all cities, and it was noticed that the walled towns on the main route were enabled to resist the rebels and indeed blockade must have been their chief means of gaining possession of them, their genius falling short of the power of escalade. There was no unity, moreover, amongst the bands, no ruling mind to organize an assured and lasting success; whilst Chinese blockades are so only in name and their warfare is carried on under principles peculiar to themselves.

The strongest of the rebel towns were surrounded by Forts; and the Regular troops sat down around them; provisions were collected and sold by the Mandarins to the besieged, for it would be impossible for them to carry on any such unpaying business as war without making some profit out of it. The defence is apathetic and this notwithstanding that the defenders know that death waits on their apathy; the victory won, the victors give no quarter and the butchery is wholesale, and expected.

The soldiers and not the insurgents are said to have destroyed and looted most of the villages and to have devastated the country. The population of Kansuh before the rebellion was estimated at 15 millions; now it is one million; nine out of ten Chinamen are supposed to have been killed and two out of three Muhammadans. Rebel bands scoured the country; and amongst the besieged, in secluded villages, cannibalism was very prevalent. No separate Tungan troops existed; they served, with Chinese under the Green banner and formed the bulk of the forces in some districts.

I found Si-nan-fu garrisoned by both Hunan and Manchu soldiers under a Mandarin from Hunan and they may be taken as specimens of the "regular" soldiers garrisoning the cities of the provinces. They practised with lances, banners, battle axes, poles ornamented with red tassels and tridents. These strange weapons best suit their whimsical fancies in their ancient cities distant from all observation of the "foreign devil." They were dressed in gay jackets of red and blue; a few wore yellow garments with black devils painted on them; an awe-inspiring painting of huge size ornamented the barrack entrance to strike terror into the beholder.

In the smaller towns and villages the garrisons consisted of a few miserable, half-starved, badly-clothed and worse-armed, militia called locally Chebing—a force of negative value.

The soldiery is so despised by the people that when there is any serious fighting to be done the boldest volunteers amongst them band together to help themselves. Their very presence is dreaded on these occasions as it results in the innocent and guilty suffering together.

At this point, the Whei valley, 813 ms. from Peking, the traveller begins to feel that he is on the main road to Central Asia and that it would be no difficult matter for the Muhammadan races of Kashgaria and Turkistan to swarm over the Gobi, and, descending along the natural channel of communication through Kansuh and Shensi, to possess themselves of these fine provinces as far as the Sin-ling mountains to the south and the Yellow river to the East;—for it is a fertile route bordered along its northern section by comparative deserts to the East and inhospitable hills to the West, while the Sin-ling mountains are difficult to traverse and the Yellow river a great obstacle to cross. Both these provinces are now poorly populated and invite immigration on a large scale.

From such a position, if disciplined and acting under an energetic leader, it would be difficult to dislodge them.

This impression increases as we advance into Central Asia and as we look back towards Peking and recall to mind the immense difficulties attending transport over the one cart road connecting the Hwei valley with the Capital, and which at times consists of but two deep ruts over the clayey bottom of a deep gully, is 813 miles in length, over hills, undulations and at times an inundated country, engineered without skill or thought of gradient so that only about $\frac{1}{4}$th of the power of transport animals is productive of good effect.

In the rich agricultural country traversed by the main road between the Capital towns of Shensi and Kansuh, i.e. to Lan-chow-fu, a distance of 448 miles, I saw no indication of wealth amongst the inhabitants. For a distance of 70 miles, it is a vast wheatfield interspersed with numerous patches growing the poppy; the undulations then break up into hills, as their general level rises, attaining to elevations of 500 to 1000 ft. over their separating ravines. Before descending into the plentifully watered Pin-chow valley the road imperceptibly reaches a height of 4700 ft.* above the sea level, having gradually risen a height of 3000 ft. in a distance of 73 miles from Si-nan-fu.

On every side were to be seen ruined villages and homesteads. Those in the most cultivated areas and along the main road are still partly in ruins and but poorly occupied. It was apparent that there was no confidence in the continuance of the existing security and this notwithstanding that the richness of the soil is such that it wants little manure and suffers little from neglect.

The Chinese immigrate more freely into our Eastern possessions than into their own rich province of Kansuh.

The once populated state of the country is shown by the numerous caves cut in the löess cliffs. These constitute lasting dwellings of very equable temperature, and are deep, arranged in tiers and reached by ladders or steps cut in the stiff and tenacious soil. None are now occupied and the

* Elevations given are uncorrected for temperature, geographical position, etc.

villagers living in the few reoccupied huts in the ruined villages are poorly clad and look badly off. They take to opium smoking as a solace and are much addicted to it and tobacco, giving both to their children.

Besides the cart road traversed there are no others radiating from it suited for wheels; all others are pack-animal tracks and these are rare, it being very difficult to find natural passages over these löess hills on account of the manner in which they are intersected by numerous and deep ravines with perpendicular sides.

It will be noticed that this peculiar formation extends without intermission from Ping-Yang-fu already referred to at the Eastern foot of the Shansi hills.

In the vicinity of Pin-liang-hsien, 198 miles from Si-nan-fu, Muhammadans begin to be numerous, there being 5000 families about this town; they are still more numerous as Kausuh is entered, this being the province to which in the early centuries (6th to 9th) families of Uighur Turks were deported from Chinese Turkestan; one deportation alone is said to have numbered 800,000 families. The present limits of Kansuh correspond approximately with the ancient kingdom of Tangut, destroyed by Chenghis Khan, in the 13th century. Trees and shrubs are remarkably few, in the district traversed and they do not grow to any size.

The ascent is practically gradual to the water-parting beyond Hwa-ting-hsien, which is crossed at an elevation of about 9000 ft. The view from it is picturesque, nothing but apparently barren hills being seen with an east and west trend; to the front, a series of ridges meet the eye, rising the one above the other; the valleys are fertile; and away from the towns there are to be found in them a fair sprinkling of Muhammadan families.

Beyond Lung-to-hsien, 210 miles from Si-nan-fu, the hills are more intricate and out of cultivation, and about Kho-ja-pu, a further distance of 45 miles, the hill terraces ceased to be cultivated for want of cultivators only. Thence to Hui-ning-hsien, the country is hilly, with narrow and shallow valleys, watered by streams flowing in deep gullies, generally uncultivated only because depopulated, for agriculture is possible at the highest altitudes that the löess attains.

In Tai-ping-dien, elevated 6,500, 67 miles from Lung-to-hsien, there were said to be 500 Muhammadan families and from 5,000 to 6,000 around about; all the villages and farmsteads for miles and miles in all directions were in ruins and the huge culturable hills for the most part deserted.

About Shi-gun-i, elevated 5,900 ft., a further distance of 40 miles, a number of treeless, flat valleys are traversed, varying from half a mile to a mile broad, bordered by treeless löess hills, more or less steep and rising 1,000 to 1,500 ft. over their valleys and communicating with each other by similar or narrower valleys or ravines.

They are watered by streams of insignificant size, flowing in deep-cut beds with perpendicular sides, into which open numerous similar tributary ravines, cutting up the valleys, and making movement difficult except under the border-hills. The streams when in flood are difficult to ford and their passage then is dangerous, accidents to life and property being of yearly occurrence. Some of the hill-sides are artificially terraced, others

not; but all are now out of cultivation. This, the most difficult part of this section of the road to traverse, extends for about 100 miles.

An-ting-hsien, at the junction of three valleys, is one of the granaries of Lan-chow-fu and more life was seen in this valley than in any of the others. Many of its ruined villages were reoccupied more fully than hitherto; it also contains fewer walled and defensive enclosures than ordinarily met with,—thus pointing to a feeling of greater security resulting probably from its proximity to the capital of Kansuh, Lan-chow-fu, distant 78 miles. Broad valleys such as these are, however, rare and are reached by crossing hills separated by the narrow and intersected ravines described above. From the ridge of one hill one sees, beyond the immediate valley below, nothing but waves of hills rising one over the other. This is a peculiarity of the löess country and due to the naturally terraced formation of the hills.

Coal is plentiful along the whole route. No iron is manufactured, but doubtless the ore is to be found in the hills, for the carboniferous formation underlies the löess and that in use comes from Han-kow. Wheat, maize, millets are plentifully grown as well as the poppy, hemp, medicines and tobacco; 50 to 100 cart loads of the latter were met daily travelling southwards.

Speaking generally the country is not unfavourable to the construction of a railway from Si-nan-fu to Lan-chow-fu, and for the greater part of the distance it is easy.

The high-road through Kansuh in its improved condition is the work of Viceroy Tzo and his soldiers and is one of the results of the rebellion. On the flat it is occasionally 100 ft. wide and lined with trees on either side; but here, as elsewhere in China, there is no uniformity, for it is frequently a narrow gully in the löess along which a single cart can with difficulty pass and many of the gradients are just surmountable when all dismount and aid the willing mules.

On the 12th day from Si-nan-fu, Lan-chow-fu, distant from it 448 miles, elevated 5,500 ft., and situated on the banks of the Yellow river, was reached. The river here flows with a rapid current and is crossed by a bridge of boats 250 ft. long. The winter climate is so severe that it is ice-bound from December to February and can be then crossed by carts anywhere in the vicinity; at other seasons it is a most formidable obstacle to movements.

The city, which is said to contain 40,000 houses, is surrounded by solid and lofty walls. Several cart roads radiate from it,—to Si-ning 9 days; a Muhammadan centre on the trade route to Thibet and a fertile district producing, it is said, gold;—to Ning-sha, ditto, ditto, and thence on to Peking. This city, Ning-sha, was held by the rebels and devastated. These roads and the great Central Asian route traversed, and the numerous pack-animal tracks to all points, mark it as an important centre; and it was so deemed by Tzo, the re-conqueror of Kansuh, for he made it his principal base of operations and established here a so-called arsenal for the manufacture of war *matériel* and a woollen factory to supply his soldiery with warm clothing. Both were inoperative; both were bricked up and the machinery left uncared for; China was at peace; and in peace her

armies looked after themselves. The rebels never attacked Lan-chow-fu. They camped on the hills overlooking it; but a few of the inhabitants, bolder than the miserable local militia, sallied forth, surprised them in the early morning and by their shouts alone caused a panic and flight. In China it is always brag and noise and "make believe" that gain the day.

That Lan-chow-fu did not fall is the more strange because the most fanatic, if they can be called fanatic at all, of the Muhammadans, the Salar Turks,—a Turki speaking people separated from their kindred,—are found in numbers about the head waters of the Huang-ho, and Ho-chow is the chief religious centre of the Dungans:—Muhammadan Mongols are also found in this neighbourhood.

In 16 days from Lan-chow-fu, Su-chow, a distance of 482 miles, was reached; beyond the Huang-ho the character of the country changes and the hard track leads through a series of valleys and over the low necks separating them, to the hilly country bordering the Ping-fan valley. Löess gradually gives way to clay, in which the predominant colours are red and brown. All the bottoms are well cultivated but water is scarce and collected for drinking purposes. The Ping-fan valley, which is bordered by hills of clay, barren, coloured as above, and intricate in formation, is thickly populated and is planted with trees, a rarity in Kansuh. Thence the road continues up the valley, out of cultivation but still affording good sheep-grazing; and at its head crosses the Chen-chiang river and ascends over the Nan-shan range which is crossed by the Wu-so-ling pass (called On-son-linn by Piassetsky), at about an elevation of 10,000 ft. The road descends by a long gradual descent, winding amongst grassy valleys in the midst of the mountains in which lie nestled several villages of size.

From Long-ke-o-pu, elevation 7,850 ft., distant 123 miles, the narrow road, often a mere ledge, traverses gullies and ravines bordered by steep and lofty hills, along the summit and slopes of which the Great Wall, here but an insignificant one, undulates.

Ku-lang-hsien, 15 miles, is a town occupying a position of strategical importance at the head of the gorge from the fertile Ping-fan valley and at the southern extremity of a plain of size, now to be traversed,—the Lian-Gobi, extending to the Tian-shan and Nan-shan ranges. This plain is, in places, very fertile, in others barren,—the former (leaving the Gobi desert out of consideration) predominating. It is a plain, well watered and of great extent and possibilities and covered with ruined villages only as yet in part re-occupied. Here again the soil is the fertile löess; ruined farmsteads are also numerous and each has attached to it a low mud tower, apparently for purposes of defence.

Liang-chow, distant from Lan-chow-fu 178 miles and elevated about 5,100 ft., a walled town with a fair trade and some 30,000 inhabitants, lies in the midst of the plain. It is a centre of communications, with a garrison of 50 Regulars and 1,800 Militia.

By direct road, Tai-yaen-fu can be reached in 26 days; the direct cart road to Peking goes *viâ* Kwei-hua-cheng and Sinhwa; and there are other caravan routes for camels. Generally speaking these roads eastwards are over an immense prairie occupied by Mongols who were much harassed

both during the revolt by the rebels and later by the passage through the country of the troops engaged in suppressing them. Ruinously heavy contributions were levied from the nomads both in money and kind.

A cart road leads to Si-ning-fu, already noted as a centre of Muhammadans during the revolt; as also was Ta-tung-fu. They did not gain possession of Liang-chow or of Kan-chow, the next great town on the onward route; but Su-chow fell to their arms and leaving the main road behind them they devastated Shensi, including Ordos and the country as far East as the Huang-ho, cutting off all communication from Peking, so that to reach Kashgaria the post was for some time despatched *viâ* Uliassatai and Urga.

From Liang-chow the cultivated plain is crossed, here bordered to the eastward by low hills; but the view to the south and west stretches away to the snow-clad Nan-shan range, steep and irregular in outline, but giving access by camel tracks to Koko-nor, which lies just beyond it.

To the westward, Mongols of the Shara-Ugarah and Hara Ugarah are met with. As heretofore, defensible farmsteads, with loopholed walls and within a regular labyrinth of courts and passages, form the chief feature of the landscape; and as we journey onwards the plain contracts in width and in parts becomes stony and barren. The "Great Wall," here a low wall of mud, is skirted; and, ascending, the road rises to an elevation of 8,400 ft. before descending through a narrow gorge in the hills, to again traverse an extensive culturable plain, with a clayey soil, well covered with verdure in places, and in others well cultivated. The greater part lay fallow and ruined villages abounded.

Crossing this undulating and occasionally hilly plain, I found the air dry in the month of May and the sun hot,—so dry was it that both my saddles split straight across the seat, and this with an early morning temperature of 72° in the shade.

Kan-chow, a large walled city of 20,000 inhabitants, with a fair trade, and elevated 5,300 ft., distant from Lan-chow 343 miles, lies in a well-watered oasis and is the Head Quarters of some 4,500 local Militia. The architecture of the town is poor and a great falling off from what has hitherto been met with and where the Chinese standard of the beautiful has been fairly well maintained. Here the houses have mud roofs; the shops are low with verandahs supported by wooden pillars,—a style of building indicating a nearness to Kashgaria and its still ruder architecture.

Kan-chow opium is noted for its excellence and costs 190 cash the tael. Governor Tzo restricted the cultivation of the poppy in Kansuh and the present Governor ostensibly allows only three-tenths of the soil to be under its growth; it is said however that the order is so acted upon in some districts that seven-tenths are under poppy and the remainder under grain.

It was here that my Chinese interpreter delivered himself of the following pertinent remarks:

"Chefu side, women do sew-sew pidgin and chow-chow pidgin; Kansuh, women do field pidgin and men smoke opium; that fashion this side; Chinaman all talkee so fashion, Chinaman smoke opium, no proper man."

with which I thoroughly agreed.

The consciences of our Indian administrators need not be disturbed by considerations of the effect that Indian opium may have on the Chinese people; for it is far too expensive to compete with that locally grown and is a luxury to be classed with our high priced brands of clarets, champagnes and ports. I did not meet with it in Shensi and Kansuh. After the Indian drug the relative excellence of that locally produced stands thus :— Kansuh, Shansi, Shensi, Szchwan. The cost of the tael weight was taken at the various towns I passed through and was in Si-nan-fu :

Szchwan 200 cash,
Shensi 220 ,,
Kansuh 290 ,,

Coal is plentiful throughout the route and cheap, and fruit grows luxuriously; the grapes are excellent and make good red wine. The rebels destroyed the fruit trees along the main line but from the villages off it, apples, peaches, apricots, pears and melons are brought in, each in due season.

A great deal of the traffic down this main natural avenue of communication traversed from Lan-chow-fu is that of camels and it avoids the main road and keeps to the prairie tracks beyond the range of hills to the East and West of it: scarcely a camel was seen on the cart road. Muhammadans are not numerous in the district and they are not oppressed; but justice is unknown in China. They are not trusted and to the N. of Lan-chow-fu are said not to be admitted into the army. Cotton grows well in the vicinity but the villagers looked impoverished and were badly clad.

The rivers crossed beyond Kan-chow often stop traffic for many days, for given a hot sun and a little rain in the hills and a flood ensues. That this must be so is evident, for the Nan-shan range rises like a wall from the plains and there is no large river system to carry off the water resulting from the melting of the snows.

For 80 miles from Kan-chow, the belt of country traversed is well, and in parts, richly cultivated. It then becomes more or less barren or affords grazing only and is a prairie of some extent to the basin of Lin-shin, 40 miles, which stretches to within 30 miles east of Su-chow, a town of importance 10,000 inhabitants and 200 shops. As the desert is neared so does morality deteriorate. Opium here is largely grown. It is of excellent quality, costs only 180 cash the tael, and is, in consequence, consumed by men, women and children. Children are bought and sold. The Mandarins are given to vile practices, and often have many wives but few children :—the five Taotais, who have in succession held office here, have, I was told, not had five children between them. The women are morally much better than the men.

The narrow strip of cultivation, the neck of Kansuh, that I traversed and have just described, is alone occupied by the Chinese who are inimical to and do not intermingle with the races on either side of them,— Mongols and nomad Tibetans, called by them "Shi Fanza," etc., to the westward and Mongols to the eastward. The Chinese despise these as

barbarians and they hate them in return as encroachers upon their lands and extortioners. This neck, the strip of land between the Kwen-lun mountains and the elevated desert, from Kia-yu-Kwan to Lan-chow-fu, often but a few miles wide, is the key of Central Asia to the Chinese. By them its importance is so well appreciated that it has been ever pertinaciously defended: it is the wedge of power driven by China into Central Asia to keep her enemies apart,—to dissociate from union the Mongols, Tibetans, the border tribes of Koko-nor, etc., the Kashgarians, etc., and to overawe them. She knows moreover that her vital nerve-centre, the Whei valley, so necessary to her integrity as an Empire, can be reached by it as well as from the sea-board.

It is to be borne in mind that as recently as the eighteenth century a great part of Russian Turkestan, Kokand, Tashkend, Andijan, etc.,—belonged to China and the Western Mussulmans may, if the opportunity be allowed them, become a thorn in her side—aye, a cancer in her breast,—and an important factor in the settlement of Chinese problems.

The Russians are forcing their trade with Mid-China *viâ* Lan-chow-fu and had opened shops which were manned by themselves. To regulate this traffic which comes from Hami, Kobdo, Uliassatai, etc., the Chinese have stationed at Su-chow a European Customs' agent, with very excellent results. The British traveller naturally asks himself why British traders should be less enterprising than Russians?

The country is more or less barren to Kia-yu-Kwan, a walled town, standing in a river bed, on a slight elevation, amidst well irrigated cultivation. The town (said to be now in the hands of the Dungans) is celebrated as one of the great gates of China and is considered to be the fortress guarding the extreme N.W. entrance into the Empire; the Great Wall circles round the town and crosses the neck, ending at the Si-ho, 10 miles distant. Passing beyond this monument of Chinese industry, a generally barren plain, elevation 6,000 ft., is crossed, with patches of cultivation and grazing here and there and with walled farmsteads occupying the place of the ruined villages which lie scattered about; walled and partially re-occupied villages occur in the oases met with at intervals.

At Ngan-si-chow, 178 miles from Su-chow, the Gobi Desert is reached. Across the desert to Hami it is 240 miles. Ngan-si-chow is a walled town of 1,000 yds. wide with walls so out of repair and banked up by sand that it is possible to walk over them.

One can see that opium is largely smoked here by the appearance of the men and they acknowledge it; it costs 180 cash the tael. A carpenter, who looked like a death's head, said that he smoked 120 cash worth of it a day.

The inns at various towns passed through were full of soldiery returning to China. None march and all ride in carts, so reliefs in China are expensive. I suffered nothing at their hands and the only inconvenience I found from their presence was a dearth of eggs. Below Lan-chow-fu, they loaded their carts heavily with tobacco as a commercial venture. They receive 3 taels a month for food and I heard no complaints of excesses being committed by them. I may add that I travelled in Chinese

blouse and leggings, with huge blue spectacles and travelling hood; the blouse, etc., hid my breeches and boots, the tightness of which amaze and amuse the Chinaman and I verily believe shook his modesty.

The peasantry appear to believe in the "evil eye" and blue eyes are so rarely seen by them that they will run miles to catch a glimpse of them and to see the "devil," believed to lurk within them. To gain their object they will pull the roof off from over your head.

It was once my ill fortune to enter, without hood and spectacles, a small village on a fair day, and to come suddenly upon an open air theatrical booth during a performance. The actors ceased to act; the benches were emptied; the traffic of the fair ceased; and all crushed into the yard of the inn wherein I meant to pass the night. Knowing how hopeless it would be to find shelter there I passed on to another with a like result. There was nothing for it but to journey on to the next village, so ordering the carts to proceed at a trot, my Indian companion and I, stirrup to stirrup, turned and, in all good humour, charged down the main street to create a diversion and so open the way for them. Over went booths and benches and fruits and cakes strewed the road. Turning, we re-charged out of the village gateway and cantering on regained the carts now clear of the village and out of the reach of the inquisitive mob.

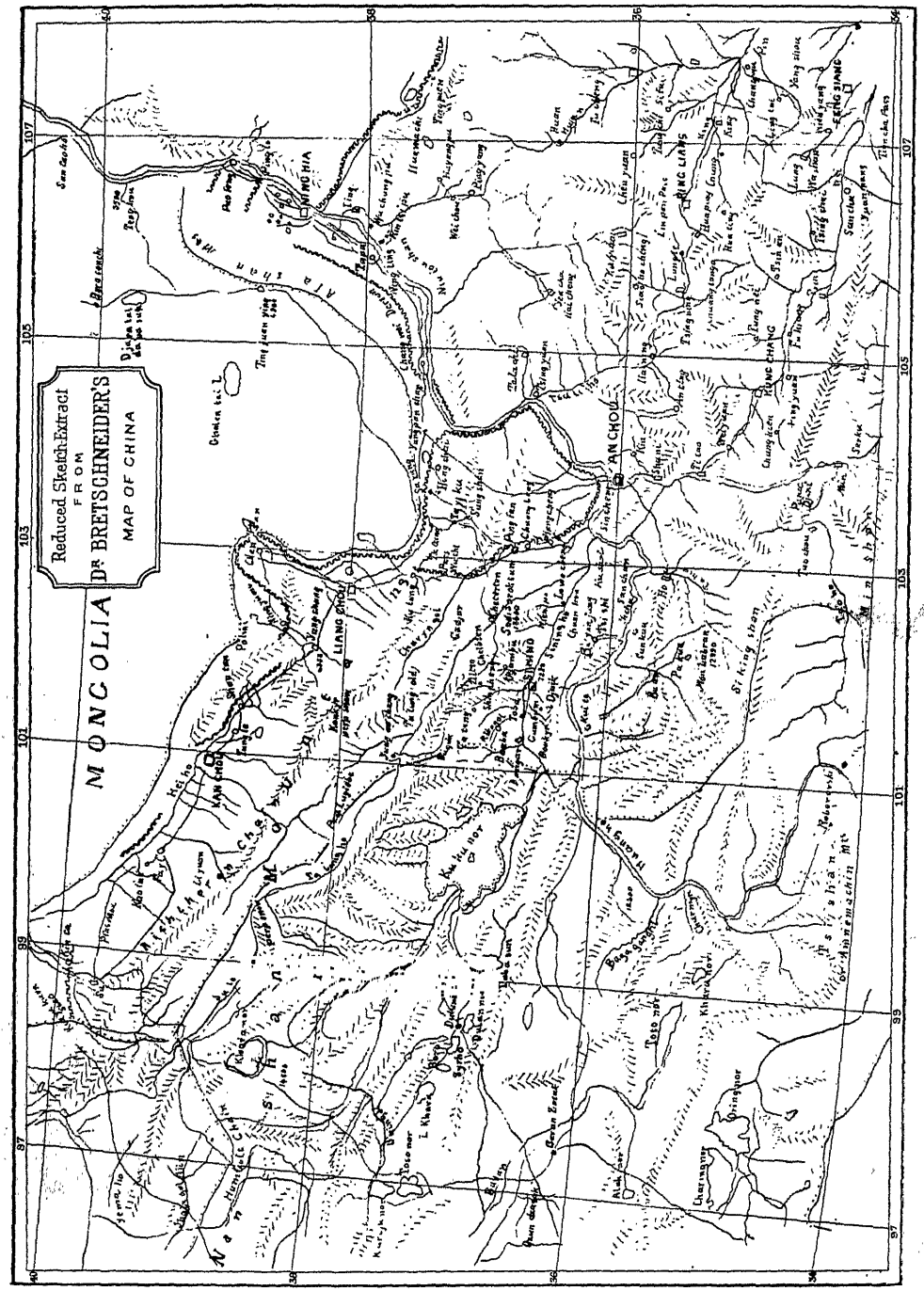
To continue an account of my journey through Kashgaria and to give details of the rebellion there and how it was suppressed are beyond the scope of this paper; suffice it to say that, with due preparation, troops find no difficulty in crossing the desert by detachments.

THE LATEST NEWS REGARDING THE MUSSULMAN RISING IN CHINA.

In view of the recent crushing defeat reported by telegraph as having been sustained by General Tung, it may be well to give a sketch of the exact history of this serious rebellion. (All the places mentioned in the account which follows are given in Dr. Bretschneider's admirable map of China, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue and from which we can only now give a sketch-extract of the territory under revolt.)

The rebellion broke out in June last, doubtless largely in consequence of the utter collapse of China at Shimonoseki, the news of which would take two or three months to reach *Kokonor*. The area covered by the rebellious Mussulmans, or "Dungans," may be described as the line of the *Hoang-ho* or Yellow River bounded by the River *Si-ning* to the north and the River *T'ao* to the east. The names of the leaders have all a Mahomedan ring; Ma Yung-lin and his son; Han Wên-siu (the name Wên-siu absolutely identical in its Chinese form with the name of the celebrated Panthay Sultan, whose son now lives under British protection in Rangoon); and Ma Shi-jun (Ma, in imitation of Ma-homet, is the Mussulman family name *par excellence*). Over 6,000 defenceless Chinese were butchered in the neighbourhood of *Ti-tao* city (on the River *T'ao*), and over 10,000 in the neighbourhood of *Si-ning* (east of *Kokonor*). Positive reports reached

Reduced Sketch-Extract from Dr. Bretschneider's Map of China.



Peking that the provincial metropolis of *Lan-chou* had fallen, and that the old Viceroy Yang had fought his way out and effected a junction with General Lei, who was in command of 8,000 men somewhere to the north of *Lan-chou;* but this news was afterwards contradicted. In addition to these semi-organized Mussulman forces, about 10,000 mounted bandits, under one Li Ta-ch'u, had cut all the telegraph wires, and plundered the tract of country lying to the south of Shen Si province. The people of *Si-ning* showed a disposition to side with the Mussulmans, and General Tung of *Kashgar* (his titular post), who held a strong position at *An-ting*, 100 miles south-east of *Lan-chou*, was unable to move on account of heavy rains: moreover his troops were said to be deserting to the enemy. This dismal news left the area of revolt early in September by special courier, and travelled to Peking at the rate of 160 miles a day.

The Emperor at once ordered General Tung to prepare for an advance, and directed the Governors of *Shen Si*, *Shan Si*, *Shan Tung*, and *Ho Nan* to forward reinforcements to him with all speed. Meanwhile the rebels spread north, along the line of the Great Wall, to *P'ing-fan* and *Ku-lang*. General Liu (in charge of Liang-chou) at once took to flight in true Chinese military style; whilst General T'ang, after a disgraceful defeat at *Ho Chou* (on the River *Tahia*), fled south to *Min Chou* (on the River *T'ao*). There were reports that *Suh Chou* (on the *Etsingol* River) and the *Kia-yü Pass* (where a branch of the Russian trade goes on) had also fallen: [probably these reports are true, but nothing has been heard of any place west of *Si-ning*, except *Topa*, and very probably Tung's recent defeat is connected with the *Suh Chou* region]. The above information is all fairly authoritative. Reports of less value made out that the whole line of communication with the west, including all the chief cities in *Kan Suh* province, from the *Kia-yü* Pass to the borders of *Shen Si*, was in rebel hands; that General Tung had been already once seriously defeated, and that he had lost 30 guns. The following facts announced in the native Chinese newspapers point to the probability of there being some truth in all this. General Chang with 20 "camps" of men had been ordered to Kan Suh from *Tientsin*, and General T'ang, who had been "watching" the Japanese at *Kin Chow*, had been directed to proceed by steamer with 7 "camps" westwards,—presumably to *Hankow*, and thence up the *Han* River to *Kan Suh*. The prefect of *Han-chung Fu* (on the Han River) was unable to get through to his post. Several bodies of Hu Nan troops had been detached by the Imperial Commissioner Liu, who had also been "watching" the Japanese, to proceed to the scene of the revolt; and several hundred "large guns" were ordered to be got ready at *Taku* and *Tientsin*. These reinforcements were expected to arrive at *An-ting* by the middle of November.

About that date an official report from the Viceroy at *Lan-chou* reached Peking, stating that the territories of *Si-ning*, *Siin-hwa*, *Ho Chou*, *Ta-t'ung*, *Nien-po*, *Ti-tao Chou*, and *Payenjung* had all been ravaged. He had already in the month of July asked for sanction to spend £250,000 upon relief distribution, and now wanted much more. A clean sweep had been made of crops, trees, cottages, and cattle: there were over 300,000 destitute Chinese to be provided for, and winter was coming on apace.

A more cheerful state of affairs began to dawn when General Tung found himself at last enabled to make a move from *An-ting* (on the *Tsu-li* River), from which town he started early in November. The chief rebel position was then on the west bank of the *T'ao*. Tung crossed this river on the 13th November, fought (according to his own account) a number of valorous battles during a period of a fortnight, captured and executed Ma Shi-jun, occupied *Ti-tao*, and on the 4th of December raised the siege of *Ho Chou*, or drove the rebels out of it—it is not clear which. As "joyful telegrams" to this effect were received direct by high officials at *Soochow* and *Kewkiang*, and as these officials specially directed them to be sent to the native press at Shanghai, it is probably safe to say that General Tung at least kept his face turned towards the enemy.

Shortly afterwards the Viceroy himself telegraphed to Peking that *Si-ning* had been relieved, and that Ma Yung-liu had been executed together with his son. On the 17th of February, however, a decree of the Emperor distinctly avowed that, despite numerous victories in the *Si-ning* region (gained by Tung's Lieutenant-General Ho), the country around was by all accounts swarming with marauders. Miao Ya-ku (evidently Yakoob) and Ma La-hing (certainly no Chinese name) had been killed.

A few weeks later, news arrived that Han Wên-siu had been taken prisoner, and that 180 other rebel "officers" had been decapitated. The fact of Han being thought worthy of imprisoning points to his being a "big man," evidently reserved for gloating over at Peking. Governor Wei Kwang-t'ao seems to have had the credit for achieving this: he was marching steadily when last heard of upon the disturbed region to the north-west of *Si-ning*, and his immediate objective was the town of *Topa*.

On the 1st of March Wei and Tung between them fought a great battle. The Emperor, having instructed General Tung to see that the destitute population of Ti-tao were provided with quarters, hinted in his reply that this duty belonged rather to the civilians; that the country was hardly in a fit condition yet to settle colonists unprotected by a military force, but that he would do his best. He evidently felt that the Emperor was a trifle "previous."

The above is a summary of the news from China up to the date of the telegram received on the 3rd of June announcing a crushing defeat sustained by General Tung. It is the interest of Chinese generals to keep these rebellions open as long as possible. If it is true that Liu K'un-yi has been sent to the scene—the same man who "watched" the Japanese so persistently—he is at any rate one of China's few honest men; and though his military policy is always of a Fabian kind, he will certainly put an end to "squeezing" if he can.

P.S.—The very latest news is that General Lei is retired, and that General Têng replaces him as titular General-in-Chief for Shen Si.

INDIA AND AFRICA.*

By Captain Frank E. Younghusband, C.I.E.

The question of the relation between India and Africa and of the use to which the one may be turned for the advantage of the other is so large that I feel that a word of apology is needed from me for presuming to enter upon it with the scanty experience and knowledge I possess. I may say therefore that I should never of my own accord have had the assurance to write this paper, but when I was deliberately asked to perform the task, I could not resist the temptation of expressing my views on a question, which, though my knowledge of it, may be scanty, is yet one in which I have for some years taken an interest that I feel ought to be shared by all Englishmen.

At the close of the nineteenth century Great Britain has well nigh accomplished the task left her in Asia by the last century. She has now virtually divided Asia with Russia and China. A few outlying countries of comparatively small importance still stand alone. But she has gradually spread her influence over the whole of the great Indian Peninsula, and to the borders of the Russian and Chinese Empires her control is now complete. A similar task the coming century will find for Great Britain in Africa and it is in favour of employing for that work the same general principle upon which we have so successfully worked in India that I have written this paper.

Those who have been employed upon the Indian frontier in the extension and consolidation of our influence over semi-independent states know that the most efficient mode of carrying out this object is by employing one state for development of the next state beyond. I was not present in the late successful campaign against Hunza, but I was

* For the discussion of this paper, see Proceedings of the "East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

in political charge of that interesting little state a few months later and what we officers were then engaged in was melting down the old matchlocks of the people into picks and hoes and ploughshares, and in training the best of the men in the use of breech-loading rifles so that the state, while reaping for itself a benefit from our connection with it, might also be able to serve us in case of need. And this it was in fact soon able to do, for not a year had passed since we were fighting these wild freebooters of Hunza before we had necessity to call upon them to help us in restoring order in Chitral, next door; and on both this occasion and again last year when Colonel Kelly took with him a contingent of these hardy mountain levies to assist him in the relief of Chitral they rendered us invaluable service, and contributed in no small degree to the final pacification of the frontier. Similarly on this same frontier we have during the last year since our fight with the tribes on the way to Chitral been making use of these very tribesmen to develop the trade with Chitral and bring out the latent resources of the country.

These are small, but striking, examples taken from events going on under our very eyes of a principle upon which we have acted all through our history in India. Since the trading posts of the old East India Company were first compelled to interfere in the affairs of the Native States, we have gone on rolling up one upon another, first subduing one state and then making use of it to aid us in controlling the next. And now is not the time come when we must recognise that this is the principle that should guide us in operations on a still larger field than that of India? May we not apply it to our world-wide Empire as a whole? May we not make use of our possessions in one continent for the development of the portion which we possess of another? Should we not now clearly understand that for the mutual benefit of both continents we must make use of India for the development of Africa?

This, indeed, we have already begun to do in small ways

here and there, and Sir Henry Johnston in Nyassaland has imported both soldiers and artisans from India for the development of the country which he so successfully administers. But the general principle has scarcely yet been grasped by the public mind in England, and much detailed information is still required before the precise lines upon which it may be applied can be laid down. I propose therefore to show connections which already exist between India and Africa and to put forth for consideration suggestions as to the future development and strengthening of those connections.

It has not yet been my good fortune to visit Central Africa, though I hope to do so before very long, but I have recently returned from a visit to South Africa and, even at Krugersdorp, I found from thirty to forty natives of India, and in Cape Colony, and especially in Natal, I saw numbers of Indian traders and settlers, so that I was able to feel that a tangible connection between India and Africa actually existed. And, further than this, I noted that there were more natives of India trading and settled in South Africa than I had seen during my travels in Central Asia; that there was a greater connection between India and Africa than there was between India and Central Asia. And this may be easily understood if the physical conditions are taken into consideration. At first glance it appears that Central Asia is far more accessible from India than is Africa. Central Asia is just next door, while Africa is many thousands of miles distant. But to get to Central Asia from India the trader has to traverse hundreds of miles of mountain and desert, while to reach Africa he has merely to embark on board a steamer, sit still for a fortnight or so, and he is in Africa. Similarly in China, I remarked that the Chinese from the over-populated coast-provinces did not drift away towards Manchuria, magnificently rich in its natural resources and part of their own empire though it is. But they stepped on board a steamer and sailed away to America, Australia or the Straits

Settlements. In these cases, the ocean connects countries far more effectually than the land connects them ; and in our view of the world we have to get rid of the idea of distances as represented on the map and in our minds place Africa degrees nearer India than we see Turkestan.

This is the first point we have to grasp in the study of the connection between India and Africa and when we remember that the command of the sea is ours and that the carrying trade is practically in our hands it is clear that we have the means at our disposal for very largely developing the connection should we ever wish to do so.

And now with the fact before us that India is very largely connected with Africa, that it is easily accessible to Africa, that numbers of traders, agricultural settlers etc. come over to Africa from India and find profit from so doing and further bearing in mind the help which Indian troops have given to England in the establishment and maintenance of her supremacy in Africa for a century past from the time of Baird to the days of Kassasin, McNeil's Zariba down to the present year; and recalling too the aid which cheap Native Indian officials have given to the administration of such departments as the Post Office at Zanzibar we want to know if India can continue to afford this assistance in the development; whether there will still be work for Indians to accomplish in Africa, and whether if there is room for the employment of yet larger numbers of Indians those Indians will be forthcoming.

One of the most apparent results of our rule in India has been that by the stoppage of incessant inter-racial warfare, by the establishment of law and order, and by the enforcement of sanitary principles in the thickly populated towns, the population of the country has increased at a rate which has been calculated at fourfold in the last century and India is now increasing the number of its inhabitants at the rate of thirty millions in every decade. Ten years hence there will be 30,000,000 more people in India than there are now and in another quarter of a century eighty

millions more. There is still room for many millions of these in the sparsely populated tracts of Central India and Burma where population is badly needed. India has therefore no present urgent necessity to look to Africa for a ground on which to pour out her increasing millions. But the time must obviously come when India will no longer be capable of supporting the overwhelming numbers; and it is at any rate clear that if she can afford to send traders, settlers, petty officials to Africa now, she can continue to do so and in increasing numbers in the future. She may or may not be able to afford the despatch of soldiers or to view with equanimity an emigration from India of her warlike races. But there seems to be no reason to anticipate that the present flow of ordinary settlers towards Africa will not continue and year by year increase, if employment for them in Africa is forthcoming.

Is this likely to be the case? As far as we are able to see at present, it is. Central Africa, even though it has certain uplands with a healthy climate, can never be adequately populated by whites. The healthy highlands are isolated tracts of comparatively small dimensions and surrounded by millions of blacks. Coloured labour would be so cheap there that no white could afford to compete with it. Even in the splendid climate of the Transvaal, it is practically impossible to get white men to do manual labour for which blacks are also available. Certainly in any kind of field or plantation work in Central Africa they would never take part, and the most we can look forward to is the settlement of a small white population as merchants, managers, overseers and government officials. But while Central Africa is unsuited for white settlement on any scale, it is probably as adapted for colonization by the races of India as America has been to the English races. The main governing factor—the climate—is practically the same in Africa as in India and the Indian settler can work in Africa as he did in India. The only checks therefore to the influx of Indians need be the extent of land available

on which to work and the competition of the native races already settled thereon.

Now the report of all travellers is that Central Africa is sparsely populated; that there are vast tracts of fertile land only needing population and that for the native of India sufficient employment may always be found in the working of sugar-cane, tea, coffee and cotton plantations if not in wheat fields also. There is room for the Indian as well as the African and the Indian being the more industrious and not being averse to working alongside the African we may anticipate that some good may be done by the example which the former will give.

This is what our most reliable information shows; that in Africa there is land needing population and in India there will be every year a larger population needing land. And the problem we have now before us is how best to apply to Africa the principle which has been referred to at the commencement of the paper of making use of the one country for the development of the other with the maximum of benefit to each and with service at the same time to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

One of the most obvious ways in which India can help in the development of Africa is by the loan of troops and by encouraging the emigration of the warlike races to Africa to serve wars of conquest or defence. But this, though the most obvious, is probably the most objectionable mode by which India could help Africa and it is to be hoped may be the least necessary. India is threatened by two Great European Powers, the one on the north and the other on the south. She cannot be considered to be altogether free from the risks of internal dissensions. Her reserves of military strength are not altogether inexhaustible and she can in fact ill afford to allow of its being too freely drained away. Those who are responsible for the preservation of our Indian Empire would probably therefore rather prefer to see Indian troops only employed on the initial stage of conquest and would hope that after that stage was

passed the material on the spot would be made use of for purposes of defence. It may be necessary to always maintain a small nucleus of native Indian troops, just as a body of Sikhs is maintained in Nyassaland. But no people know better than the English how to turn seemingly useless material into efficient troops. A few years ago the Egyptian troops were utterly despised. Less promising material for the formation of a useful army could, it was supposed, scarcely be found. Yet a week or two ago these same men, after a few years of training and discipline by British Officers are able to inflict a crushing defeat upon a formerly successful enemy and give evidence of the highest efficiency. What British Officers have done for Egyptians, they are in every way capable of doing for other peoples of Africa and it is in no way going beyond the bounds of reasonable speculation to imagine that Africa may be able to make some return for the services India has rendered the Empire by furnishing troops for the development of Africa and that just as newly trained battalions and regiments of the Punjab helped us to quell the mutiny in the Bengal Army in 1857, so Africa may on some future time of trial help to preserve India to us.

But it is not only, and as I think not chiefly, in the military way that India may help Africa. It is in the way of industry, commerce, agriculture and administration that even more valuable help may be given. The natives of Africa are of almost the lowest type of barbarism. Some tribes are more advanced than others and in Uganda they are said to have some rudimentary notions of civilization. But the African races are very distinctly below the races of India and it may be generations yet before we are able to employ natives of Africa in the way we employ thousands of natives of India. As coolies, petty contractors, junior engineers and in other similar capacities in the construction of railways in Central Africa for its due development; as booking clerks, station-masters, signalmen, engine drivers etc. on the completions of such railways; as accountants

and clerks in the Post offices, telegraph offices and other Government offices; as petty magistrates and in small administrative posts such as they are accustomed to hold in India and in many other ways it is possible to employ the natives of India for the administration of the country and by employing them carry on the Government far more cheaply than could be done if it were necessary to employ Europeans. Again natives of India as they have done at Zanzibar will establish large commercial houses in Central Africa; they will penetrate as pedlars to every village, as the country under British administration becomes more and more settled; they will establish small trades everywhere—as tailors, bootmakers, iron smiths etc. and lastly as agriculturists they will by their industry and more advanced methods, by, for instance, the introduction of the small irrigation systems in which they are so expert, aid most materially in the development of the country.

There is no need to directly encourage natives of India to emigrate to those parts of the continent of Africa which are suitable for settlement by whites. They are not welcomed there by the whites who look upon them as likely to deprive them of many of the benefits which they now enjoy and, as British subjects to claim, in self-governing colonies, like Natal, equal rights to government with the English. But in Tropical Africa there is evidently a wide field of employment for natives of India, and, as they settle there, we may expect to see the same improvement which the Arabs with all their faults have undoubtedly effected upon the natives of Africa, with whom they have been brought in contact, as those natives are brought in contact with the natives of India. We may hope to see new wants created, a higher standard of living set up and, at least, the material, if not also the moral, progress of the people commence. It is as yet impossible to say whether gold or silver in paying quantities exist in tropical Africa; whether a Johannesburg or a Kimberley will ever be established there. A decade ago the Transvaal showed as few signs of

its present prosperity as Uganda now does. It may chance therefore that in the vast tracts of Tropical Africa gold may be found to rapidly attract people and money to the country and so, at a stroke, assure its prosperity. But, whether gold is found or not, the great tracts of countries, over which we have asserted our influence, have to be developed. We have set our hand to the plough and cannot now look back, and even if it is by the long process of agricultural development we may surely hope that with the aid of India Tropical Africa will so increase in prosperity as to amply repay us the labour we shall have spent upon it. By having India to resort to and by the experience we have gained during the last century and a half in the development of India, we start with advantages which no other European nation possesses, and, if these advantages prove as great as they appear, we may look forward with confidence to seeing a market for our manufactures of yearly increasing importance grow up in Central Africa; to seeing a population increasing rapidly in numbers as that of India has augmented and not only increasing in numbers but also attaining to higher standards of comfort; requiring more and more of our manufactures and possibly also producing the raw materials needed by us in England. A field for the settlement of a large white population Tropical Africa could scarcely be, and, if it were dependent for its development upon whites alone, the development would be very slow and tedious. But by making use of India for the purpose, progress ought to be assured and the development to be rapid.

TRIBAL LAW IN THE PANJÂB.

By B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E.

If we turn to almost any one of the books on Indian local history or topography written in the first thirty years or so of this century,—such books I mean as Tod's *Rajast'hān*, Wilks' *Mysoor*, or Malcolm's *Memoir of Central India*,—we are struck by the fact that the writers were quite content simply to classify the people as "Hindu" or "Muhammadan" as the case might be. For the former it was sufficient to describe the conventional "four castes" and to repeat a few Puranic legends, as exhausting the question of popular law, custom or ethics. This was not from any want of ability; for in other respects, these books have remained our standard authorities on the local history of the country or the people they deal with: it was just the habit of the time. A Hindu was a person who followed the Hindu law; and of the more social aspects of that law, the *Institutes of Manu* (as translated by Sir William Jones) was the sufficient exponent. In the same way Muhammadan society was explained by the Hidāyā.* Colonel Tod indeed could not fail to see that the current caste definitions in the books hardly met the case of his proud and vindictive, but in many respects noble, chieftains of Rajputānā, and their cousins—famous in many a story—of Mālwā, Idar and Chitūr. There was a palpable worship of sword, horse, and bow, and a reverence for the cup and the hunting feast, which betokened kindred with the customs of the wild North; and Colonel Tod, never so happy as when he leaves absurd parallels and etymologies and comes to his own shrewd and picturesque notes of locality and custom, describes the Chhatri (or Rājput) clansman as he lived, fought, and died, not at all like the

* The Hidāyā is a (not very superior) Digest written about A.D. 1150: it was the first book to appear in an English dress, being translated by Hamilton in 4 quarto vols. at the end of the last century.

twice born military-casteman of the *Dharma-shāstra.* In general, however, in the view of our early writers, every native of India who was not a Moslem, was a Hindu, *i.e.*, of one of the "four castes"—and there was an end of it.

Among practical lawyers, though there was still some undue prominence given to Manu among the Hindus, a wider range was taken, because the law could not be understood at all except by Sanskrit scholars, who naturally went deeper into things. By the labours of Jones, Colebrooke, Strange and others, the different schools of law, having authority in the different Provinces, were acknowledged, and their rules first made accessible to the English reader.

The "Regulation Provinces" (as they are still familiarly called), long accustomed to Law Courts and to a more or less technical procedure, may well have found the rules of Hindu and Muhammadan law better adapted to the wants of their population, though even there, agricultural *custom* has considerable importance. But when the Panjāb was brought under British rule in 1849, a new view of the people and their law had to be taken. It was (for example) well known that the Sikhs—who, however, formed only a fraction, though a noble one, of the whole population—were not Muhammadans, and yet could not (in spite of certain points of contact) be classed as obeying Hindu Law. And it was probably a new discovery when the communities of Jats—some of them Moslem converts, others nominally Hindu but with a not very pronounced reverence for Brahmanic ideas,—came to notice. It was the same with the Rajputs, the Tiwānā, the Janjhūā, the Khokar, the Àwān, and Ghakar in the north, the Arāīn, Gujar, Rôr, Kamboh, Lubāna, and a number more in the plain districts, to say nothing of the Pathān and Bilūchī tribes settled on the N.W. and W. frontier. Some detailed information was required before the law and religion of these people could be summarily described or disposed of. To be sure, it was possible to ticket them off in a general

way, some as "Hindu" and others as "Muhammadan"; but practically neither Sikh, nor Jat nor Gujar knew anything at all about the Hindu law of the books. And it was the same with the tribes that were, by religious profession, Muhammadan. The precepts of their proper law they had never heard of; and not unfrequently they would assert some rule of inheritance that was their own custom, and declare it as "the *shara'*," although the rule propounded would have considerably surprised a Hanīfī doctor, or indeed one of any other school. The fact is that the Muhammadan law of inheritance was adapted chiefly for a people possessed of camels, merchandise and other moveables; it might even apply to houses and town possessions, at least as conveniently as so cumbrous a law could apply to anything. But it was quite unsuited to regulate the devolution of the lands of village-communities or of tribal families dealing chiefly with ancestral holdings as their most valued possession. It is, indeed, opposed in principle to the purely agnatic succession which the Panjāb tribes allow, as it is to the exclusion of females and the limitation of the right of ownership. The attempt to apply the law has been made on some occasions, but always with more or less disastrous results. Mr. Roe* quotes very appositely, the Settlement Officer of Dera, Ismail Khān (where there are Moslem tribes), on this subject.

"It is seldom," he wrote, "that the lands of a deceased proprietor can be divided immediately on his death. In the course of a year or two one or two of the heirs themselves die. . . . The family retains the property in joint ownership for ten or twelve years when some cantankerous sharer claims partition. By this time, if the case is made over to a Kāzī, the common denominator of the fractions on which the estate is held, will probably be found to consist of five or six figures. The exact order, too, in which the different members of the family have died in the interval, must be ascertained, as brothers exclude nephews, sons exclude grandsons, and the fact of one dying a day or two before the other may alter the share entirely."

* *Tribal Law in the Panjāb*, 1895, by C. A. Roe and H. A. B. Rattigan; Lahore: "Civil and Military Gazette" Press.

These dates are rarely or never known to an agricultural people, and other complications may also occur which to them are insoluble.

Wills are wholly unknown to Tribal law, but the Moslem clans will return answer that they are guided in this matter by the *shara'*.

"It is not for one moment to be supposed," explains Mr. Roe, "that those who give this reply have the slightest knowledge of the elaborate provisions of the Moslem Law regarding wills, and seriously mean that they are followed. They really mean that they know nothing about the matter."*

To determine the practical rules of law among the various castes and clans—for the tribal stage of society widely prevails in the Panjāb, and caste and clan often become convertible terms—was a task of no slight difficulty. Fortunately justice could be administered at any rate for the first years of British rule, among a simple agricultural people, without much recourse to rules. A large proportion of their disputes depended solely on the conscientious determination of matters of fact; and this could generally be attained; especially if the deciding officer had time and opportunity to go to the spot and see the house, the field or the boundary mark, or whatever it was. In the village, too, the neighbours would probably tell the truth about some contested adoption; or some elderly relative seated on his or her *charpoy* would make a statement on the subject at which the clamorous litigants would suddenly become silent showing they respected what was being said. But legal questions would sometimes arise.

By common consent, there were branches of law (such as those relating to contract, sale, mortgage, interest on money, period of limitation, and the like) which it was understood must be provided for by modern legislative rules and equitable principles. It was always, however, the intention of government that those branches of law

* *Tribal Law*, pp. 12, 13.

which touched the ancestral land, the family life, and the social and religious usages of the people, should be dealt with according to their own customary rules. But the old idea to which I have adverted, that every one was generically labelled as either subject to Hindu or to Muhammadan Law, still lingered, as regards the Panjāb; and even in 1872, although it was admitted that custom might be proved and might be applied to the case, it was thought necessary to retain the (meaningless) formula that, in the absence of custom, the "Hindu Law" (of which hardly one of them had ever heard) was to be the ordinary rule of decision for Hindus, and the "Muhammadan Law" for Muhammadans.

Such a rule might have worked a good deal of mischief in the hands of judicial officers, who might prefer to adopt some (perhaps imperfectly understood) rule out of a text book to enquiring patiently what the real customary principle was, had it not been for the influence exercised by a book published not long after annexation and circulated officially for guidance, though never enacted as law by the Legislature. This book was long known as the "Panjāb Civil Code."[1] If all Administrative measures for the good of the people could be recorded by some comparative standard, it would be found that by no means the least of the relative values would be attached to the publication of this unpretending work of Sir R. Temple and the late Sir R. Montgomery. No more admirable compendium of legal principles, short, clear and practical, was ever devised for the use of untrained but able officers called on to administer a new province, and to decide the multiplying disputes of a population who hitherto had two modes of decision for all ordinary civil disputes:—the *panchayat* or jury of the village (or the clan), and the free fight. The former continued to be largely employed, especially when knotty points of custom arose: the latter a civilized government was bound to suppress. Even the *panchayat* system has its disadvantages; at any rate it

tends to fall into disfavour from various causes which cannot here be examined.

The "Code" (so called) was treated as practically authoritative; and in those days there were no pleaders to represent that technically it had not "the force of law." As far as it went, it seized with excellent effect, the salient features of some of the most widely spread customs, as distinguished from the law of the books; and it indicated, with wonderful accuracy on the whole, the chief lines of customary development on those questions which, as we shall presently notice, are of most importance to a land-holding people.

But with such a variety of tribes it was not to be expected that the custom could finally be described in a few pages; nor could the "Code" venture beyond the more general elements. There was indeed one means of supplementing its deficiencies. The land-revenue Settlement system of Northern India always included proceedings for the determination of all classes of right and interest in the soil, as well as the fiscal question of valuation and assessment; and one of the records was called the *wājib-ul-'arz*, or "things necessary to be represented." In practice this came to be a more or less elaborate schedule of the village customs regarding inheritance, adoption, alienation, pre-emption and other such matters directly affecting the ownership of land. Villages are sometimes found in groups, all belonging to the same larger tribe, or even the same "*gôt*" or clan; in other cases, villages, though scattered as to locality, were found to agree in the same customs; hence it became the practice to speak of "local custom." Strictly speaking it may be doubted whether "local custom"—as the word is understood in England—ever does occur in the Panjāb; it is much safer to speak of custom of the tribe or the caste (as the case may be). Similarities of custom really belong to clans, tribes or castes, who may or may not be locally aggregated.

25468

The land revenue law provides that the entries in the formally attested records shall be presumed to be true until the contrary is shown. This rule is obviously necessary as regards any question of fact recorded, such as the extent of a share, the acreage of a holding, or the position of a boundary line; but it is quite another thing when applied to records of custom which may, with the best intentions, have been made without the necessary legal accuracy of phrase, or have been drafted on mistaken or even interested information. Accordingly at the later Settlements, matters of customary law were ordered to be excluded from the Official Records; and a correspondence ensued as to how a knowledge of such important rules could best be acquired and preserved. Meanwhile in 1872, the "Panjāb Laws Act" was passed; (it was amended in some particulars in 1878). This Law provides that any custom not contrary to justice, equity, and good conscience, and which has not been expressly declared void or been abolished by law, is to be followed on any question of succession, special property of females, betrothal, marriage, etc., adoption, family relations, wills, partitions and all religious usages. Except when such custom is established (so the rule runs) the Muhammadan law is to apply to Moslems and the Hindu Law to Hindus. As to any practical meaning which the latter clause can have, some idea has been already given. In any case it may be conceded that except among a few of the high caste and wealthy families in towns, or holding large estates in the country, the Hindu law and the Muhammadan law are not really followed: but naturally, high caste or dignity compel people at least to profess adherence to a law which is regarded as sacred or semi-sacred. Indeed as to the Hindu Law, it is doubtful whether we have any sufficient ground for determining what school or text should be regarded as authoritative in the Panjāb. There are very few Pandits who really know anything about the subject—otherwise than at second hand from some modern vernacular com-

pilation; perhaps it would be held that the law which prevailed at Kāsī (the sacred city of Benares) would also apply to the Panjāb.

However that may be, the force of custom being thus authoritatively determined and being practically the only rule of decision, it became more than ever important to provide for some certain information as to what the custom was. The question was officially considered, and an elaborate and well-digested series of questions on all points of custom in the family as to inheritance, adoption, marriage, alienation and other subjects, was drawn up. The Settlement Officers were to submit these to careful investigation and discussion by the leaders and representatives of the different clans and castes, and after testing answers in every possible way and requiring actual instances of the application of the custom, wherever possible, they were to reduce them to writing.

The documents containing these "tribal codes" are known as *Rawāj-i-'ām* (=the general custom). They have often been prepared with great intelligence and care, but they are armed with no authority as evidence of custom, beyond that which attaches to any book of general information to which a court of law is entitled to refer. Many of them have been translated into English and added on as volumes to Mr. C. L. Tupper's series entitled "Panjāb Customary Law."*

The customs so recorded can only gradually be verified, and disputed points settled, by means of judicial decisions and precedents. Since the Chief Court was founded in 1866, the decisions on Appeal have been recorded and published, and these judgments, (becoming more valuable as time and circumstances increased the facilities for inquiries into custom), have gone on accumulating for thirty years. In the course of this long period, many of the most im-

* A complete account of the official discussion is given in the introduction to Mr. Tupper's Vol. I. There is also a good account of the development of the *Rawāj-i-'ām*, in *Tribal Law*, Ch. II., p. 33.

portant questions have been considered by the Full Bench; and the time has come when a studied *resumé* of the whole subject, including its general underlying principles, has become possible. In 1895, Mr. Justice Roe of the Chief Court, whose previous experience in Settlement work specially fitted him for the task,* and Mr. H. A. B. Rattigan, whose pains-taking research among the records and precedents deserves a word of notice, took up the subject and produced their book on Tribal Law, which has been already quoted. Naturally it is not the first work of its kind. A very useful but more tentative series of notes was published many years ago under the care of Mr. Justice Boulnois and Mr. W. H. Rattigan; and this was followed by a skilfully designed attempt to digest and codify the decisions on customs by Mr. (now Sir) W. H. Rattigan.

It will at once strike the reader of a book on Panjāb Customary law, that it is in no respect like the common law of England, which is a body of unwritten custom, but of general or universal application. It is custom which applies to each of the principal tribes and clans, castes and classes, of the population.† This body of customs is divergent at some points but concurrent at others. It is not one custom, but several customs, showing diverse applications of a commonly accepted principle or basis. The customs which are of the greatest importance are those which affect ancestral land; namely the rules of succession and inheritance, rules regarding the power of disposal of land by way of sale, gift or will, or by the process of adoption. Adoption, no less than gift and testamentary disposition, is intimately connected with the rule of inheritance; it interferes with the normal distribution of property, and disappoints the

* Mr. Roe is also the author of the Report on the Multan Settlement, which will long remain as one of the best specimens of that class of books known as "Settlement Reports," which are quite invaluable to students of custom and folklore in Upper India.

† *Tribal Law* etc., p. 15, where the interesting remarks of Sir H. M. Plowden are quoted.

next heirs. In practice a *gift* of the land is often made to cover a faulty adoption, or on pretence of one which has never been really or formally made. *Wills* are, as has been said, unknown. Probably, just as the Privy Council found it impossible to resist the progress of modern ideas by disallowing wills under the Hindu law, so under customary law, cases of testamentary disposition will occur, which it will be practically impossible not to allow under special circumstances; but it by no means follows that a will can be admitted to do whatever a gift *inter vivos* could have done. *More* it certainly cannot do (as the Privy Council have held under the Hindu Law); but it may be held able to do much *less*.

Though the customs may vary considerably, especially on points of detail, and though the Moslem tribes may show some of the influence that their religious law, however imperfectly understood, has had, there is nevertheless a thread of principle running through the whole subject of custom as to land, which it is possible to discern and very important to follow out. It is not the least valuable feature in the work of Messrs. Roe and Rattigan that this underlying unity of idea has been almost for the first time insisted on and clearly developed. For customary law is necessarily somewhat indeterminate, not indeed in its principles, but in its details. Complications arise, and new combinations of events occur, for which the rule has not yet been laid down. Custom does not foresee specific cases and provide for them, as statute law does; but if a substantive principle can be discerned, it will be a great help to a just decision as to whether the alleged custom or rule propounded by a *jirgā* or *panchayat*, is indeed reliable and probably correct.

Where the tribe (or clan) already existed in some numbers when it commenced the permanent occupation of land —say, on the Panjāb Frontier,—the custom will generally bear traces of the union which not only links together the immediate blood-relations within certain degrees of descent, but makes the whole clan or tribe much as if it were still

one large family. This stage of existence is exhibited by the Pathān and Bilūchi tribes on the frontier. And there is another form of clan life, which appears in various parts of Upper India: here a small family, many generations ago, settled in the midst of a wide vacant area, and has managed to retain possession of the whole. As the family gradually expanded, first some large divisions of the territory, representing the branches of the first descent,—the sons, grandsons, and great grandsons of the original founder—are marked off; inside these, as new families arise, their holdings form at first dependent hamlets, and ultimately full-blown villages with separate establishments of officers, artizans and menials. But still there is some trace of the union of the whole body. In both these cases it often happens that the limited estate which we commonly understand by the term "village," is never really separated at all. The clan may allot its whole territory into some large sections for its septs or minor-clans, and within these, the clan-authorities may either directly apportion the individual shares of households, or at least assign them in groups (such as the "*Kh*el"), which are too large to call "villages." In other cases large areas are held, divided at once into household shares of so many "plough-lands" each, and there are no village-groups or other divisions of the clan-area. In this clan-stage, there is always the necessity of union for offence and defence, and for combination to pay the land-revenue, and to exclude as much as possible all outside interference: there is the strong sense of territorial right to the whole area of location, and usually a strong sense of the right of every member of the clan to share equally. Women possess no independent rights in land; for women cannot defend their possession, and have no place in the inheritance. Such is the tribal idea. It is modified only when the female right to *maintenance* (which is acknowledged) is allowed to express itself in the retention of a life-interest by the widow, or more rarely in the allotment of a share to unmarried daughters, tenable till marriage. In view of

the almost universal clan custom by which the land-shares for each household are partitioned and allotted for several enjoyment, and that without any previous period of undivided holding, it seems questionable whether the term "joint ownership" ought to be applied to village-holdings where there is still something like a considerable clan-location. Even the term "collective ownership" requires to be much restricted to make it applicable. But it would lead too far afield to discuss this matter further at present.

Where the tribal or clan feeling cannot be observed, and where, nevertheless, the "village" (in the normal sense) is distinctly a feature of the district, we have still the *family* feeling, and rules affecting the single group and its natural sub-divisions of kindred, but not going beyond it. And it is observed that almost every such village (where it is not a voluntary and miscellaneous association of colonists), is occupied by a group descended from one founder.* The main divisions of the village known as *patti*, *thok*, *pannā* (and by various other local terms) represent the early divisions—the sons, grandsons, *etc.*, of the first-founder. Should the founder have had any "aristocratic" pretensions, then the rules of inheritance according to the place in the pedigree table, of each co-heir, will be more or less strictly observed, and the result will be a series of holdings which originally represented definite fractional shares of the whole, often expressed as so many *anas* in the *Rupee* (taken as a unit or whole). Otherwise it may be found that within the main-divisions of the village (representing, as before, the first degrees of descent of the founder's house), all subsequent holders have begun to take equal lots, or lots to suit their actual numbers and capacity. Very often the village has adopted a plan of dividing the land by shares in wells (for irrigation) or by "ploughs" or by the number of cattle possessed in each household. Much will depend on the custom regarding

* Sometimes two or three such groups may be found in one village. But the general statement is sufficient.

the internal relations of the close-kindred or *family*. The "joint-family" of the perfect type is clearly an elaborated system; and it seems probable that an earlier ideal of the family was one in which the *patria potestas* was much more prominent, and the head of the house was more like "sole owner," than he is under the Hindu law (for example). But it is very natural that on the death of the father there should be an equal division of his land among the sons; and as long-tilled and profitable land becomes an object of strong attachment, the custom grows up which limits the father's power of defeating the expectations of his sons by alienating the ancestral land. The rule of primogeniture seems unknown to custom; it may be supposed in India to have arisen with the development of the idea of Rājāship or monarchy. When there is a *title* or some dignity, (expressed as the *gaddi* or throne), to succeed to, then this rule of the eldest becomes necessary; but even then it long remains tempered by the condition of fitness in the heir, or by the elective element in the clan. Granted the equal division, the customary succession is always strictly agnatic. The heirs succeed in some cases *per capita* in others *per stirpes*.* Daughters are usually excluded as long as there is any male descendant (of whatever degree) from a common ancestor who has held the land.

Just as the power of alienation was limited owing to its tendency to defeat the rule of agnatic inheritance, so adoption is sometimes ignored altogether, and always restricted, by custom. The reason is the same. Customary adoption (where recognized) is widely different from that which the Hindu law books have so elaborately developed. There it has become mixed up with ideas of spiritual benefit to the adoptive father after his decease. Under custom, it is a question of practical utility and of keeping the land in the same family and line of descent—artificially, if it cannot be naturally. Hence custom restricts the ranks

* Difference in this respect arises from the custom of polygamy and especially from the difference in rank of the wives, or from the distinction between a regular marriage and an inferior connection.

from which the adopted son can be chosen. The daughter's son (except where the daughter's husband has become the "house-son-in-law" to the adoptive parent) and the sister's son, are looked on with a rather general objection, as taking the family land into another clan; for the female cannot be of the same clan as her husband.* As long as there is any agnate—however remote, the presumption is against the validity of such an adoption, where the consent of the other heirs is not shown. And in general, the "brotherhood" must be duly informed of the adoption by some feast or other overt act of publicity. The proper person to be adopted is one of the nearer agnates. There is a very common way in which adoption is carried out, but which may occasionally give rise to bitter disappointment. The sonless proprietor who has a daughter, will take a male child into his family, and will do nothing in the way of formal affiliation, till he sees whether the youth grown up in his house will turn out steady and a likely person, and then he will marry his daughter to him and acknowledge him as the heir. But it may happen that just before this final acknowledgment, the landowner dies; then the youth's position will be a hard one, as he may have meanwhile lost the inheritance in his own natural family. The widow also is likely to claim the power of completing the adoption, and is sure to assert her late husband's oral will and so forth; and thus there is material for a fine law suit. The widow's power is very questionable in any case.

One point deserves a passing notice; it is the custom in Northern India to include among the village land records a genealogical tree of the descent of the kindred which the village represents. The value of these pedigrees can hardly be over-estimated, as regards the light thrown upon customs of inheritance. For by an analysis of the course of descent in the past,—long years before the present dispute can have arisen,—it may be seen how the inheri-

* *I.e.*, as a rule: Mughals and some other Moslem clans are not exogamous. The custom of resident son-in-law (*Ghar-jawāi*, or *Khāna-dāmād*) is very general in the Panjāb.

tance actually was allowed to go. Should there ever have been the admission (*e.g.*) of a sister's son, it can be traced; or it can be seen what was the course of inheritance where there was a failure of direct heirs in any given branch.* It is worth mentioning this, because it is rumoured that orders have been given (as to future revisions of Settlement) to curtail these useful "*shajra-nasb*" as they are called.

It may be hoped, in conclusion, that no effort will be made to press for any legislative codification of tribal custom. It had better be left to grow and to settle itself, under intelligent judicial examination in disputed cases. Codification could only be attempted under the guidance of the Legislative Department at headquarters, and here the spirit of English law is usually too strong; the result would be not merely a fixing of customary rule but its (perhaps unintended) change. It may be said that, after all, the Hindu law of the text books is only codified custom: that may be true to some extent, but the "codification" was not such as would now be possible. It was a loose and often incoherent reduction of oral rules to written maxims, usually in a condensed and often enigmatical form, and versified. The "Hindu text" is usually meaningless without a "Commentator"; and the old practice allowed much scope for the personal idea of the judge or the Rājā under the advice of his learned Brahman Assessor. And the law so codified, is always in a state of flux; for even in the provinces like Bengal and the N.W.P. there is a considerable body of "usage" which modifies the texts. Even particular families are allowed to establish their (*Kulāchār* or) family custom. The native mind is in fact wedded to "personal Government"; and the best way to secure that in such a way as not to do harm, is to allow "custom" to expound itself in the opinions of the natural leaders of the people—their headmen and local councils—under the intelligent guidance of instructed judges who have learned how to apply sound principles of equity without destroying the essential character of the native system.

* *Tribal Law*, p. 19, contains some excellent remarks on this subject.

RAYATVÁRI SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA.

By A. Rogers, Bo. c.s. (ret.).

What are the outward and visible signs of a successful *rayatvári* land revenue settlement in India, that is, one in which the State levies its demands on the land directly from its own tenants without the assistance or responsibility of a middleman of any description? And *per contra*, what are the signs of an unsuccessful settlement? In the former case, they are the spontaneous payment of those demands by the individual *rayats* or cultivators, at due dates,—the extension of the cultivated area and absence of waste land,—the non-relinquishment of occupancies,—enhanced saleable value of land,—and personally an appearance of increased comfort in the shape of the substitution of solid tiled houses for mud and thatched hovels, improved agricultural stock, better clothing, and a more profuse adornment of the women's persons with such jewellery as native females affect. In the latter case they are the opposites of these, combined with coercive processes for the recovery of the land-revenue on the part of the Government authorities, and the attachment and sale of personal and real property on the eviction of tenants from their lands. The object of the present article is to show how the former, as well as the latter, can be and has been brought about, not only by abstract methods of reasoning, but by concrete examples of what is before our eyes, if we will take the trouble to look a little below the surface, and not be frightened at the grim array of figures in a few tabular statements.

At the root of the whole matter is, in the former case, of course, to foster the idea of a valuable property in the land that a man can look on as his own, which he can enjoy for himself and transmit to his posterity after him. Otherwise, he will not take the trouble to improve it by the expenditure of labour and capital, but will content himself with

getting all he can out of it and return it as little as possible for others to reap the benefits of. Where, then, the State is in the position of superior holder, if its tenant is looked on as a mere *adscriptus glebæ*, meant only to provide the State land-revenue, and offered no incentive to better his own condition, the matter is simply managed by fixing the land assessment so high as to amount to a rack rent. This was actually the sentiment conveyed to the writer by a former Principal Secretary of State, with the short-sighted, although supposed to be philanthropic, idea that middlemen would thus be kept from interfering with the land. If, on the other hand, the Indian cultivator is to be considered a sensible being alive to his own interest, the assessment must be kept so low as to allow for a landlord's profit and thus afford him something worth keeping, something that he can sell, if need be, but which, as Indian cultivators, and in fact nearly all who hold land, go, he would prefer to stick to through thick and thin and keep for his own family.

Now as to the method of proceeding with a view to bring about this desirable state of affairs. There must in all cases, to commence with, be an accurate measurement and demarcation of existing properties. It has occurred before now that, more with a view to make nice maps of fields in parallelograms or squares than anything else, existing fields have been cut up into blocks with straight boundaries, but this, it is to be hoped, is merely "a fashion of the days gone by" and never resorted on in the present time. It may be necessary, in order to avoid expense, to club several fields together in one Survey-field, where the holdings are very small, as in rice lands, for instance; but the boundaries of the internal divisions are in no way interfered with, and the assessment is distributed over these divisions individually, so as not to mix up one man's holding with those of others. However small these subdivisions may be, it is advisable not to throw more into one general field than can be conveniently dealt with in the

revenue accounts. To ensure accuracy of measurement where the boundaries are crooked, it is advisable to chain round them in addition to taking at least one diagonal measurement with perpendiculars to the bends in the boundaries, and to put up boundary marks—(which in Bombay are mostly solid mounds of earth, as found in practice to be the most endurable and most easily retraced in case of injury)—pointing in the direction of the boundary at each bend of the field, and take measurements to the angles of the internal sub-divisions so that these may also be plotted on the village maps. These maps show not only the boundaries, but the boundary marks as well: otherwise, in course of time the positions of fields might be lost and the survey become valueless. It is unnecessary here to enter further into the details of processes of measurement, except to point out the necessity of adopting the system of surveying by the back angle when chain and cross-staff measurements are tested with the theodolite, with a view to keep the work parallel. In some cases a crude test is taken by merely turning the theodolite on to each bend from one central point and chaining up to the bend itself.

Next to accurate measurement, an accurate classification of the soil of each field is indispensable for a proper *rayatvári* settlement. This species of settlement prevails in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies only, and the method adopted both for classification of soils and assessment of money-rates upon the land differs considerably in them. In the former, to quote almost *verbatim* from the Madras Revenue Manual, the system is as follows:

The land is divided into five "series" or "orders." These are (1) the *regar* or black cotton, (2) the red ferruginous, (3) the arenaceous, (4) the alluvial and permanently improved,* and (5) the calcareous. Each series is divided into classes,—the exceptional into two, the others

* There is no such thing as a permanently improved soil, for the effect of no manure is permanent.

into three each; the class of a soil is determined by the quantity of "clay" it contains, meaning by "clay" that impalpable matter which is formed by the combination of minute particles of the primitive earths with organic matter in a state of decay. The three soil classes are "clay," "loam," and "sand." Clay soils of each series are those containing more than 66 per cent. of clay: loamy soils are those with $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ clay and the rest sand: sandy soils those with more than $\frac{2}{3}$ sand. In selecting samples the soil is turned up to a depth of 6 or 8 inches, and the proportions of sand and clay, when doubtful, are tested by dissolving in water. The classes again are sub-divided into "sorts," the sort being determined on the same consideration as the "class." . . . For the most part eye, finger and thumb are the classifier's only guides, and the nearest approach to a scientific method that is allowed him is when, in cases of doubt, he tests for clay by simple methods which give its bulk or weight, but do not indicate its chemical composition.

Now, this system of classification is entirely misleading, both scientifically and practically. Scientifically there are fertilising ingredients, as well as the contrary, in all soils which are soluble in water, and which would therefore disappear in this test by water. Practically, its shortcomings are palpable. Could any classifier who has to classify a great many fields every day be trusted to give the necessary time for each test, not only for weighing his sample accurately both before and after solution, either evaporating the water by artificial heat in the interval between the two or allowing evaporation by a natural process, in order to ascertain the proportions of clay and sand which would constitute the soil as clayey, loamy or sandy? If he is not, of what use is it for him to go through the farce, or why, to carry the farce still farther, should he not be allowed to burn his sample in order to see accurately how much sand remained? Suppose this done, however, and the "sort" of the "class" of the "series" by this rule of thumb method

determined to be, say, the 2nd sort of the clay class of the 3rd or arenaceous series, what remains on record to show by what process the classifier arrived at his conclusion by which his supervising officer may be enabled to test the accuracy of his work? If no test can thus be taken, is a lowly paid classifier not virtually independent, and thus able to come to any terms he chooses with the owner of the field as to the position he assigns to it? The great importance of this point will be seen presently when the system of money valuation of various descriptions of soil is under discussion.

It will be seen from what has just been stated that the assigning of a class to every field in Madras is an independent proceeding bearing no reference to that of any other field, there being no standard of classification value for the several classes of the various series. Now let us see what is the system of classification adopted in Bombay. It is that of classing soils relatively to the most fertile soil, whatever may be its colour, in each district as a standard. It will be best understood by asking the reader to look at his own hand with the four fingers and the thumb stretched out at length side by side. His middle finger, the longest, will then represent the best soil, or 16 annas in the Rupee scale, with which all inferior soils are to be compared. The third finger, the next in length, in consequence of too great an admixture of sand or stones or some other defertilising ingredient in the soil visible to the eye, would represent a rather inferior soil, to be classed at 15½ annas, or half a class lower than the best. Similarly, the first finger, the next in length, and the little finger and thumb;—in consequence of soils having more and more unfertile ingredients or other defects, such as too sloping a surface leading to the washing out of those more fertile in the rainy season, or want of depth to bed rock or clay impervious to water, may be taken as representing respectively 15 anna, 14 anna and 8 anna classes, going down in regular gradation from the valuation put upon the best or 16 anna soil. The finger

joints being taken to represent classes below the eight anna level down to the ninth, the lowest practically necessary to embrace every description of arable soil, a fair idea of the general system of classification will be conveyed to the reader's mind, and it will be seen that all soils are referable to each other in, so to speak, the terms of the best, the classification being thus relative, and not positive, as in Madras. A maximum valuation in money being thus placed on the best, that of all inferior soils follows, as a matter of course, in a descending scale, according to the class assigned to it. How the maximum money valuation is arrived at will be explained presently.

The faults in consequence of the visible presence of which in any soil the relative class of the latter is lowered are want of cohesion, too much sand or gravel, want of depth, a sloping surface which allows water to impoverish the soil, by washing out its fertilising ingredients, and impregnation with salt; and the presence of any of these, with its degree, is recorded in each field, being ascertained by digging to the depth of a cubit (*háth*) and a half in two or three places and the average of these being taken, so that the supervising Officer, generally a European Assistant Superintendent, can test the classifier's work at any time by actual inspection. In order to ensure evenness of classification, the whole of the members of an establishment are occasionally practised together in the field under his or the Superintendent's personal supervision. The difference between the Madras and Bombay systems is thus evident; and it is clear that the classifier under the former has a degree of independence, and consequent power to make bargains with landowners, which his fellow in Bombay has not, inasmuch as the latter puts no positive valuation on any soil, and his relative valuation, being entirely dependent on the maximum money rate finally placed on the best soil by the Settling Officer, gives no clue whatever to what any soil will have to pay, and the classifier can in no way guarantee to the cultivator what his assessment will

eventually be. This will be best shown by describing the method adopted in Madras for fixing the proportion of the produce of the soil on which the Government assessment on lands is based.

The Madras Manual lays down that to assess a field it is necessary to know either, on the one hand, the quantity of its produce without reference to its area, or, on the other hand, its area and the quantity of the produce of a given part of it or of an equal portion of other fields of similar quality and condition. A settlement based on the former of these methods would be interminable, and necessity compels the adoption of the latter. Here the Bombay system joins direct issue with that of Madras and maintains that it is not only unnecessary to a proper assessment to know or estimate the actual grain produce of a field, but that the attempt to arrive at any reliable estimate of the average produce per acre in any considerable tract of country is illusory and misleading.* It is still the custom in Madras, however, to make a number of experiments on standing crops in each district under settlement, and having thus arrived at an average result to deduct from that average from $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ to allow for the vicissitudes of seasons, and convert it into money at an average of the prices of the principal varieties of grain for a period of 20 years. From this, again, is deducted the average expense of cultivation per acre, such as the cost of agricultural cattle and their keep, hire of labour permanent and temporary, implements, manure, and transplanting. Some of these, such as the cost of cattle and farm tools, have even to be subdivided and spread over more than one year. The mere enumeration of the elaborate processes of calculation to be gone through on experiments on crops to the number of 2,000 or 3,000 in a district is sufficient to convince anyone not under the influence of the magic of figures of the im-

* This was substantially the system originally adopted in Bombay (as described at pages 101 to 107, vol. ii. of the *History of the Bombay Land Revenue*, published in 1893), which was found so faulty that the Bombay Government set it entirely aside about 70 years ago.

practicable nature of this system of assessing the money rents of individual fields, which are taken at 50 per cent. of the residue, called the net produce, after the deductions noted above. The Madras Manual lays it down that when it is known that a field is of a certain sort geologically and agriculturally (what the latter means it is impossible to understand), and that for the neighbourhood the assumed value of the net produce of that sort is so much, the Government demand is also known, as it is in every case half the money value of the net produce. The enormous power put into the hand of the classifier when he can decide the "sort" of any field, referred to above, is thus shown. Under the Bombay system, on the other hand, no man can tell beforehand what the rent of certain land will be, for the maximum rate is not fixed until all classification has been completed, and after this no one but the Settling Officer can tell whether it will be raised or lowered on account of the greater or less distance of a field from the village site or water, or on account of the maximum of the whole village being raised or lowered for climatic or market considerations. There is, of course, a risk of collusion between the classifier and the tenant under both systems, but this explanation demonstrates how infinitely smaller it is under that of Bombay.

How far the strict system of classification by fields, even, is carried out in practice in Madras is shown by the following extract from the Manual.

"A revenue system based on field assessment seems to demand naturally and necessarily the separate classification of each individual field, and this is the sanctioned method of the department; it is at the same time laid down that though the details of classification extend to each field, the wider comparative view of the operations should never be lost sight of, as it is most desirable that the land should be viewed in a comprehensive way by the classifier. . . . As a method of work the Government have disapproved of the plan, but encourage blocking as a sequel to field classification, and as in fact an office arrangement made for the purpose of check and revision. Under this system it is evident that the average run of soils must determine the classification of a block, and that isolated fields and tracts of better or worse quality than the average of the block must gain or lose by inclusion within it."

How far the system of assessing by blocks is permitted to affect the assessment of individual fields is not apparent from this description. The concluding remarks, however, are sufficient of themselves to condemn the system if it has been and is allowed in any way to influence that assessment; for it follows of necessity that the assessment is unfair. This may partially account for the unwillingness shown by people to bid for lands put up to auction by the Collectors, as proved by the annual revenue Reports.

To proceed to the methods of fixing the general pitch of assessment. In Madras, an objection is raised to former collections being looked at in the determination of this. The objection can only apply to an attempt to assess individual villages or fields according to what may have been levied from them in the past, and in that case it is right, inasmuch as if records were in any case in existence showing grain rents levied from fields under the old division of produce system they would be untrustworthy for various reasons, and especially because the old recorded areas would be merely estimated and not actually measured. But for the purpose of determining the general level of assessment likely to lead to a successful settlement no more reliable data than returns of former levies of revenue (and area, as far as procurable) could be made use of. No more certain *criteria* exist of the general success or failure of previous systems than such returns, which prove by increase or decrease of cultivated area, punctuality of revenue payments without recourse to coercive processes or the contrary, and the advance or falling off of land-revenue, the suitability or otherwise of the general level of assessment to the condition of the people and the circumstances of the times. Taken into consideration with prospects of rising or falling prices of agricultural produce, with the opening up of new, and deterioration of old, markets, improvement in the means of communication by railway or otherwise, and other circumstances tending to show the general condition of the agricultural population, such returns of previous

assessments, taken over a sufficiently large area and for a series of years, are an infallible guide to what the level of assessment should be in the future. They have invariably been so taken in the Bombay Revenue Survey Settlements, of which the success is undoubted. Of this the following instances are given as proofs :

AHMADABÁD COLLECTORATE.

Taluka.	Land-revenue at settlement. Rs.	Land-revenue at revision of 30 years' settlement. Rs.	Increase per cent.
Dholka	1,52,832	1,93,112	25·7
Sánand	1,09,929	1,40,544	27·5
Viramgám	77,354	1,56,493	102·3
Daskrohi...	2,55,381	3,52,217	23·4
Dhandhuka	47,926	64,809	35·2

In Dholka, the area under cultivation had increased from 106,131 acres to 211,976. Carts had increased 37 per cent. Of the occupied area 72½ per cent. was held by the persons whose names were recorded as those of the Survey occupants, and 26½ per cent. was sublet, margin enough having been left to allow the tenant a landlord's profit, from which circumstance it no doubt also arose that land sold (by private individuals) averaged ten years' assessment, and in 2,100 cases of mortgage in the three years preceding the revision, notwithstanding the probability of enhancement of assessment at the revision, the money advanced averaged 20 times the assessment. Houses in one group of villages had risen 317 per cent. in tiled and decreased 63 per cent. in thatched dwellings. Agricultural cattle had increased 37 per cent. in the whole Taluka. Of 510 cases in which notices of sale of occupancy rights in land were given for the recovery of arrears of rent, in three years it had been actually sold in only one instance. As a proof of the moderation exercised in enhancement of revenue on the termination of the first 30 years' settlement, it may be noted that the maximum dry crop rate in villages of the 1st Class was only raised 4 annas, from Rs. 2¼ to Rs. 2½.

KHANDESH COLLECTORATE.

Taluka.	Assessment on occupied land at settlement. Rs.	Assessment on occupied land at revision. Rs.	Increase per cent.
Sáodá	2,24,328	2,98,280	32·7
Chopdá	67,245	1,57,488	14·9
Amalner	1,42,254	2,50,804	76·3
Erandol	2,21,652	2,93,991	32·6
Bhusával	86,763	1,62,758	87·5

In Sáodá tiled and flat-roofed houses had increased by 141·5 per cent., and thatched houses decreased by 5·7: agricultural cattle had increased 8·4 per cent. and milch and other cattle 19·6. Carts had nearly doubled in number. 85 per cent. of the land was cultivated by the occupants themselves and the remaining 15 sublet. The average selling price of land was equal to nearly twenty-four times the average assessment. The area of land still unoccupied was only 5,490 acres of inferior quality, assessed at about six annas the acre.

In Chopdá superior houses had increased by 111 and thatched by 42, agricultural cattle by nearly 40 per cent., horses and ponies 77, and carts nearly 100 per cent. In 441 cases in which notices of sale of occupancy rights were issued, no sale at all took place: 88 per cent. of the holdings were in the hands of the recorded tenants themselves. In 44 cases of sale by order of the Civil Courts land assessed at an average of *R.* 1 6 *as.* 11 *p.* sold at an average of *Rs.* 15 11 *as.* 6 *p.* the acre, and in 110 cases of lease the rental agreed for was equal to 3·4 times the assessment.

In Amalner houses have increased by 41½ per cent., two-thirds of these being of a superior kind and one-third thatched. Agricultural cattle have increased by 23·2, carts by over 50 per cent. Of occupied lands 87½ per cent. are held by the recorded occupants, and 7·4 are sublet. In 284 cases of land sold privately in the three years before the revision, over 20 times the assessment was realized and in five cases from 61 to 70 times. Land

has been let at an average of 3·7 times the assessment, and Rs. 241,376 have been advanced on the mortgage of land assessed at Rs. 17,548.

In Erandol, houses of a better kind have increased by 64·5 whilst thatched ones have diminished 8·5 per cent. Agricultural cattle have increased 18·8, and carts by over 50 per cent. Over 84 per cent. of the occupied area is in the hands of the registered occupants and over 10 per cent. is sublet. In 100 cases of leases, land was let on an average for 5·4 times the assessment, and in the same number of mortgages without possession 14·2 times the assessment, and in the same number with possession of the land 17·9 times, was advanced on the security of the land. For the three years preceding the revision there had been neither distraint of property nor sale of occupancy rights for the realization of the revenue.

In Bhusával, superior houses have increased by 84·9 per cent., and thatched ones diminished by 5·8. Agricultural cattle have increased by nearly 41 per cent. and the number of carts has nearly doubled. For the last ten years of the Survey lease the remissions that had to be given were almost nominal, and except in one year, when Rs. 105 out of Rs. 173,263 were outstanding, the whole of the Government demands were paid up before the close of the year. In 100 cases of ordinary sale, 17·1 times the assessment were realized, and in 46 sales by order of Court 9 times. In 100 cases of simple mortgage 15·7 times the assessment, and in the same number with possession 10·4 times, were advanced, while in 100 cases of lease 5·4 times the assessment was paid as rent. In 435 instances in the last three years of distraint of property for the realization of the Government demands, actual sale only took place in 10 cases.

Instances of similar signs of prosperity under the Survey Settlements might be given for every Collectorate in the Presidency, but these are sufficient to prove that it has been eminently successful. With this state of affairs that

in Madras will now be contrasted. The figures, astonishing as they are, have all been taken either from the annual land revenue Reports submitted to the India Office by the Government of Madras, or from the official Statistical Abstract, and can therefore be relied on as strictly accurate.

The first features noticeable in the Madras returns is the enormous number of notices of demand that are issued, which in the Collectorate of Tinnevelly alone amounted in 1893-94 to 711,558: the law may possibly require this issue, but it is clearly unnecessary, as every tenant must have his own account book, and this should tell him exactly what his holding comes to for the year, and the expense and trouble of the issue must be very great. They amounted for the whole Presidency in the same year to 5,374,303. Coming down to the actual number of notices of sale of property, distrained upon for the collection of arrears of land-revenue, it is seen that in Tinnevelly they were, in the last four years—from 1890-91 to 1893-94—inclusive, 96,913, of which 3,127 resulted in the sale of personal and real property. For the whole Presidency the number of notices of sale for these years was 641,974, and the actual sales 47,831. Taking these 47,831 defaulters as heads of families, as they must be, and multiplying by four, at which the members of a household may moderately be estimated, we have the enormous number of 191,324 people affected by these sales of personal and real property in four years only, and in Tinnevelly alone 12,508. The estimated value of the personal property sold in Tinnevelly was Rs. 8,192, and it realized Rs. 7,980: that of real property was Rs. 48,077, which realized Rs. 66,028: it must be remembered that in addition to the arrears for which these sales were made interest on overdue instalments and fees for the various processes connected with the sales had to be paid. In the entire Presidency in these four years, personal property of the estimated value of Rs. 293,012 sold for 232,875 and real property estimated at Rs. 2,357,194, for Rs. 506,320. That is to say, property of the estimated

value of Rs. 2,550,206 sold for Rs. 739,195, or between one-fourth and one-third. In the case of Tinnevelly more than the estimated value was realized; but in whichever way such sales result the tenants suffer, where the realized value is more than that estimated, from being put to the trouble and inconvenience of having their property needlessly attached and sold, and where the realized value is less, because it is the result of forced sale by auction, at which notoriously less is given for property than there would be if it were sold by private contract.

There is another way of testing the pernicious effects of this system of evictions from land and sale of the right of occupancy. The area sold in Tinnevelly in the four years was 5,944 acres, of which 4,893 were purchased by outsiders and 1,051 had to be bought in by Government for want of bidders at the auction sales: in the entire Presidency, there were 126,753 acres sold, of which 59,245 were bought in by Government. Now, what does this show? It proves that, roughly speaking, one-half of the land put up for sale was so rack-rented that those who cultivated it could not afford to pay the rent and no one found it worth his while to purchase the right of occupying it. Analyzing these figures, it appears that of the 126,753 sold and bought in, no less than 21,018, about $\frac{1}{6}$, was irrigated land, which a tenant would naturally hold to as the most valuable and not give up or allow himself to be deprived of, if he could possibly pay its rent. If these figures show anything, they prove conclusively that what has been said above with regard to the defects in the Madras system of classification of soils and money valuation is correct.

It has been urged to the writer that the evictions are those of mere speculators who take up land that has been lying fallow and has thus acquired a certain amount of fertile strength, with the intention of not holding it longer than that effect may continue. The argument is ridiculous, for is it to be supposed that such men, who have the option

of relinquishing any of the land they hold, should expose themselves to the trouble and expense of having their personal as well as real property sold by auction at less than its real value for no end whatever?

An official of high rank at the India Office when this state of affairs was mentioned to him over three years ago said to the writer: 'But what have we been about that we have not found out all this?'—What, indeed?

The Madras Government were directed, more than three years ago, to report on the matter: No report has been sent in. The writer's criticisms on the system were sent to the Press in Madras, with the only result that an abusive article on his interference was published in the *Madras Mail*. The matter of the unprecedented number of evictions in Madras was noticed in Parliament by Sir R. Temple in his speech on the Indian budget in 1894, and lately in the *Times* article on Indian affairs, and the great delay of the Madras Government in answering the India Office reference on the subject was commented upon. Sir W. Wedderburn, on behalf of the National Indian Congress, put last month several questions to the Secretary of State containing figures bearing out the statements contained in this article. The Secretary of State replied that he would not trouble the House with the details of the figures (which, by the way, contained the whole gist of the matter) but could say that the number of evictions had diminished from over 130,000 some 12 years ago to 10,115 in 1891, omitting the fact that since that year they have increased by about 4,000. In answer to a subsequent call from Sir W. Wedderburn for a Parliamentary Return of evictions, etc., the Secretary of State replied that the figures would have to be sent for from Madras, whereas Sir W. Wedderburn's had been drawn from official printed documents now in the India Office.

Altogether there would seem to be a conspiracy of silence on the part of both the local and Home authorities on the subject,—one, it will be acknowledged, of considerable

importance in the present condition of Indian Finance, when in their annual land-revenue Report for 1893-94, the Madras Government acknowledged that there were nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of assessed land lying unoccupied and therefore yielding no revenue. If immediate steps to carry out remedial measures had been taken when the matter was brought to notice, the revenue might, in the three years and more that have elapsed since then, have been benefited to the extent of 10 to 12 millions of Rupees at the low rate of a Rupee an acre. Would it be an unreasonable request to make to the Madras authorities that, seeing the undoubted success of the Revenue Survey Settlements in Bombay, a few instances of which are given above, they should take a leaf out of the Bombay book and reform their system of land revenue administration accordingly ?

P.S.—Since the above was in type, the long expected report from the Revenue Board of Madras has been published in the *Madras Mail*, not in its entirety, but sufficiently fully to allow it to be seen that the strictures passed on the Madras Revenue Administration are justified. The broad facts could, of course, not be denied; and the Board has adopted the usual device of those who have a bad case in Court, viz., that of abusing the plaintiff's attorney: they have accused the writer of ignorance, carelessness in, if not positive misrepresentation of, statements of facts, etc. It attributes, however, the shortcomings not to faultiness of system—a matter in which our readers can judge for themselves from what has been said above, but to other preventable causes, such as want of due provision in the law for collecting revenue, but, strange to say, attributed by the Settlement Commissioner to want of personal attention to the matter by the Revenue authorities, suggested to the India Office in January last in these words:

"The real reason appears to be that the land revenue authorities are content to sit down and write notices, instead of moving about in their several districts to see that their subordinates exert themselves personally in the collection of the revenue."

A somewhat lame kind of excuse is made for the assessment in Madras being heavier than in Bombay by stating that the soil is better in the latter than in the former. The only attempt at proof of this is what the Settlement Commissioner has observed out of the windows of the railway carriages on his journeys through different parts of the Bombay Presidency!

The detailed comparison of the systems of the two Presidencies is not given in the *Madras Mail*, and the writer may have a few words to say on that matter when he sees it, but, if the arguments amount to no more than what has been just quoted to prove the superiority of Bombay soil, they will not be difficult to refute.

As the causes are admitted to be preventable, it is very natural to ask why they were not prevented, either by local initiative or orders from home?

THE LATE SHAH OF PERSIA AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

By Mirza Husain Kuli Khan.

Shah Naser-ed-Din, who wielded the sceptre of Jamshêd and held sway over the people of Irán for fully 50 lunar years, has been snatched away at the age of 65 from an attached people by sacrilegious hands. One unanimous cry of execration has gone forth from them against the detested regicide. That an absolute monarch should so have gained the affection of his subjects is a great tribute to his rule and personal qualities. The nation mourns his loss as that of a father. Even to the West, where Oriental loyalty is regarded with suspicion, the genuineness of the gratitude of the people of Persia had been demonstrated by their enthusiastic preparations for the late Shah's Jubilee, fated, alas! to end in the present universal lamentations. In the West the Sovereign reigns, in the East he rules and therefore, an Oriental monarch, who is all-powerful for good and evil, deserves special praise when he has, so successfully as the late Shah, done the former and refrained from the latter. To an occidental mind the promotion of reforms, especially in other countries than his own, appears easy. This may be the case, where the people are either altogether uncivilized or of modern growth, but it is not so in a land that possesses ancient traditions and a time-honoured indigenous culture. Such a country cannot be remodelled in the course of the reign of one ruler, no matter how great his exertions. To introduce modern institutions into Persia, so conservative and jealous of its glorious past, is especially difficult. The three journeys of its ruler in Europe, ought in the opinion of certain critics to have produced miraculous results, but, though they have done much good, Persia still retains some of her old institutions that are not to be condemned because they do not correspond with those in Europe.

One journal goes so far as not only to condemn the Government of Persia, but even to accuse every one of its members, from the highest to the lowest, of corruption, as if it were possible that any Government, especially one in which its higher officials have enjoyed so long a tenure of office as in Persia, could be conducted, for any length of time, in such universal depravity. The writer forgets that, among human motives, there are other factors besides those of greed. In an Oriental country especially, religious influences keep officials straight. There is also the fear of the opinion of friends and of the public, not less strong because not expressed by European methods, to guide men aright. There are the usual stimulants of love of popularity, even it may be vanity; there is an innate sense of justice, sympathy for suffering and, above all, Persian history and that of the administration under the late Shah, swarms with the noblest examples of devotion to duty and of the fear of God in the discharge of public functions, in the relations with one's kindred and with humanity at large. Where faith had had sufficient force to defy the sword or the cannon's mouth, it may certainly be assumed to have the power to influence the actions of officials, even if they were less responsible than we shall show them to be in Persia. The writings of the West about the East remind one of Æsop's, really Lokman's, fable, in which the lion, on being shown the picture of a man overcoming a lion, merely remarked that if lions were painters, the picture might have shown the lion overcoming the man.

I maintain that, in the very nature of things, the majority of officials in Persia, as elsewhere, endeavour to do their duty, and that some institutions, which are such a boon to the countries of the West, if transferred to the East, besides being repugnant to the people, would produce contrary results. The late Shah introduced into Persia all that he could wisely attempt without the risk of disturbance among the people and the creation of political factions. He personally attended to all affairs of state; the humblest man or

woman, living in the farthest corner of his Empire, could communicate with him direct. He had devised a means of enabling them to do so by placing an iron safe in each town for the purpose of receiving their petitions. This safe was consigned at certain periods of the year to Tehran, and was received by H. I. Majesty who alone kept the keys and thus prevented the evasion of justice. Numerous were the devices by which he kept himself informed of the conduct of local Governors and of the actual condition of the people committed to their charge, even in the remotest parts of his kingdom. The Telegraph Administration, which is one of the blessings that he bestowed upon his country, was one of the agencies which he employed for this purpose. The man in charge of this department in every town or, it may be, village, was an independent official, who would be the dread of an unjust Governor and the terror of a capricious Zábit or Executive officer, for, although he had the strictest injunctions not to interfere in their affairs, he had orders to telegraph daily to head-quarters the principal events and his own comments thereon. These communications were not addressed to the department from which Governors receive their appointment. The Ministry of Telegraphs (for this department was deemed to be important enough to be administered by one of the most trusted and the ablest of His Majesty's Ministers) had to deal with these communications and, after strict examination, when their impartiality was proved, they were submitted, without any interference, to His Imperial Majesty, who at once gave effect to the result of these investigations. Would that every European invention were similarly blessed to the people of Oriental countries!

The Telegraph is not the only institution for which the people of Persia are grateful to their lamented King to whose memory history should do justice in proportion to the affection and gratitude which his subjects entertained for him. Among the numerous bequests to his nation, the Postal Administration, the Police organization, and the

institution of the Imperial Bank of Persia, may be mentioned. None of these existed before his reign. The Post, although of such recent creation, is as regular and well-managed as anywhere in the world. It only lacked the arrangement for a Parcel Post system between Great Britain and Persia and this was established a couple of years ago. The Bank, which is an English institution, is rendering good service, and was always regarded with special favour by His late Majesty. The enlargement, to about five times its original size, of the town of Tehran; the laying-out of its new parts on European plans, and the conduit of water to the town from the mountains, are some of the undertakings which were entirely defrayed out of the late Shah's private purse. He did more for his capital, both in the town and in the surroundings, than even Shah Abbas the Great accomplished for Ispahan, which was then the Capital. The rebuilding of the sacred town of Kom so as to afford ample accommodation for pilgrims, is another monument by which he will ever be remembered in Persia. Being a distinguished scholar, and himself a poet, he was ever ready to encourage science and learning, to which he paid his tribute by introducing the Western method of teaching mathematics in all its branches and, for the first time in the history of Persia, about 30 years ago forty Persian adults were sent to the different capitals of Europe, chiefly to Paris, to study sciences and arts for the purpose of teaching them in Persia. On their return, books were translated which have ever since been used in special colleges organized in each principal city at the expense of the Government for the spread of knowledge and European languages. The Polytechnic of Nasri in the town of Tehran, of which the writer used to be a pupil, is a specimen of these new colleges. Besides all sciences which are taught from translations by Persian professors, each European language has a number of teachers from its respective country. Medicine is successfully taught and even European music enters into the curriculum of these colleges; a

military training is also given in them, although each town has a separate college for instruction in this profession. His Majesty was always present at the distribution of medals and prizes twice a year after the examinations. Great was the rejoicing of the successful scholar who was to receive honours on those days, for he was sure to hear the voice of his beloved monarch in his praise if he specially deserved that distinction.

The organization of the army, including the creation of some regiments of cavalry dressed and drilled on the system of Russian Cossacks and the introduction of the Verndel rifles and of Krupp guns for the use of the troops are also among the services which he rendered to his Government and nation. That he ruled Persia with great wisdom and success, and that he jealously guarded his country's independence, it is sufficient to mention that, in spite of some very dangerous storms, he steered the ship of the State for fifty years with such skill that the territorial integrity of Persia is to-day intact, and that her position is now safer than it ever has been. It is specially to his credit that he accomplished more by the arts of peace than some of his predecessors had done by those of war and, thanks to his indefatigable energy, Persia is to-day in a more flourishing condition than she was before his advent. He was ever anxious to enter into *bona fide* commercial relations with England and he did his utmost to gain for Persia the benefits of extended trade with all her neighbours. One of the proofs of the people's attachment as well as of his statesmanship, is that, during the whole of his long absence from Persia on his three visits to Europe, when he studied to make himself acquainted with the higher forms of civilization and culture of the West, the political calm of Persia remained absolutely undisturbed, for the Persians had become fully convinced of the interest which he took in their welfare, and of his eagerness to elevate them in the scale of nations and restore to them their ancient grandeur and glory. The absolute

calm now reigning in Persia, which, considering the suddenness of the deplorable event that has deprived his people of his protection, is the wonder of all Europe, is also another conclusive proof of His Majesty's foresight and ability in providing for emergencies that might follow his death. All Europeans who have come in contact with the late Shah, admitted his quick intelligence and the great qualities which have certainly made him one of the best monarchs of his time. Coupled with the natural sympathy of the English for Persia, these qualities may be said to have secured for the Shah the brilliant welcome, which he received in Great Britain on the occasion of his two visits when he attracted an immense amount of public attention, created a most favourable impression, and carried away fond memories which he so ably recorded in his Diary written for his people in order to establish a union of hearts between them and this great nation. It is a pity that, in spite of the affinity between the English and Persian languages and modes of thought, so few in this country study Persian and its charming Literature, in which the original Royal Diary not only holds a place, but would also show them what an admirer and friend of England they have lost. In conclusion, it is but just to record that bright hopes for the future of Persia are closely following on the gloom left by the setting sun. Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah, his eldest son by a royal mother, who is 45 years old, has taken over the reins of Sovereignty. His Imperial Majesty has in the past had many opportunities for proving his ability to his subjects, although, judging from the European Press, it would appear that its fame had not always reached the distant West. This however is excusable and moreover explained by the fact that, while his august father reigned, in accordance with dynastic custom, he formed part of the Government by being the Viceroy of Azerbaijan, and thus his success was attributed to the executive of the country as a whole. The large province over which he ruled for so many years

produces men of the roughest and toughest type, which, coupled with their noted bravery, gives the finest soldiers to the army, the infantry and the artillery being almost exclusively composed of the people of Azerbaijan. It is a wise and thoughtful arrangement to always appoint the Crown Princes of Persia to govern that Province. The very qualities which make its people fit for the army, naturally call forth the highest ability of the Princes to keep them in order and they thus gain experience for the even more important as well as sacred duties which will in due course devolve upon them. The acquaintance with this fact alone ought to dissipate the false notion that His Imperial Majesty, the reigning Shah, has assumed the position of arbiter of the fortunes of many millions without previous experience and knowledge of government. He has ruled over one-fifth of Persia consecutively for upwards of thirty years, being directly responsible for its good government for about twenty years of that long period. During the troublesome raids of the great Kurdish tribes, headed by Sheikh Obeidullah, the present Shah was directly responsible for the suppression of these hordes numbering about eighty thousand men, mainly armed with Martini-Henry Rifles acquired by plundering the battle-fields in the Russo-Turkish war. His Majesty proved his military skill by inflicting severe defeats upon Sheikh Obeidulla—who ultimately fled to Turkey and ended a miserable life in confinement at Taïf where he died—and dispersing his formidable army which was devastating the land and threatening the peace of the whole country. For his personal qualities, all who have served under him, when he was governor and administrator, declare their admiration. He is loved for his forgiving and generous nature and his liberality is a common subject of conversation. He is more enlightened than the ordinary people of the West may imagine. He has always studied the politics of Europe and follows closely the main events of the day as reported in the principal newspapers of

Europe. He reads and speaks French with greater facility than his lamented father; from his childhood, he has been taught by eminent masters not only that language, but all that is imparted in Western schools, fortunately not at the expense of his Eastern learning, in which also he excels, often amusing himself by rendering Persian poetry into Arabic with amazing ease and elegance. His love for sports is hereditary and in that pursuit he equals his indomitable father. He is never so happy as when riding on a spirited horse, chasing game o'er hill and dale, or facing the savage Persian bear, his favourite sport.

Since his accession, he has already shown a filial as well as a personal devotion, all his own, to the duties of his position. He has re-issued his father's Jubilee Firman for the remission for ever of all taxes on bread and meat; he has declared himself a friend of progress and a Defender of Islám; his reign promises to eclipse, if possible, in peace and prosperity that of his father; he has the best wishes of Great Britain and of all the other Allied Powers for the success of his task, which he will accomplish by following the example of his predecessor, the requirements of a sound policy in home and foreign affairs, the dictates of his religion and the glorious memories of his country. The early nomination of his eldest son, Prince Muhammad Ali Mirza, Itizad-ul-daula, who is very well-spoken of and 24 years old, as his heir, is already a proof of his foresight in securing the future of his dynasty and the peace of Persia.

The following is the abridged translation of a Persian official Announcement issued 11 *days before the Shah's assassination, dated* 6 *Zeked,* 1313:

April 19, 1896.

"The aim and object of His Imperial Majesty the Shah in Shah being always to provide for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of all classes in his Empire in order that the rich as well as poor and the great as well as the small may partake equally of his grace and benediction, and in return

offer their devoted prayer for his ancient and everlasting empire on the happy occasion of the 50 years' Jubilee of His Imperial Majesty's Reign, which will be celebrated this month Zeked, 1313,—all taxes and imposts which it has been the custom from time immemorial to levy on meat as well as on bread are, from the date of this announcement, ABOLISHED. No one need pay the smallest coin on these articles, and every part of the slaughtered sheep, lamb, or ox as well as the skin, head, and feet will belong to the owner. May the wrath of Almighty visit whomsoever should at any time hereafter attempt, under any pretext whatever, to impose taxes of any nature on bread and meat! On the 22nd of this month Zeked (May 5, 1896), which is the day of rejoicing and the Jubilee of the august Reign, in the walls of all the important Mosques of Tehran, shall be set slabs of marble on which shall be engraved the purport of this Imperial Firman."

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM AND THE GOVERNMENT.

By South African.

The affairs of S. Africa present a very complicated and serious problem at present, whereof the importance to the Empire is happily being increasingly recognised. Mr. H. O. Arnold-Foster does not overstate the case when he tells us in the *National Review* for June that "There is a grave and growing feeling of dissatisfaction and alarm with regard to events in South Africa—and well there may be." It is proposed here to review very briefly the various elements of the tangled situation as it stands at present, in order to justify my conclusion as to the proper policy of our Government in dealing with it.

I.

The most important factor in the whole position is outside South Africa altogether. It is the attitude of Germany. Any strong and resolute Government in London could deal effectually with all the native-born difficulties, such as those between Boers and Uitlanders, but the advent of a first-class European Power upon the scene opens up a far wider question. It is within the knowledge of the present writer that at the close of last year or very early this year a most competent and well-informed authority, an Englishman long resident in Germany, informed his friends in Natal that it was then an open secret in Germany that numbers of trained soldiers, reservists no doubt, were being sent out to the Transvaal, and that their arms and ammunition had gone also. In support of this and other similar reports from various sources we had detailed notices in the Cape papers of the arrival of some hundreds of military-looking Germans bound for the Transvaal. All this is apparently part and parcel of a large programme whereby the Germans hope presently to secure the maritime resources and distant colonies of the Dutch by the inclusion of Holland in the Empire; and it suits them to believe or affect to believe

that the Transvaal Boers are Dutchmen, and that they and their country should follow the fortunes of Holland. In any case, the fact of the arrival of these Germans in organized batches in the Transvaal and of large supplies of arms and ammunition, including Krupp guns, is indisputable. Now why did the Emperor of Germany send these men, or which comes to the same thing, allow them to be sent out? He and his trained military advisers knew perfectly well that they would be hopelessly cut off from their base in case of a war with England, and that no number of such German immigrants which could reasonably be sent out in this way, would do anything more than give a small amount of extra trouble to the English and encouragement to the Boers in case of a war between us, so long as the hands of England were free to attend to such a campaign. The only reasonable and tenable explanation of these facts, and of the other well-known items,—such as the Emperor's famous congratulatory telegram to President Kruger and the mission of Dr. Leyds at Berlin,—is that at the beginning of this year the German Government considered that the prospect of a Continental coalition against England in which Germany would participate, was sufficiently possible or probable to justify it in taking the preliminary measures necessary for securing a footing in the Transvaal, as the key of S. Africa at present, with a view to oust the English and secure a S. African Dominion for Germany, in case the fortunes of the general struggle in European waters should prove disastrous for England. These considerations strongly fortify me in the views which I expressed elsewhere* just prior to these events that such a coalition against England was then a likely contingency. Lord Salisbury, by his recent judicious rapprochement and good understanding with Germany, has no doubt tided over the crisis for the time; and the presence of these few hundreds of Germans in the Transvaal with no longer any prospect

* See a paper in "the Contemporary Review" for December, 1895, headed "1920."

of armed support from home is now, on a broad view, a small matter. Nevertheless, the fact of their despatch, and the entire circumstances are very disquieting for England, as showing the possibility at least of an European combination against the British Empire. There is here a grave lesson for our statesmen in connection with the sufficiency or otherwise of our naval and military defensive preparations, and the serious risks attending a policy of isolation, depending on a fighting strength inadequate to maintain it.

2.

President Kruger hardly desires a German Protectorate of the Transvaal. It seems far more probable that his recent emphatic disclaimers of any such ideas are honest, and that his policy is and has been merely to play off Germany against England, and thereby to secure his own independence of both. Nevertheless, in ostentatiously soliciting and welcoming German support and German influence in his country he is playing a dangerous game. His position at present is very peculiar. He depends upon the votes of a set of Boer supporters who are largely so childishly ignorant and puffed up with their own past successes against the English, that, incredible as it sounds, it is nevertheless perfectly true that numbers of them say openly that if only they had the ships, they would cross the Atlantic and take London! These besotted and illiterate farmers in the country districts the President must keep in fairly good humour or he would be perpetually outvoted in the Volksraad and lose his position and influence. Then he has to reckon with the powerful Hollander clique who represent the necessary element of intelligence and business capacity which he cannot secure in any sufficient quantity for Governmental purposes from his ignorant Boer supporters, while he will not, or dare not, trust Englishmen in any such posts. The Hollanders to a man, with Dr. Leyds at their head, are rabidly anti-English, and their influence is most disastrous to any prospect of harmony between the

races. The President is too shrewd a man not to know perfectly well that in the last resort he cannot hope to cope with British power by any resources available in the Transvaal or in S. Africa, which knowledge accounts fully for his coquetting with Germany. If Mr. Chamberlain should now put pressure on him to secure reasonable concessions to the Uitlanders in Johannesburg, he will most likely yield to such pressure just so far as he may think is safe, in face of the certain opposition of his own more extreme and anti-English Boer and Hollander supporters. He is an old man who, in sporting phraseology, has "made his pile." Such men are conservative, and the President will make things last for his time, if he can, without coming to a rupture with the British Government on the one side or with his own ignorant and fanatical supporters on the other.

3.

After the Transvaal Boers, we must next consider the position of their Dutch sympathizers in the Cape Colony and in the Free State. Prior to Dr. Jameson's raid, the situation was very promising for the present and future harmony of the English and Dutch in both territories. Dutchmen, as is well-known, are treated on an equal footing in the English-governed Cape Colony, and similarly in the main for Englishmen in the Dutch-governed Free State. The two races were, on the whole, jogging along very amicably together with every prospect of ultimate fusion. Dr. Jameson's disastrous raid has created for a time a grave and adverse complication. The racial instinct of every young Dutchman has been aroused, and slumbering or dying bitterness against the English rekindled. Many hundreds of Boers from the Free State and the Cape Colony, and a smaller number from Natal where the Dutch population is much more scanty, volunteered their services to the Transvaal Government. Had war broken out immediately after the raid their number would have been swelled to thousands. Nevertheless, it is easy to exaggerate the

importance of this movement. The Boers are a free-spirited race who love justice. Should the British Government allow a little time to elapse, as it is now most wisely doing, in order that the passionate feelings evoked by the raid may have time to cool down, and then confine itself in any demands it may make on President Kruger, to the plain and manifest requirements of justice to the Uitlanders, I refuse to believe that any very considerable or important number of Dutchmen outside the Transvaal will support it by arms in refusing such reasonable demands. The great majority of the Boers in the Cape Colony at least will quite see that Englishmen in the Transvaal are entitled to similar treatment to that which they themselves enjoy under the British flag. They will refuse to move, so long as they recognise that the demands of the British Government are moderate and fair.

4.

We have next to consider the important factor in the general situation represented by Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company.

Mr. H. O. Arnold Forster, M.P., argues in a paper to which we have already referred that there should be an end once and for all of the Chartered Company and its promoters as representatives of British power in S. Africa. In support of this view it may be admitted that Mr. Rhodes has greatly betrayed his trust and the responsibilities of his position, whether we regard him in his capacity as the moving spirit in the Company, responsible to the Government which gave him the Charter for loyally carrying out its provisions, or whether we consider his late official position as Premier of the Cape Colony. This would seem to be clear on the face of the facts, but it is premature and improper, while an inquiry is pending and the case is still "pendente lite," to come to any final judgment. Most likely it will be found that there is great weight in the argument which is developed at length in the XIXth Century for June by a well-informed writer—that Rhodes was afraid

of German intrigues in the Transvaal and anxious to secure it for the Empire, before the Germans could make good their own footing. However this may be, now that the responsibility of government and administration has been taken out of the hands of the Chartered Company, as well as the control of arms, ammunition and military or police services,—there is no hurry, and the whole question can well await the results of the promised investigation. Meanwhile the great claims for special consideration which Mr. Rhodes has established in S. Africa have been well summed up by a French writer: "Had not Mr. Rhodes occupied in 1890 what is now known as Rhodesia, this huge tract of land—750,000 square miles—would have fallen into the hands of the Boers, Germans and Portuguese." [M. Lionel Decle, National Review, June '96.]

5.

Natal is a valuable centre of loyalty to the British connection and to the crown. It is much more British in white population and in sentiment than the older and larger Cape Colony. The Dutch element in it is comparatively insignificant, but as Dutchmen are treated on a footing of perfect equality they pass freely backwards and forwards from the Free State. Thus large farmers who own farms in the Free State on the "high veldt," own also or hire for the season, farms on the "low veldt" in Natal, and drive their cattle to and fro between the two, to take advantage of the young grass at the proper season in each locality. The present writer spent a week last year with pleasure and profit at the house of a wealthy and most hospitable Dutch farmer in the Free State, who does this regularly. He and numerous other similarly situated farmers, whether Dutch or English, form valuable connecting links in aid of harmony between the two races. It is much to be regretted that the claims of Natal to territorial extension have not been duly recognised in the past. After the Zulu war the whole of that fertile country should have been annexed to Natal, with due precautions for the just

claims of the conquered Zulus. Instead of this the Transvaal Boers were tamely allowed to "jump," or annex a large slice of the best territory. Similarly for Pondoland on the other side, which should have been annexed to Natal, instead of to the much more remote Cape Government. This would probably have been done had not the High Commissioner been also Governor of the Cape Colony, with a considerable portion of his salary depending on the Cape Government, so that he is bound by his position to support its claims.

6.

Let us next turn to the situation in Matabeleland. The causes of the Matabele rising were as follows :—

(a) A large number of young fighting braves survived from the supposed destruction or break-up of Lobengula's four royal regiments. These were dissatisfied with the easy victory of the white men, and ready for another trial of strength.

(b) Their discontent was taken advantage of by the witch doctors, who constituted after Lobengula's death the main surviving element of power among the natives, and who were anxious to recover their lost influence.

(c) The disarmament which was supposed to be carried out after Lobengula's defeat was not and could not be thorough and effective. But the natives prize their weapons more than anything in the world, and nothing irritates them so much as such an attempted disarmament.

(d) The sweeping confiscation of large herds of cattle belonging nominally to Lobengula practically robbed the Matabele of a large amount of their most valuable property and created great discontent. This evil has now been remedied to a considerable extent by the division of a large proportion of the cattle among the various kraals, which has been carried out by the Chartered Courts.

(e) The measures necessarily taken for stamping out the rinderpest among the cattle have tended to aggravate this discontent.

(f) All the above smouldering elements of trouble were fanned into a flame by the news of the victory of the Boers over Jameson's party, while the withdrawal of his force gave room and opportunity for the rising.

The seriousness of the Matabele revolt has been greatly exaggerated in the home papers. If a small force of Chartered troops put down Lobengula in the plenitude of his power, it has never been in the least likely that a recrudescence of mischief among the survivors from his defeat, would, on a broad view, give anything more than a moderate amount of temporary trouble.

Nevertheless the native question is always with us in S. Africa. All the necessary elements are there for a far more serious and dangerous rising among the natives than this present minor matter of the Matabele. The risk might be precipitated at any time by such an occurrence as a wide-spread famine caused by a failure of the native crops in an exceptionally dry season. The best means of averting this really serious danger would be the appointment of an able and far-sighted High Commissioner for S. Africa, unconnected with and untrammelled by any question of the Cape Governorship, with his residence in a central locality in the interior, and not at the extreme end of the Continent. He should be specially instructed to watch the native question carefully, and have large powers to enforce a firm, consistent, humane and just policy in dealing with the natives generally throughout the whole country south of the Zambesi.

7.

We are now perhaps in a position to consider the whole situation from the point of view of Her Majesty's Government. Let us set down in order the leading considerations which apparently should decide their policy :—

The paramount necessities of the all-important native question urgently demand a strong policy and a united South Africa. The due harmonizing of the powerful and important railway interests also demands it. Thus the Cape

Government has spent a vast sum on railways, and will be presently landed in very serious difficulties if this question be not satisfactorily adjusted. In fine early confederation is a necessity for the safety and prosperity of South Africa.

The antagonism of the Transvaal Boers alone stands in the way. Apart from them, the large majority of the Boers in all the rest of S. Africa including all the most enlightened and progressive men among them, will welcome confederation.

The only solution to render possible a harmonious federation is that the English and Dutch elements should possess equal rights. Now we have already seen that this principle is conceded with the most excellent results in the two English governed colonies of the Cape and Natal and in the Dutch governed Free State. Thus in the Cape Colony the Boer Members of Parliament number 32 out of a total of 95.

Now if we examine the causes of the present difficulty in the Transvaal we find that the treaty of Pretoria, upon which the position of its government depends, was based upon the constitution of 1876, under which any white who possessed land under the Transvaal Government or had resided one year in the country was entitled to naturalisation and to equal rights with the home-born citizens. Since then two successive sets of reactionary laws have been passed by the Volksraad disfranchising the Uitlanders,—and in 1894, the Volksraad actually passed a law whereby the children of Uitlanders born and brought up in the Transvaal have no right to citizenship unless, *before they were born*, their fathers took the oath of allegiance to the State.

Hence it is perfectly clear that the conditions under which we restored the independence of the Transvaal by the treaty of Pretoria have been set aside.

To those conditions we should revert: on them we should take our stand, and by them we should abide. But if the Boers will not abide by them, then neither should we: that

is we should be prepared if necessary, to declare the independence of the Transvaal at an end, and our own hands free to make a fresh arrangement. Less than this should not satisfy us. But it by no means follows that we should just at this moment, in the face of Europe outraged by Dr. Jameson's raid, send an ultimatum to this effect. That would give some real justification to the anti-English Continental Press for an outcry against the barbarous and brutal aggression of England. The precise time, mode, and nature of our demands is a matter of political and administrative convenience; but this is the goal to which we should steadily work and for which we should presently if necessary, be prepared to fight.

Herein it will be seen that I am in entire agreement with Mr. Dicey who says most pertinently in the XIXth Century for May, "England ought now to insist upon the treaty of Pretoria being observed in the spirit as well as in the letter, and upon the Uitlanders being placed in a position of equality with the Boers."

The key-note then of British policy should be political equality. If it be necessary to send an ultimatum to President Kruger our Government should issue a proclamation throughout South Africa setting forth that their sole object is to obtain for Englishmen, Americans, and all other nationalities in the Transvaal those same conditions of political equality which the British Government has all along conceded to Dutchmen in the Cape Colony and Natal. If such a proclamation is judiciously worded and widely circulated among the Boers I entirely refuse to believe that any considerable number of them in the Cape Colony and the Free State will move. A certain proportion of the young fiery spirits among the Free State Boers, and a smaller number from the Cape will no doubt go off to support their kinsmen in the Transvaal; but the great majority, including all the most enlightened and influential men, will recognise the justice of England's cause and will remain quiet at home.

At present President Kruger's avowed object is to obtain such a modification of the convention of 1884 as will enable the Republic, by the assistance of European powers, to hold its own against the growing strength of the Uitlanders, so as to perpetuate Boer supremacy and the denial of their just claims. It is clear that if we once allow such a position as this, the further the situation goes the worse it will become, and the more room there will be for openly expressed European sympathy, and presently at some unfavourable moment for England, for European intervention. That this is a contingency to be recognised and forestalled we see by such articles as that in the Berlin "Neueste Nachrichten" for May 21st last, which calls for an offensive and defensive alliance between the Transvaal and Germany. Meanwhile it is absolutely certain that Imperial inactivity at present will very gravely imperil British Supremacy in South Africa by the profound disgust which it will create in the most loyal quarters. No one who has not visited, as the present writer has recently done, some of the farms in the country districts in our South African colonies can have any idea of the intense irritation caused among them by Mr. Gladstone's policy of retirement after our checks at Laing's Neck and Majuba Hill, with their subsequent bitter experience of the resulting Boer arrogance and insolence. If now our Government fails to stand firmly by the Uitlanders, after persuading them to lay down their arms, hundreds of the most loyal supporters of the flag and the Imperial connection in South Africa will say that the British Government and British support are a hopeless failure and that they had better look forward to a United South Africa outside the British Empire altogether.

We shall then run a very grave risk of losing South Africa. For when a working majority of the united English and Dutch populations have agreed upon a federation, with the British flag left out in the cold, and when that arrangement receives strong support from first class Continental powers as it will be sure to do, our

Government will be driven to take an extraordinarily firm line in the face of the world, and risk a general conflagration over the question, if they try to oppose it. But if then we let South Africa go, the all important connecting link between Australia, New Zealand and our other Eastern possessions formed by South Africa will be lost, and a general break up of the British Empire may most easily ensue. This will be only the natural and logical outcome of a weak policy now over this Transvaal question.

Up to the present Mr. Chamberlain's dealing with these thorny questions has been judicious and unimpeachable, whatever a few irreconcilables may say. It has been impossible for him, in face of the untoward complication caused by Jameson's unsuccessful raid, to do anything more than wait, and enquire and bide his time. And he may most probably find it best to bide his time a while longer, or until the Jameson and Chartered Company investigations are concluded, about which we may rely upon it the Government will be in no hurry. For it is clearly desirable to gain time for the moment and let things cool down a little, while earning credit for forbearance and impartiality. But whenever these protracted enquiries are terminated we shall be driven to declare our policy.

Our best course will then be, it is here argued, to send out a Statesman of high rank as Special Imperial Commissioner to South Africa with ample powers to conduct all necessary negotiations with President Kruger, and with the distinct understanding that he will be supported, in case the Boers prove stubborn and recalcitrant with 30,000 or 35,000 men. If this is allowed to be distinctly understood, an amicable compromise will most likely be arrived at, whereby the Transvaal Government will concede the substance of our demands, while we in turn to "save their faces" concede something. If not, if the Boers are unyielding and irreconcilable, we must next consider the military question which will then rule the situation.

8.

It has been said that a force of from 30,000 to 35,000 men will be desirable. We cannot afford any more discreditable military fiascos in South Africa, and it is highly necessary in the face of Europe and especially of Germany that once the matter is taken in hand it should be pushed through offhand to a favourable termination. Natal forms the most eligible base, as an advance by the Cape Railways would involve much longer distances and a violation of the neutrality or supposed neutrality of the Free State, which would strengthen the hands of that party in the Free State which will wish to join openly with the Transvaal.

I shall assume that the regular Army Corps organization is quite unsuited to the purpose, and that a specially-constituted force would be arranged for instead of a normal Army Corps. A powerful force of Artillery is highly desirable. If 10 Batteries be sent they will upset the Boer tactics more than anything. The whole terrain of the Transvaal is open, accessible, and generally favourable to their action. Their powerful shells will rain thickly among the stony kopjes behind which the Boers are sure to take up their position, and will quickly stampede their horses which will be massed somewhere in rear not far away. This will usually be the certain prelude to a hasty flight of the owners in search of their horses, as nine Boers out of ten will stick to their mounts, and go after them forthwith if they levant. About 10,000 Infantry provided with a liberal supply of machine guns would be required with two field companies of Engineers and two railway companies. The whole of the rest of the force say 20,000 men might be mounted. They would consist of as many Colonial Mounted Volunteers and irregular levies (similar to those successfully employed by the Chartered Company against Lobengula and in Sir C. Warren's expedition) as may be readily available, supplemented by a strong force of Indian Cavalry, with the balance made up by Cavalry and all the

mounted infantry available from home. On this mixed force of 20,000 mounted men and the Artillery the main brunt of all the fighting would fall, the Infantry being chiefly employed, at all events after the first fight, to secure the railway as the line of communication.

Against a well organised and well commanded force on such a scale as this the Boers would have no chance. No doubt we have found to our cost that a small force of Boers in their own country, and fighting under their own chosen tactical conditions, is a match and often more than a match for a corresponding force of our regular Troops. But as the scale of the operations increases the advantage of the properly organised and disciplined force increases also in a steadily accelerating ratio. A thousand Boers may beat a thousand Englishmen, but 30,000 or 40,000 of them will have no chance whatever against 30,000 of our men. They would be simply a huge, badly organised, undisciplined and unmanageable mob, which would probably be thrown into dire and hopeless confusion by our Artillery alone, without any question of close fighting.

But, it will be said, the Boers will not be so foolish as to play our game by making a great fight on any such scale. They will be advised by able and experienced German officers who know better. They will avoid committing themselves to any general action and take to partisan and guerilla warfare organised on a great scale against our long line of communications, and with the advantage of their perfect local knowledge of the ground and great mobility as mounted forces.

Very likely they will, although the general engagement would suit us much better. If so the 10,000 infantry, the Engineers and large supply of machine guns which we have supposed will come well into play. The railway must be repaired and set in order as we proceed by a strong force of railway Engineers supported by large parties of workmen from the Natal and Cape Railways. The infantry would then be left in detached parties every few

miles along the line to guard it. They would live in defensible blockhouses armed with machine guns and arranged to sweep the line each way. With these arrangements the British force would secure its footing on the railway line as it proceeded and presently, if the Boers still decline large scale fighting, occupy Johannesberg and Pretoria. We should then command the Netherland Railway and all the leading roads for many miles round these capital towns, with well secured trains of supplies coming up by rail from Natal.

The Boer leaders would be in this position that they would be driven either to fight on the large scale before we reach Pretoria which is precisely what we most want, or they would see their men melt away by driblets and return to their farms. For their forces, consisting of all the active men of the nation could only be kept in the field for a very moderate and limited time. Neither would their commissariat hold out for any lengthy operations. They must either fight or give in, and no doubt they would fight.

The whole affair from first to last if judiciously managed would be, as I think, a much simpler and easier matter than probably most people imagine, owing again to the overwhelming advantage of a properly organised and disciplined force in large scale operations. It is very unlikely that there would be any very considerable amount of bloodshed. The Boers might perhaps lose 500 or 1,000 men in the first fight on the large scale and then the whole thing would be practically settled.

President Kruger is very welcome to the support of the few hundred Germans whom he has invited into his country, as also to the large supplies of guns, rifles and ammunition which he is now getting together. Similarly for his new forts. These various items will make no practical difference in the net result, although they may give us a small amount of extra trouble.*

* The last item is 10,000 more Martinis which he has just ordered, according to the newspapers, from a firm in Bond Street.

9.

Let me now summarise very briefly the conclusions at which we have arrived.

It has been argued that our Government should take a firm stand on the principle of equal justice to Dutch and English throughout S. Africa. The freedom and civil equality which we have all along conceded to Dutchmen in our Cape Colonies should be conceded also to Englishmen and to all other whites in the Transvaal. If President Kruger's Dutch Government will not do this we should put it down and replace it by an English Government of our own, with the distinct understanding and pledge that that Government will forthwith concede all those civil rights to the Boers which they are now denying to the Uitlanders. Then, when once the principle of civil equality has been established throughout South Africa, the way will be cleared for federation. A South African Dominion should be established forthwith under the British flag. The various railways should be pooled, and a fair arrangement come to for division of profits among them, whereby the very important railway question will be settled satisfactorily. An Imperial High Commissioner, unconnected with the Cape Colony, should be established in a central locality in the interior to watch over the native question, and see that all natives throughout South Africa are ruled justly, humanely, and firmly. This question is most important; indeed its importance alone is sufficient to justify an armed interference in Transvaal affairs now, in order to secure the future of South Africa from native dangers.

Moreover, apart from this, so long as the High Commissioner is also Governor of the Cape Colony, so long it will be inevitable, unless a frequently recurring administrative deadlock is to be courted, that the policy of the High Commissioner and of the Government at Home should be harmonized with, and depend largely upon, the programme of the Cape Parliament. Now the interests of the Cape Colony are in conflict on important questions, with those

of Natal, the Transvaal and the Free State. If therefore the Imperial High Commissioner is to hold a just balance between the various South African fractions, and to command proper respect from all of them, it is essential that the High Commissionership should be separated altogether from the Cape Colony.

If this programme be carried out we may most reasonably expect that the South African Dominion will progress by leaps and bounds, and in another generation it will be a most flourishing and important portion of the Empire.

But if our statesmen now shrink from such a programme on account of the possibility of a little bloodshedding with a stubborn, ignorant, and arrogant minority of Boers in the Transvaal, they will run a most serious risk of losing South Africa altogether for the Empire. They will disgust their own most loyal supporters in these Colonies, and encourage a Continentally-aided separationist party in the Transvaal, whose efforts, if successful, will lose South Africa for us, and even if ultimately unsuccessful, will very gravely retard its due and proper progress for a generation to come, while creating meanwhile the most serious risks from a diverse and badly conducted policy in dealing with the natives.

BRITISH RULE IN CEYLON.

By Thomas Berwick,
Retired District Judge of Colombo.

A paper recently read before the Royal Colonial Institute by Mr. Clarence, lately a Puisne Judge in Ceylon, on a Century of British Rule in that Island, is of a nature to excite considerable surprise and misgiving in the minds of many who have hitherto rested in the belief that if there be one point more than another, next to our free institutions at home, for which we might justly claim pre-eminence over other nations, it is the manner in which our government has been exercised abroad in the interests of the native races that have come under our dominion, and the impartiality which characterises, or is supposed to characterise its measures for the prosperity of Native-born and British-born subjects alike. This belief must be rudely shaken if we are to accept some of Mr. Clarence's statements with the interpretation that may, not unreasonably, be put on them; and even without that interpretation they are sufficiently serious. With gentle purpose, he may have abstained from saying in direct and express words that the interests of the natives of the country have been subordinated to those of the British planter and merchant; but bearing in mind that the terms "commercial and planting interests" have come to be commonly employed in Ceylon in the sense of indicating the special interests of the latter, and that he himself employs them elsewhere in this sense, such does seem to be the underlying drift of the sentences in which he sums up the results of a century of English government in the words: "the truth is that our rule has been less successful in promoting the welfare of the natives than in the realms of commerce"; and "its commercial and planting successes have overshadowed the needs of the

people." Seeking to put the most favourable construction on his meaning, the first sentence quoted might, if it stood alone, be read as intending simply to signify that our general administration has resulted in a more marked measure of success in the way of benefiting the British planter and merchant than in promoting the welfare of the natives :—a matter of opinion on which British Capital, if it had a voice, would probably give a very decided and different utterance. But it is very difficult to find any meaning at all in the immediately succeeding sentence if it be not meant to imply, at the least, that the needs and prosperity of the people of the country have been less considered in the measures of Government than the interests of the British planter and merchant, and been allowed to suffer while these were advanced :—that those were left in the shade while these basked in the sunshine of Government favour.

The real truth is that in the realms of commerce, agriculture, public works,—in fact in all that concerns the *creation of wealth*, it is impossible to say or insinuate, with a shadow of justice, that, under British rule, the interests of the natives have ever been subordinated to, or have received less anxious consideration than those of Europeans, either by the Legislature or the Executive Government; or that, in the result of that rule, the native races have not prospered as rapidly, and far more continuously, than the European. It has been neither the fault nor the merit of our administration if British capital and British energy have been able to obtain, in particular pursuits which have known immense vicissitudes, successes which there was neither Sinhalese capital nor enterprise to accomplish to the same extent. In point of fact, the spread of wealth and increase of material prosperity among the natives—mainly in consequence of the presence of a handful of British planters—has been enormous, and the evidences of these strike with astonishment any one who travels now along the principal arteries of communication and compares

what he sees with his recollection of his first drive from Galle to Colombo less than 50 years ago. I know of no country in Europe which can match such a development so patent to the eye.

But as wealth is not the only factor in a nation's happiness and welfare, there would have been less ground for criticism if Mr. Clarence, instead of accentuating the imagined greater benefits of our rule to English than to Native interests, had said that the successes of our administration are more apparent in what more directly concerns the creation and spread of wealth among the *people* and *their* material prosperity, than in some other matters which deeply affect their vital welfare; or even that an undue preponderance of attention had been given to the former over the latter. While we survey with satisfaction the enormous amount of benefit to the natives, in the respects specified, which has resulted—and was intended to result—from the encouragement accorded to the employment of British capital and the facilitating of traffic within and without the Island, it is plainly due at the same time to measure up the successes and shortcomings of our administration in other matters: such as the sufficiency and efficiency of our efforts to control the evils which grow up and spread as wealth grows and spreads;—the effects of attempts to forcibly alter in a day ancient customs interwoven with the rights of property and inheritance, and the moral standards of thousands of years of a civilisation older than our own, framed on different lines, and needing different social safeguards for the common weal;—the effect on the security of titles to land and business transactions of judicial foistings on the country of patches of law and methods of procedure taken from the complex and confused web of English jurisprudence, and which it has been found cannot be made to piece in with the rest of the law by which the rights and devolution of property are regulated:—the injustice that has been done, the confusion that has been caused, and the uncertainty as to rights and

remedies which has arisen, as the consequences of sending out English Judges to administer law based on a system of jurisprudence of which they were profoundly ignorant, and which their sturdy Anglo-Saxon prejudices made them proportionately indisposed to appreciate, although it does happen to be that which, with diversity in details but community of principles, prevails in almost every Christian country of Europe, including a very considerable part of the United Kingdom itself, to say nothing of countries and British Colonies in other quarters of the globe* :— and still confining ourselves to the quasi-judicial region of administration, and only to mention one more of the many subjects that concern the health of the body politic, but one which is of appalling significance in Ceylon, — what has been done, or left undone, or misdone, in the way of attempting to diminish the amount of grave crime and private bloodshed which give that fair Eden of the East a dark and sad pre-eminence over every other of the Queen's dominions. If such an enquiry were made, it might indeed transpire that English rule was open to criticism in some matters of even greater moment than measures conducing to enable the sons of peasants and pedlars to sport patent leather shoes and substitute English beer and groceries for the simpler and healthier fare of their fathers, and to transform new luxuries into new necessities of existence.

* The author of the paper under review has permitted himself to lapse into the unqualified statement that the Roman-Dutch Law has been "long since abolished in the Netherlands,"—one which is at the best more technically than essentially accurate. It ignores the facts that both the common law of the United Provinces and the general law of France had a common foundation and were largely permeated by the very same principles of the later Civil Law, and that this basis and these principles remain. It would have been quite as true to say of the Code Napoleon that it had abolished the law of France as that it abolished the former law of Holland. The learned Judge is as well aware as any one that the unification of divergencies of custom in contiguous provinces or States, and codification are very different things from the total abolition of the law of a country, and leaves its foundation and principles unchanged in fact, whatever words indicative of repeal may chance to be employed in the necessary act of legislation.

But thus merely to contrast the results of our rule in the dissemination of wealth and material prosperity among the natives with what has attended it in other matters concerning their welfare; and to point out certain fields in which we have been less successful, or have acted unwisely, is a very different thing from setting in strong and false contrast its special benefits to Europeans against its general benefits to the people of the country; and very different from saying, as Mr. Clarence has in effect said, that the interests of the British planter have been suffered to overshadow those of the natives:—language which is liable to be construed as implying—and which indeed seems naturally to involve—an innuendo of partiality that is utterly unjustifiable. And the assertion contained in the words "but the truth is that our rule has been less successful in promoting the welfare of the natives than in the realms of commerce,"—interpret it as we like—is one which there is no possible means of transferring from the region of surmise to that of accurate knowledge and admeasurement. If therefore it was intended to express, in a euphemistic way, his own opinion that our rule has not been in the main a very successful one in its relation to the natives—and his general pessimistic strain would almost lead to the inference that it had been rather a curse than a benefit to the Sinhalese—then, without indulging in any of those "cheap phrases about the blessings of British civilisation" which he deprecates immediately before telling us, after only a comma and a "but," what "the truth is," I can only say, with the weight due to nearly 40 years' intimate association in both public and private life with all ranks and classes of the natives, in the *camaraderie* of the snipe field, the social intercourse of the bungalow, the confidences of both the lawyer's chamber and of private friendship, as well as in the thousand relations of official and judicial duty—with men who were already men when the British took Colombo, and many more who were in the prime of life when we annexed the Kandyan Provinces, and with their sons, down to a very

few years ago:—with that right to speak with authority I can say that Mr. Clarence's opinion (if such it be) is not shared by the natives themselves; that they consider our rule to be such a "blessing" that they would not exchange it for their own or any other rule; and that their loyalty is not a phrase but a feeling begotten of traditions of a grinding past, and of a confidence which is based on their experience of our administration, its equity, its unselfishness, and its aims, and of the benefits which they do enjoy under it, even if these be not as complete as we desire them to be, and may leave much for us still to do, and to do with their own help.

It sometimes happens that an unfortunate phrase, not plain in itself, or rendered ambiguous by its collocation in the context, conveys an impression very different from what was in the speaker's intention. Possibly the author of the paper does not entertain and did not mean to express what I have taken exception to, and what his expressions do seem to suggest; and in that case regret is due for unconscious injustice done to him. All who have knowledge of and affection for the Colony dealt with—though they may not agree with everything that paper contains in matters of opinion or fact—will recognise not only its ability, but a good work done which may be expected to reap a good result, if it receives the attention it deserves from those who, in various degrees, are concerned in the active work of promoting the continued success of British rule in Ceylon to all the multifarious races that inhabit it. But it is not the less to be deprecated that an address to such a body as the Colonial Institute should, without just cause, furnish a powerful argument to those who are all too ready to decry the advantages of our Empire, and the justice of our dealings in the government of our Eastern subjects.

"UTMOST INDIAN ISLE—TAPROBANE."

By A. W. Tocke.

The history of Ceylon commences several centuries before the birth of Christ. In the ancient Buddhist monastery at Anuradhapura, priestly chroniclers, each in turn taking up the task where their predecessors had laid it down, forged new links to the chain of historical events; so that the Siṇhalese, unlike most of the peoples of India, possess a history, compact and concise, stretching far back into the dim past.

The Island of Ceylon was known to ancient Greek and Latin geographers as Taprobane,—a word derived from its oldest name, Tamraparni. Sir Emerson Tennent thus describes the opinion which the ancients had of Ceylon:—"The Brahmans designated it by the epithet Lanka, 'the resplendent' and in their dreamy rhapsodies extolled it as the region of mystery and sublimity; the Buddhist poets gracefully apostrophised it as 'a pearl upon the brow of India'; the Chinese knew it as 'island of jewels'; the Greeks as 'the land of the hyacinth and the ruby'; the Mahometans, in the intensity of their delight, assigned it to the exiled parents of mankind, as a new elysium to console them for the loss of Paradise; and the early navigators of Europe, as they returned home dazzled with its gems and laden with its costly spices, propagated the fable that far to seaward the very breeze that blew from it was redolent of perfume."

No less eloquent is the modern traveller in his praises though the axe of the planter has shorn many a hillside and ravine of its verdant forests and detracted not a little from the beauty of the scenery.

The ancient history of Ceylon is extremely interesting, for superstition and fable have imparted much colour to the grey background of facts. We are told that the island was originally inhabited by demons and snakes and that these curious aborigines were conquered, in 543 B.C., by Wigaya, a prince from Northern India, whose nephew founded Anuradhapura the first capital of Ceylon. Wigaya is regarded as the founder of the Siṇhalese race. In the third century B.C., the descendants of Wigaya and his followers were converted to Buddhism by Mahindo, a zealous missionary from the valley of the Ganges. The ruins of the ancient capital of Anuradhapura are to be seen at the present day, through the thick creepers and dense jungle undergrowth. A huge Bó-tree spreads its arms in mute and pathetic protection over the crumbling pillars and fallen stone idols of the old Buddhist temple. This tree is said to have grown from a sprig of the sacred Bó brought over from India and planted by Mahindo more than 2,000 years ago. Owing to repeated invasions by the hostile Malabar princes from the continent the Siṇhalese capital was moved in A.D. 800 from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruwa, a rocky and impregnable site. Under the great king Prakrama Bahu and his successor, Nisanka Malla, the capital of Polonnaruwa flourished exceedingly. But the invader came

again,—this time from the Dekkan,—and drove the Siṇhalese monarch to found a new capital at Yapahu. Kandy was the last Siṇhalese capital, Raja Singha, the last of the Kandyan Kings, being driven thence by the English, in 1815 A.D., and banished to India.

In 1522 A.D., says the Siṇhalese Chronicle,—"It came to pass that in the month of April a ship from Portugal arrived in Colombo; and information was brought to the King that there was in the harbour a race of very white and beautiful people, who wear boots and hats of iron, and never stop in one place. They eat a sort of white stone and drink blood: and they have guns with a noise louder than thunder, and a ball shot from one of them after traversing a league will break up a castle of marble."

This arrival of the white man marks a new epoch in the history of Ceylon, with which the modern history of the island may be said to commence.

The Portuguese were bad colonists. Their Colonial policy was an utter failure. They increased dissension and strife among the inhabitants of a country who were already at each other's throats. Conversion by force proved here, as it has done elsewhere, the signal for rebellion; and where it did not have this effect it brought about something even worse,—a nominal acceptance of Christianity, which served as a cloak to hide many a dark act of treachery. All that the Portuguese left behind them when they evacuated the island in 1658, was a record of bigotry and mismanagement and a corrupt *patois* of their language which is spoken at the present day by their descendants and certain of the Dutch burghers. The Dutch who came after the Portuguese gained a safe footing on the maritime borders of the island, but failed to establish any hold upon the interior. They proved far better colonists than the Portuguese. Their policy was as peaceful and well advised as that of their predecessors had been warlike and foolish. Its leading principle was trade. So long as they could fill their homeward bound ships with bales of cinnamon and spices they cared little for aught else. Strong fortresses, some of which are standing at the present day in a wonderful state of preservation, guarded Dutch interests along the coast; but up country the Kandyan Kings ruled or misruled unmolested, their subjects carrying on a trade in elephants, gems and spices with their white neighbours whom they cheated, insulted and murdered whenever the opportunity offered.

This was the policy of the Dutch,—a weak commercial policy which enervated the community and destroyed the sinews of power and Government. In such a condition the English found them. The circumstances which led to the Dutch being attacked and ousted by the English belong to the European politics of that day. In February, 1796, the Dutch finally capitulated, and the British flag floated over the ramparts of Colombo.

But it was not till 1815 that the last Kandyan King was dethroned and banished and the whole Island declared a possession of England.

From 1815, the march of affairs has been ever forward. British pluck and foresight gained ground and dominion where the Dutch had stagnated and the Portuguese had withered and died.

Ceylon has from the first been ruled by governors appointed by the Home Government. The first of these, to whom Ceylon still looks with admiration and gratitude, was Sir Edward Barnes, who established the great road system in the island,—the arteries by which civilizing influences were carried to the remote inland jungle-villages,—started the coffee plantations on the hills,—and introduced that stalwart element into Ceylon society and life,—the English planter. The coffee industry gave the first great impulse to Ceylon trade and in its halcyon days was a source of considerable wealth. But the short reign of King Coffee came to a sudden and disastrous end. A fungoid pest known as leaf-disease (Hemileia vastatrix) visited the plantations like a plague of Egypt: whole estates were gradually destroyed and the coffee planter awoke and found himself ruined. But just as the strength of the chain is proved when the greatest strain is put upon it, so the strength of the Englishman's character shows itself in his hour of darkness. The coffee planter crushed and fallen did not succumb but rose again as the tea planter. To show with what energy and strength he set to work in his new venture I give the following few statistics: In 1873, only 23 pounds of tea were exported from the island; in 1885, 4,372,722 pounds of tea were exported valued at Rupees 2,842,269 and in 1894, 85,376,322 pounds were exported valued at Rupees 32,314,259.

Ceylon is a veritable paradise for tea. Situated in the direct path of the two monsoons there is hardly a month in the year when rain does not fall in some part of the island—there is no dry season in Ceylon as in India. Here then we have the condition most essential for luxurious leaf crops. Referring to tables of rainfall and the meteorological returns we see how well distributed is the rain throughout the year; this, with perennial sunshine, makes Ceylon a veritable garden too of fruits and flowers.

Standing on the deck of an ocean steamer as she rounds the breakwater and enters Colombo harbour, on a fine day, the eye looks on a panorama of wonderful beauty. A zone of feathery cocoanut palms clasps the shore and the blue sea waves lap the green carpet of the land, the long out-riggered canoes of the Sinhalese fishermen lie stranded on the shore or skim the shallow sea, their red-brown sails full-bellied by the breeze. If you are at the right time of the year, you see patches of flaring red among the green heads of the palms; you think they are houses on fire in the distance but you are mistaken, these red patches are the flowers of the flamboyante trees (*Poinciana regia*). There is a background of blue hills to this picture, and you notice a peak rising high above the rest, a sharp point against the clear sky,—this is Adam's Peak, the sacred mountain of the Buddhists, which bears on its rocky summit the impress of a huge human foot believed by Buddhists to be the print of Buddha's foot.

But come with me to Trincomalie the Eastern port of Ceylon and I will show you a grander sight than this. I have seen Naples Bay and Trincomalie's harbour and I unhesitatingly give the palm of beauty to the latter. No description of mine could be an adequate word-painting of the soft mystic dreamy beauty of the natural harbour of Trincomalie with its little wooded islands that look as though they might be the homes of

elves and fairies. What is so wonderful here is the meeting of the green and the blue: no rim of yellow sand or black rocks separates the two, but the branches of the trees bend down and almost kiss the sea and the grass covered land joins hands with the waves.

I have said that Ceylon is a paradise for tea. In the South-Western part of the island from Colombo to Galle and a little beyond Galle right up to the farthest range of Eastern hills, we have a few million acres of good soil for tea and the necessary heat and moisture. The question is not where will tea grow in Ceylon but where will it not grow. We have tea growing within the range of the sea breezes at an altitude of from 200 to 300 feet above sea level and yielding some of the finest crops; and delicate delicious tea produced on the highest mountains from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the sea. The area under cultivation at present is 265,000 acres and in a few years we may hope to see over 300,000 acres planted with the precious shrub. Nor is tea the only product. Immense quantities of cocoanuts are gathered yearly, 700,000,000 nuts a year being an average crop. Cardamoms, cinchona bark, cocoa and cinnamon and the revived industry of coffee, complete the list of this wonderful little island's principal exported productions. Of the spices of Ceylon we've heard a great deal. The popular story that the scent of the cinnamon was wafted on the breeze to the delighted ship's passengers when still several miles from land, probably had its origin in the fact that the sailors to keep up old traditions were wont to sprinkle the rails of the ship with concentrated oil of cinnamon.

Along the coast of Ceylon the temperature is high but very equable. On the hills, the highest of which rises to an altitude of over 8,000 feet above the sea, the temperature is much lower, but the climate is unmarked by seasons. Most English flowers and fruits thrive here, but the general aspect of the scenery is distinctly tropical.

The climate is dominated by two monsoons—the N.E. and the S.W.—each of which brings abundant showers of rain. The yearly rainfall of the South-Western portion of the Island is nowhere less than 75 inches, while as much as 250 inches have been registered on the hills.

The Northern part of Ceylon is much drier, the annual rainfall there being sometimes as low as 30 inches.

Turning to examine the *flora* of Ceylon the point that strikes our attention is the unusually large proportion of endemic species; there are, in Ceylon, some 800 plants which are found nowhere else in the world. But the great bulk of the *flora* is identical with that of the Southern part of India, while some species not seen in India, but belonging to the Malay Archipelago, are found flourishing in the South-Western districts. Ceylon at one time was probably, except in sandy and barren tracts near the coast, entirely covered with forest. But cultivation, commencing doubtless at a very early date, has caused large tracts to be cleared. A big stretch of unbroken forest still covers the northern country. Here at night the *cheetah* wanders in search of spotted deer, and flying foxes, vampires and painted bats flit among the trees; beautiful *sambars* (elk) roam the moonlit glades, and the elephant, king of the forest, crashes through the jungle, pulling down or tearing up everything that stands in his way.

You may be out some night lying in wait for deer or wild boar, when, on a sudden, the death-like stillness of the hour is broken by fearful and unearthly cries. These sounds are not, as one might fancy, the cries of a tortured woman or of a lost soul in agony, but only the night-calls of an owl, the mysterious devil-bird, whose exact identity has not yet been quite cleared up. In the daytime, the sweet note of the golden oriole, flung into the sky from the topmost bough of some lofty tree, is taken up by the blackbird and long-tailed jungle robin,—both famous Ceylon songsters. There are monkeys of numerous species—four peculiar to Ceylon—swinging from the trees grinning and chattering. Here you notice the remarkable flying squirrel and the jerboa or jumping rat. You see what looks to you like a long piece of white cotton darting through the trees: you follow its movements with curious eyes till you discover that this snowy filament is the tail of a bird, the beautiful white-tailed fly-catcher. Gigantic herons, Marabou storks, scarlet flamingos, snake-birds, pelicans, terns, gorgeous mountain-jays, horn-bills, barbets, and numerous other birds which space does not permit my detailing, are also to be seen in these forests. There are over 360 species of birds in this small area,—45 of which are peculiar to Ceylon.

You must be careful of the snakes in the jungle. The cobra (*Naia tripudians*) is ever ready to dart his deadly fang; and beware of the smaller though equally fatal *Bungarus cæruleus*. The *tic-polonga* and his brother in mischief, the green *polonga*, are very common and dangerous, though their bites are a shade less deadly than those of the cobra and *Bungarus*.

Though the *fauna* of Ceylon is neither impressive on account of its numbers nor remarkable for its beauty, yet to the scientist it is of vast interest, because a very large proportion of the species are peculiar to the island. Especially interesting are the lower orders of animal life. The forests teem with myriads of insects, including scorpions, centipedes, beetles, butterflies, tarantulas and multitudes of curious spiders, leaf-insects, with the quaint "praying *mantis*," the deafening *cicada* or "knife grinder," dragon-flies and black slimy Indian leeches.

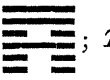
The population of Ceylon in 1891 was 3,007,789. The bulk of the inhabitants are Siṇhalese, who number over 2,000,000; for the rest we have Europeans about 4,000, descendants of Europeans over 21,000, Tamils, Malays, Moormen, Parsees, Afghans, Arabs and a few Veddahs. A word with reference to the Veddahs, who are an insignificant element of the population but one of considerable ethnological interest. The Veddahs (hunters) are supposed by some to represent the aboriginal pre-Aryan population of Ceylon corresponding to some of the Mountain tribes of India who long ages ago, when Ceylon was connected with India by the now submerged isthmus of sand called Adam's bridge, wandered down from the hills of India and made their home in the land of gems. No absolute distinction of race has been established between the Siṇhalese and the Veddahs, probably because no one has been able to thoroughly investigate the matter. All that is known is that the genuine Rock Veddahs, who live in caves and hunt with bows and arrows, are in a much lower state of civilization than the Siṇhalese.

The Siṇhalese are an Aryan race. Their language is closely akin to Sanskrit; that is, it is one of that group of Indo-Aryan Languages of which Sanskrit is the literary type. Páli, being the sacred language of the Buddhists, has influenced Siṇhalese to such an extent that it has been mistaken for a derivative of that language. A Dravidian origin was once claimed for Siṇhalese; but this idea is now scouted, though Tamil, the leading branch of the Dravidian family of languages, has greatly influenced Siṇhalese, especially during the latter three or four centuries. Tamil is spoken by the Tamils and Moormen. Among the descendants of the Portuguese and Dutch a corrupt patois of Portuguese still exists, though strangely enough Dutch has practically ceased to be spoken.

THE YIH-KING OR "CHINESE DIVINATION."

By the Right Rev. Monseigneur Prof. C. de Harlez.

We publish in this issue the last part of Prof. C. de Harlez' important version of the Yih-King, that strange, and yet most sagacious, *magnum opus* of Chinese Divination applied to practical life and morals. We trust that the renowned Chinese Academy of Han-lin will not fail to utilize, if not to encourage, the praiseworthy efforts of so eminent an European Sinologist as Monseigneur de Harlez, although we are told that the same disregard for European Science, which has cost the Chinese Empire so dearly in Military matters, extends also to European Scholars of Chinese, who should be the natural link between the Far East and the West, to the material and intellectual advantage of both. Without, however, forestalling the work of Prof. de Harlez in its entirety,—which is published separately by the Oriental University Institute,—we have already produced some of its Chapters in this Review, and we now conclude our instalments by some wise auguries for "females about to marry," "a wild goose step," "getting one's sister married," "coy consents," "ups and downs of human life," "treatment of strangers," "too much law," and other matters that give a greater insight into Chinese thought and life, in spite of their quaint phraseology, than many of the popular volumes on China put together. In the words of the last "Kua," we congratulate Prof. de Harlez on his Yih-King by saying that "All this deals with an accomplished success."—*Ed.*

Kua LIII. ;  ; *Tsiên.*

I.—*Tsiên :* 1. Advance, progress, gradually, step by step ; 2. To marry, to return to one's parents for a visit (as is usual for women).

1st Text.—To marry is a fortunate thing for a female.

Com. I.—"To advance" means also to obtain a dignity, to acquire merits. If one acts with justice and uprightness, he will be able to govern his State perfectly and to cause justice to reign in it.—The dignity of a great man requires that he should observe the [just] mean.—If one remains firm in his virtue, and shows himself affable and docile, he will exhaust neither his powers nor his action. (A means of preserving his advancement and greatness.)

2d Text.—1. The wild geese go step by step when approaching the

bank.*—A circumspect young man will have no need of regretting what may be said [of him].

2. These geese go step by step towards the rocks on which they will eat and drink; joyful and content [by their continued prudence] they are there quite safe.—They have not there only a vain satisfaction.† *Com.* II.

3. These geese go step by step towards a hillock on dry land [where they find nothing].‡ Like a husband who departs on an expedition, from which he never returns.—He leaves his mate for ever. *Com.* II. Like a wife who has conceived a child whom she will not be able to rear, (through want of the assistance of her spouse). The robbers, who are the cause of such evils, should be checked.—We should defend one another. *Com.* II.

4. The geese go step by step towards a tree. He who reaches the bigger branches will be well off and able to rest there.

5. They go towards a height,§ (which they can only reach with difficulty and delays).—So a wife may be childless for 3 years; but afterwards there will be no obstacle. She will obtain the object of her desires. *Com.* II. (It is necessary to be patient and not to despair: patience and lapse of time achieve more than force [can].)

6. They advance step by step towards a height; when they have attained it, they will be able to give to their wings all their [usual] beauty by expanding them.—Nothing can give trouble when one has attained his object. *Com.* II. (Patience and success.)

Symbolism.—"Wood over a mountain"—represents "to raise one's self, to advance, to hold one's self upright." The wise man maintains himself in holiness and improves the manners of the people.

Kua LIV. ; ; *Kvēi-Mei.*

I.—*Kvēi-Mei:* To give in marriage a young sister, a young daughter.

1st TEXT.—One must correct the evil, or no advantage will result. (A mutilated phrase. See 2d Text, § 1.)

Com. I.—To get a young sister married is a high duty enjoined by heaven and earth (on her brothers). When heaven and earth are not in accord, beings are not produced. To get a young daughter married is the beginning and the end of man, and a deed which causes joy.

2d TEXT.—1. To get a younger sister married, by giving her as a secondary wife (is to place her in the position of [one who is] lame, who can indeed walk, but badly).‖ So the young girl becomes a wife, yet in an

* The whole chapter deals with the words "to advance step by step," with prudence and patience. Each paragraph begins a strophe, as in the *Shi-King* (Cp. II. 3-7). In this first sentence, the circumspection of the young man is compared to the prudent advance of the wild geese.

† The consequence of the prudent and far-seeing advance of the geese.

‡ The geese are deceived, and so are the spouses. The last phrase, foreign to the question, is an interpolation.

§ The hillock in § 3 means an uncultivated and desert place. Here there are added the difficulty, delay and slowness in reaching it; but these should not make one go back.

‖ *Or:* Like the walk of a lame person, for walking lamely is bad.

inferior condition. To emend such an abuse will be an excellent thing.—Perfect constancy in helping others is necessary. *Com.*

2. It is like a one-eyed person, who still sees, but badly (out of only one eye).—It will be advantageous to him to live retired and persevere in his virtue,* and not to fail in the rules of duty. *Com.* II.

3. The young woman who is married [only] through the duty of submission [to her guardian] is often given as a secondary wife.—Such submission is not good. *Com.* II.

4. The young woman about to be married tries to postpone the time.†—Being modest, she is in no haste to follow a man. *Com.* II. But though she delays her marriage, the time comes (in spite of everything).—All the same, the marriage will take place. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

5. When the Emperor Tï-y gave his sister in marriage, the sleeves (of the robe) of the bride were less richly adorned than those of her younger sister.‡ She was like the moon when nearly full, because of her virtues of modesty and submission. (*App.*) This was a very good augury; and her noble conduct corresponded to it.—Thus she preserved her dignity with uprightness. *Com.* II.

6. When a woman receives a basket without fruit in it,—(quite empty, *Com.*)—or when a man gets a sheep which has no blood, they derive no advantage thence. (Cp. *App.*)§

Symbolism.—"Thunder over a marsh," constitutes this Kua. The superior man meditates on evil in order to secure a happy end.

Kua LV. ;  ; *Fāng.*

I.—*Fāng:* 1. Abundance, riches, numerous friends; 2. To have in abundance, to multiply; 3. Greatness, raising up.

1st Text.—The prince who possesses greatness and abundance should be without disquieting desires. He is like the mid-day sun; he illuminates the world.

Com. I.—*Fāng* means greatness, prosperity. Movements or acts directed by intelligence secure it. The prince who attains it, who becomes great and illustrious, should be without anxious desires: he will [thus] shine in the world.

The sun, after having reached the middle heaven, declines; the moon, after having reached the full, wanes. Heaven and earth are sometimes full (they abound)—sometimes empty, according to the seasons. They end by becoming less and ceasing to act. With much greater reason, must this be the case with men and spirits.

2d Text.—1. In the meeting of friends, if the host‖ is an equal,

* [Great] advantage results from the retired life of a firmly virtuous woman.

† This is prescribed as a command.

‡ A proof of her virtue, moderation, *etc.*, or a consequence of the decree of her brother. (See Kua XI., 2d Text, § 5.) In marrying, she forfeited her position as a Royal Princess.

§ Here the first part refers to marriage presents, and the second is an example which has no direct reference to the chief subject, as the Commentators have already noticed.

‖ *Tchou*=he who receives some one at his house.

nothing but good will follow. The return will be happy.—If one tries to surpass one's equals he will draw evil on himself. *Com.* II. and *Com.*

2. If by multiplying the hangings (around one's tent one makes it so dark) as to be able to see Sagittarius at mid-day, and if one has thus drawn suspicion and ill-will on himself;* [still] if one is full of justice, let him show it and he will derive advantage from it. Let him show his internal dispositions [to be] conformable to justice.

3. By multiplying the hangings, one may see the star Mei† at mid-day; but he will break his right arm.—He will not be able to do great things: with a broken arm he will be powerless. *Com.* II.

4. *By this means* one may see Sagittarius. If one meets a friend of equal virtue, happiness will follow from this [meeting]. *Com.* II.

5. To promote the arts causes joy and [deserves] to be praised.

6. To raise one's house high, to surround it with rich hangings, and to stand at its door alone and silent, without receiving anyone, and this for 3 years‡ is an unhappy conduct.

Symbolism.—"Thunder and Lightning" make up the Kua *Fāng*. The superior man decides lawsuits and causes punishments to be carried out.

Note.—All this chapter, which is in the style of the *Shi-King*, relates to prosperity and greatness, well or ill acquired and enjoyed. Its criticisms are addressed to great men, to princes who listen too much to their ambition, love of show and ostentation of majesty, which make them unpopular, *etc.* § 6 refers to the Emperor Kao-tsong, who remained more than 3 years in his palace without speaking to anyone. In the *Shi-King* the cars of great persons are mentioned as surrounded with screens that [quite] conceal those who are inside. Several of the phrases here may have been taken from some narrative and may refer to some definite person, who multiplied his hangings, flags and tents.

Kua LVI. ;  ; *Lu.*

I.—*Lu:* 1. Traveller, stranger; 2. Good arrangement.

1st TEXT.—The stranger has but a weak prosperity; if he is just, he will end by being happy.§

Com. I.—If the weak preserves his uprightness among strangers and remains submissive to the strong, he will enjoy stability and continue attached to truth. So the stranger, weak at first, will prosper and strengthen himself, if he is upright and just.

2d TEXT.—1. The stranger, little and weak, is exposed to evils wherever he may be.—Calamities come when the will is weak and exhausted. *Com.* II.

2. If the stranger settles down somewhere, accumulates goods, and engages faithful servants, he will prosper.

* By trying to hide himself.

† A star in Sagittarius. The same idea is thrice repeated, as in the style of the *Shi-King*.

‡ Meaning a long time.

§ These may be taken as a mere set of terms for auguries; but then the sentence would be extremely absurd.

3. If he sees his house on fire and loses his servants, his prosperity has been well tried.—The burning of his establishment means his ruin. By associating with common people he completely loses his uprightness.

4. [Though] settled in a locality, and possessed of goods and of arms, yet his heart may not be at ease. (His position is not yet secure); he must still be on his guard.

5. He aims at a pheasant: his arrow at first misses its mark and is lost. Finally he obtains praise and office. The prince visits him.

6. The bird destroys its nest. The stranger at first joyful, next has grief: he has lost his oxen. Misery comes very easily.—Nobody pays any attention to his laments. *Com.* II. (This, too, may allude to some fact.)

Symbolism.—"Fire over a mountain." So the superior man makes his uprightness shine in the application of penal laws, and does not allow differences and punishments to become perpetual.

Note.—This chapter depicts the position of strangers, and the prudence and perseverance of which they have need. Frequently they are the authors of their own misery. It may have been taken from some concrete case.

Kua LVII. ;  ; *Sún.*

I.—*Sún:* 1. Sweet, condescending; 2. To choose, to hold firmly.

1st TEXT.—Even though weakly developed, one may succeed, by sweetness and show himself truly great.

Com. I.—One must increase twofold in goodness when he has to insist on [obedience to] his orders, or to repeat them. If firmness and goodness observe the just mean, [all] projects will succeed. The weak should yield to the strong. Thus progress begins, success is attained, and one shows himself to be great.

2d TEXT.—1. For advancing and retiring (in due time); *Or*, for acting with firmness and condescension, there is need [also] of the firmness of a soldier (and not merely of softness).—In such perplexity, firmness must regulate its desires according to prudence.* *Com.* II.

2. When longanimity has been pushed too far,† it will be good to consult diviners for this purpose, and no mistake will be made.—This will come to pass because one has preserved the just mean. *Com.* II.

3. A too hasty condescension may cause sorrow.—The force of the will is deadened. *Com.* II. A continual sweetness without [any] rigour. (*App.*)

4. When one is without fear or sorrow, he can go to the chase to capture game for the threefold use, according to rule: (Sacrificial offerings, food for guests, and requirements of the kitchen). *Com.* Thus one acquires merits.—This refers to *Sün* = meats. *Com.* II.

5. In order that fortune may be prosperous, that all regret may be avoided, that nothing may be without advantage, that an unhappy beginning

* See the explanation given a little further on.

† *Literally:* when the humble man has placed himself under the bench. COM. *Kuoh yu sun:* when one has exceeded in submission or goodness,—when one lowers himself too much. Compare our own expression, To let one's self be trampled on = se mettre sous les pieds de quelqu'un.

may attain an excellent end, it is necessary, in all changes, to think for three days before and three days after putting a project into execution.* Then all will go well.—One should in this way deliberate on acts of condescension and firmness. (*App.*)

6. When goodness proceeds too far, one loses his goods and his means of defence† (his axe) and prosperity turns into disaster:—uprightness into wickedness. *Com.* II.

Symbolism.—"Wind" twice repeated forms the Kua *Sún.* So the great and wise man knows how to repeat his commands, in order to bring matters to a good end.

Note.—The first sentence gives the 3d sense: "to stand firmly." The fourth shows the results of firm goodness—tranquillity. The 2d and 6th show the consequences of too great sweetness. The fifth, in the sense of "choosing," inculcates the conditions [necessary] for success.

Kua LVIII.; ; *Túi.*

I.—*Túi:* 1. Satisfaction; 2. To rejoice.

1st TEXT.—This leads to prosperity (when one gives satisfaction to his subjects).

Com. I.—*Túi* means joy. When one rejoices the world, he obeys heaven and advances the desires of men. When one seeks, above all, to secure the happiness of the people, the people forget their evils; and, incited by this to undertake difficult enterprises, he disregards dangers and even death. He is powerfully encouraged (to fulfil his duty).

2d TEXT.—1. To establish concord, and to satisfy everyone is a source of prosperity.—It stifles opposition and resistance. *Com.* II.

2. Sincerity and uprightness satisfy everyone and prevent sorrows:—by establishing confidence in one's intentions. *Com.* II.

3. A satisfaction [which is] acquired by too much labour or is forced, is a bad thing.—The evil consists in giving offices to the unworthy. *Com.* II.

4. Trying to give joy to a troubled heart is [like] aiding a sick man to recover his health. It gives consolation.

5. To confide in one who can injure [us] is very dangerous. (*App.*)

6. The attainment of satisfaction and joy (is the object of this chapter). *Or,* Condolence gives pleasure.

Symbolism.—"Stagnant water over stagnant water." The superior man responds to friendship and encourages virtue.

Note.—This looks very much like a mere string of sentences with nothing but the word *Túi* as a common link.

Kua LIX.; ; *Hwán.*

I.—*Hwán:* 1. Extension, exhibition; 2. Overflowing abundance; 3. Dispersion; to dissipate.

* According to the Commentary. The first four may be merely augural phrases. The last is *literally:* Three days before and after the day *Kang;* that is to say, at *Ting* and *Kuai.*

† *Com.* means of decision.

1st TEXT.—"Overflowing abundance." The prince who frequents the temple of his ancestors will pass happily through difficulties: he will attain a firm prosperity.

Com. I.—Power will come to him undiminished. By frequenting his ancestral temple, he will observe the unchangeable mean. Those who are good and condescending have a suitable place even outside their own houses; and the great man causes harmony to reign. The prince agrees with him.

2d TEXT.—1. *Dispersion.* One should remedy it, (and save the State). If one exerts all his power* for this purpose he will succeed (in restoring order). *Com.* II.

2. Abundance dissipates anxiety. One will obtain the object of his desires,—order and union. *Com.* II.†

3. If, in such a condition [of affairs], one withdraws from self,—and engages himself externally,—*Com.* II. he will not have to regret it.

4. *To disperse* a multitude, an association which has banded itself,‡ like a hillock, is a happy thing to which a common man cannot pretend. (*App.*)

5. To pour out (*huán*) one's perspiration, with cries (of fear and suffering); to pour out, to distribute (the treasure) of the royal magazines, and to do this without regret, in order to remedy the evils of troubles and of misery (which are the results of doing so).§

6. One should pour out one's blood to expel invaders, and for that purpose, to put one's self in the van, without regret. To shed it for driving off evils. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"Wind blowing over water" forms this Kua. The ancient kings offered sacrifice to Shang-ti, and built temples to [their] ancestors.

Kua LX. ; ䷻ ; *Tsieh.*

I.—*Tsieh:* Rule, law, measure.

1st TEXT.—Rigorous laws cannot confer prosperity.

Com. I.—Laws which are too severe cannot become firm and lasting. Firmness and goodness should be equally divided. Severity should hold the just mean, or its force will be lost. [A state of] satisfaction causes dangers to be faced. Administration should be according to [fixed] rules, and be conducted with moderation and justice. When heaven and earth follow their laws, the four seasons continue in action. If [due] measure is observed in everything, the public resources will not be lost, nor the people injured.

2d TEXT.—1. Such a one quits not the inner porch of his dwelling and has consequently no sorrow from it. (*App.*) (For he sees thence all that is done in the house and can properly rule all things therein). When one

* *Literally:* the force of a horse. Perhaps only *Huan* = to aid with all one's might—To use great force in order to develop, to cause to prosper.

† *Or:* In times of disorder it is prudent to retire into obscurity. (*App.*)

‡ Plots against the State, and against order. *Also:* To disperse the small and to reunite the great, for governing. (*Com.*)

§ *Or:* when the people raise cries of suffering, *etc.*, they should be aided with means from the royal magazines, *etc.*

knows that there is a reason for not getting out, or only with difficulty. *Com.* II.

2. But such a one does not pass the outer door of his house;* he will derive sorrow from it (when there is a way of doing so). Not seeing, except in part, what passes in his house, disagreeable things may happen to him. (*App.*) He will miss the point at the last moment, [and fail] to do what is needed under the circumstances. *Com.* II.

3. He who does not observe the laws will repent of it and will lament so bitterly that no one will (have the courage to) reproach him.

4. Pacific laws produce prosperity and perpetuate the reign of justice. *Com.* II.

5. To administer the laws mildly is necessary for prosperity. By so doing one will render himself illustrious,—because thus he fulfils his duties perfectly. *Com.* II.

6. Harsh laws have very troublesome consequences for the prosperity [of the country]. The regret (caused by their violation) will die out. (*App.*) Their force and effect will be exhausted. *Com.* II. (When the people feel that the laws are cruel, they violate them without scruple or repentance.)

Symbolism.—"Water above a marsh." The great and wise man regulates everything with moderation, and appreciates acts of virtue.

Note.—This chapter shows that [due] measure should be used both in guiding one's family and in exercising authority. Above all things it recommends mildness and moderation and exposes the consequences of excessive severity, as (*e.g.*) the habitual violation of the laws, *etc.*

Kua LXI. ; ䷼ ; *Tchōng.*

1.—*Tchōng:* 1. Just mean, virtue, uprightness, sincerity; 2. Absence of egotism, fidelity; 3. Worthy of confidence (*foo*).

1st TEXT.—Upright sincerity inspires confidence even in pigs and fishes;† it is a source of happiness; it will enable one to go through difficulties and will lead to an assured prosperity.

Com. I.—The just mean and sincerity. Internal sweetness preserves the just mean, and gives satisfaction to everyone. By faithful and upright condescension one will improve the country; and the confidence will extend to [even] pigs and fishes. One will go through difficulties as over a river which one passes on a huge boat made of wood. A firm [observance of the] mean brings advancement and makes one correspond to the views of heaven.

2d TEXT.—1. Firm circumspection is fortunate; an opposite conduct will lead to no source of joy.—If these dispositions change. *Com.* II.

* The door of the interior quarters,—the apartments for the females.

† "Pigs and fishes." The *Siao-hio* has an edifying story relating that a pious child broke the ice in the severest part of the winter to catch a fish for his mother. Two carps, touched by his filial piety, came out of the hole, and of their own accord placed themselves in his hand. (Book VI., § 28, of my translation). I translate in accordance with the Commentaries.

(*App.*) A vigilant internal peace must be maintained, otherwise there is no joy.

2. The crane calls from its hiding-place and its little ones answer with the same feeling.—(In the same way the sentiment of concord causes [one] to say): "I have a cask of excellent wine, I wish to empty it with you";—with a desire rooted in the midst of my heart. *Com.* II. Concord is represented by two birds that answer each other,—two men who do the same. (*App.*)

3. If one receives a rival (an equal), sometimes one is excited (beats the drum), at others he is depressed,—sometimes one weeps, at others he laughs, (according as one has or has not reason to fear for his success; and in this case, the just mean can no longer be observed).—One no longer maintains an attitude suited to his position. *Com.* II. Having lost *Tchōng*, one is no longer master of himself or of his movements.

4. The moon approaching the full (is in *Tchōng*). (*App.*) A horse,* separating from its comrades (for being set to nobler purposes) feels no regret (and so observes the [just] mean).† (*App.*)

5. A sincere and faithful attachment is without regret.

6. If the red pheasant wish to raise itself to heaven, the result of such an attempt will be fatal.—How can it succeed? *Com.* II.—An instance of excessive ambition, which cannot but end in failure. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"Wind above a marsh" forms the Kua *Tchōng foo.* The wise man, by carefully examining judicial cases, restricts capital punishments.‡

Note.—This chapter deals with the different virtues contained in *tchōng* or the just mean: firm circumspection in § 1,—the spirit of concord in § 2,—one's deportment during advancement in § 4,—sincere attachment in § 5; also the contrary defects: ambition or covetousness in § 6, and trouble caused by meeting an enemy, in § 3.

Kua LXII.; ; *Siao kuoh.*

1.—*Siao kuoh*: 1. (Small, few) advancements,—or of small men; 2. Failure, defect; 3. To advance; to go beyond; to leave on one side; to trespass.

1st TEXT.—A small advancement. In the whole course of his actions, the small man can do little things, but nothing great. It is like the noise made by the flight of a bird; it cannot become greater, but only less and lower; (1st sense).

Com. I.—If, when advancing, the small man acts according to circumstances and observes the just mean, the little matters which he deals with will succeed. The strong man who loses his dignity and does not observe the just mean can no longer, on this very account, do anything great. He

* The example of the horse is of frequent use. The physician's fees are called Horse-money; and the teacher of the Prince is styled the Leading horse.

† This means one who, advancing in dignity, is thus brought nearer to the prince; and also one who breaks with his equals in order to rise in rank and dignity. (*Com.*)

‡ This, too, is only one more case of upright firmness.

is here presented under the figure of a bird flying: the noise of his flight cannot increase, but must diminish. The great resist, the little yield.

2d TEXT.—1. By the flight of a bird one may discover omens of evil.

2. If one leaves to one side and passes over his grandfather, he will meet his grandmother: he who wishes to avoid the prince (not to go to him) will meet his minister.—He cannot be left aside.* *Com.* II. (*App.*)

3. One must not be wanting in the necessary precautions for his safety, otherwise someone will be found to attack and injure him. (*App.*)

4. Without having committed any fault, having neither exceeded nor been wanting [in anything], yet there may supervene dangers and encounters which one should dread. Let us be always on [our] guard, for otherwise we cannot have a continuous prosperity.—In the end, it will not be lasting. *Com.* II.

5. Notwithstanding thick clouds, in our country rain does not come from the West; (want of water, drought).†—Too elevated a position. *Com.* II. The prince shoots and hits the animals in their cave. (Want of ability, [as] this prince shoots only at random.)‡—This shows the persons to be incapable of great affairs. (*App.*)

6. To pass by the side of someone with whom one disagrees,—to meet, to let pass someone inopportunely,—to miss a flying bird, are evil omens. —One becomes conceited, and self opinionated. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—This hexagram represents "Thunder over a mountain." *Kuoh* means want. In his ordinary acts, the wise man fails, through insufficient watchfulness; in case of mourning, he fails with regard to garments; in daily expenses, he fails with regard to economy.

Note.—The whole refers to excess, defect, failure, and to their nature, frequency and consequences.

Kua LXIII.; § ; *Tchi'tzé.*

1. *Tchi'tzé*: 1. A passage accomplished; 2. Accomplishment, success, means of accomplishing; 3. To complete; an achievement of little advantage.

1st TEXT.—A passage accomplished, a first success; but the success that follows may perhaps be little; for trouble and danger may follow a happy beginning.‖

* These two proverbs mean that when one wishes, unduly, to avoid one thing which he fears, he will encounter another just like it, or worse; a case of Scylla and Charybdis.

† A figure of one who, possessing goods and favours to distribute, does not share them with the people. (*Tcheou-Yih, p. i. n. k.*)

‡ *Or:* The want of generous sentiments; conduct not very honourable. These are proverbial phrases.

§ The Commentaries show clearly that these last two chapters are in reality but one, arbitrarily divided. The ideas of "voyages, in progress, or accomplished, or interrupted" are continually mixed up in both Kuas, the car of which the wheel has come off, and which cannot go on further, and the young fox hindered by the weight of his wet tail. So the *Paraphrases*, like the *Tcheou-Yih*. Nor can we say they are wrong. It is the same in § 2.

‖ The Second Text develops these various ideas, [dealing with] a journey finished, a happy expedition, an affair happily ended; an obstacle; dangers: means of success and precautions to be taken.

Com. I.—*Tchi'tzé*=a journey accomplished, success, progress. Little affairs succeed easily. One succeeds easily, when little and great, strong and weak are upright and just, and each in his place and position. A good beginning may have fatal consequences, if the wisdom [of the agents] becomes exhausted. Then the lucky event is impeded and trouble supervenes.

2d TEXT.—1. A voyage accomplished like that of one who having finished his journey, takes up the wheels of his cart, or of a fox, which, while crossing a river, has wet his tail.

2. A journey ended (interrupted), like that of a woman who, having lost the covering of her car,* cannot seek it, but finds it after some (*literally*, seven) days.†—She acts thus, because she follows the way of wisdom. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

3. An accomplished expedition.—Kao-tsong‡ attacked the country of the demons and after 3 years achieved a triumph. A common prince could not have done it.—He had [to undergo] a good deal of trouble. *Com.* II.

4. When the edges, or the fringes of a garment get wet, one must be on one's guard till the end of the voyage.§—There is then room for fear. *Com.* II. (The means of attaining an end,—precautions to be taken.)

5. Such a neighbour on the left hand (East) sacrifices an ox, but he does not attain the merit of his neighbour on the right (West) who makes a much inferior sacrifice.—It is the uprightness of the intention (and not the material act) which leads to the attainment of happiness, [and is] the condition of success in a happy enterprise.—Great happiness is thus obtained. *Com.* II.

6. He who, while crossing (a river), wets his head is in danger (if the head itself gets under water).—The position is dangerous,—one cannot foresee the result. *Com.* II.‖

Symbolism.—"Water over fire," forms this Kua. The wise man, by his prudent foresight and apprehension, watches against dangers and remains in peace.

Kua LXIV. ;  ; *Wéi-tzé.*

I.—*Wéi-tzé:* 1. A passage not accomplished; a work not concluded; success interrupted or endangered;—2. Incomplete success, a matter unaccomplished, not brought to a good end.

1st TEXT.—Success endangered,—a work unaccomplished, like a young

* *Keû-tchi pi*, the covering surrounding a car, and concealing those riding in it;—without it no virtuous woman may travel. Her journey is thus brought to an end till she finds it, and she cannot go herself, uncovered, to seek it.

† *Or*, gets another.

‡ An Emperor of the Shang dynasty, who reigned, about the year 1300, for 59 years. The demons in the text are the aborigines, who had remained, till then, unsubdued and committed depredations.

§ *Or*, When, on board ship, one is obliged to use the edges of one's garments to stop holes, *etc.*

‖ This is a proverbial phrase showing the dangers and the precautions to be taken in a journey or in an affair. This paragraph belongs to Kua LXIV. rather than to Kua LXIII.

fox incurring danger in crossing a river. His hind quarters sink in the water owing to the weight of his tail; he does not succeed (in escaping this danger).—By excessive confidence in himself, he loses the just mean.

Com. I.—The happy beginning does not last. Though not in their proper places, still the entire and broken lines are in accord.*

2d TEXT.—1. The tail sinking in the water becomes a source of danger. —One knows not how it may end. *Com.* II. (Kua LXIII., 1.) The consequence of imprudence and presumption. (*App.*)

2. To remove the wheel (of one's car) after a journey means that it has been accomplished, and has been successful.

3. When everything is not yet in order (2d sense), one should correct the defects (of men and of things), and then one will triumph over difficulties. (Means of accomplishing a journey or a work.) It is a defect when each one is not in his own position and place. *Com.* II.

4. A happy ending, leaving no sorrow, (such as that of Kao-Tsong), who went up, attacked and conquered the country of the demons in 3 years. He received his reward in the immensity of his power and territory.—The end is happy when the object is attained and the desire satisfied. *Com.* II. (Kua LXIII., 3.)

5. The accomplishment is happy and without sorrow, when the glory of the wise [man, *i.e.*, his virtue] is pure and solid.—He succeeds when his brilliant glory spreads afar. *Com.* II.

6. He who without any thought, plunges his head into wine and spirits, will lose uprightness and good luck. (Kua LXIII., 6.)—He does not understand moderation. *Com.* II. (*App.*)

Symbolism.—"Water under fire" forms this Kua. The wise man employs the utmost circumspection and attention to distinguish men and things, and the positions due to them.

Note.—All this deals with accomplished success, the means of attaining it and the obstacles to be overcome; the fourth sentence gives an instance.

* The Commentaries say: Although they are not in the right place the lines of the Kua correspond to each other. This, however, does not agree with the explanation given, nor even with the facts of the figure, in which the first line from the bottom corresponds with the 4th above, which is also entire.

CONCLUSION.

This Kua ends the text of the Yih-king and of the two ancient Commentaries* which are interwoven with it. The editions now current also contain 5 Appendices difficult of comprehension, which are called the Yi or wings of the Yi-king.

Of these the two last—(4th and 5th)—give only a list of the subjects [treated] in the Kuas and indicate the reason of the order followed in arranging them. This fact is the best proof of my system; for it shows that in ancient times the headings indicated the subject treated in each chapter, and that the meaning given to these subjects or headings is very nearly that which I have adopted, that is, the sense which those words really have in the Chinese language.

Here is a specimen of these two Appendices:

"[In the first and second Kuas], we have heaven and earth, according to the power of which beings are produced: it is such beings that fill the space between heaven and earth. This is why [these] two Kuas are followed by *Tchun* (the third Kua); for *tchun* means to fill up, (to obstruct). *Tchun* (what fills space) is the beginning of beings; and as beings, in their first origin are (*meng*) rough and imperfect, hence *Tchun* is followed by *Meng* (rough, imperfect):"—and so on.

The second Appendix gives various explanations of Kuas I. and II., which accord fully with mine. Take, for instance, the explanation there given of Kua I., § 1: "The dragon lying hid is without action:"—"In him who has the power of a dragon and lies hid, the influence of the world would make no change. He does not think that he is perfect because he is famous. He lies withdrawn from the world, without regret."†

It is evident, that there is no question here of what the first line represents, but of what the Dragon represents, and of what may be the true meaning of this first sentence, considered in itself: The Dragon signifies the superior man. In fact, it looks as if the precise meaning was: "The Dragon (the superior man), hidden from the world, and living in retirement is free from passion."

The 3d Appendix consists of comments on the formation of the six-line figures, and on the two cosmic elements (*Yin* and *Yang*), as also on each trigram figure separately, and its respective meaning. This is all mere play of fancy and has no real connexion with our text.

The same may be said of the first part of the 1st Appendix, which deals with the greatness and power of the *Yi* and of the Kuas,—relates fabulous tales regarding their origin,—and discusses cosmic principles. Formerly, (as I have shown on several occasions) and even in the VIth Century B.C.,

* In Professor Legge's translation they are detached and placed at the end of the text.

† Cp. Prof. Legge's *Yih-King*, p. 409.

these philosophical theories were absolutely unknown, or at any rate, they had not yet been introduced into the Yih-king. Such matter, therefore, cannot be part of the text; and hence I have left out all this, and with so much the more reason that an excellent translation of them is given in Professor Dr. J. Legge's book.

In the first part, however, of this 1st Appendix, we find some very clear explanations of phrases in the text: and these I have given with my translation. All these tend to confirm my system. I need cite only two instances.

1. Kua 47: "When one does not leave his courtyard, he does not expose himself to any blame or sorrow." This is explained by the Appendix:* "When disorder arises, it will be found that (ill-advised) speech was the stepping-stone to it."

2. Kua 13: "Men who are united may at first weep, but afterwards they will (laugh)—be joyful." This is explained: "The union of the hearts of two men has a power that seems like iron; the speech of two hearts that are united diffuses a perfume like the Eglantine."

From all this we may, therefore, deduce that in translating the Yih-king, we have nothing to do with what the lines of the Kuas mean, but that each sentence of the text has a complete meaning by itself. This is, of course, quite opposed to the system of M. Philâstre.

In connexion with this learned gentleman, I should give a short account of the Commentaries which form nine-tenths of his great book.

These Commentaries are not earlier than the XIth Century A.D., and are the work of philosophers who sought out in the Yih-king, subjects for their ontological and moral dissertations. To this end, they seized on the lines of the Kuas and on the relation which they had chosen to fix between them and the two cosmic principles, making the entire lines represent *Yang* and the broken ones *Yin*. They next did their utmost to find some connexion between the lines and the sentences, in order to give some explanation of why these latter were chosen. But most of these explanations are so far-fetched as to be almost ridiculous. Finally to all this, they added long moral applications.

Yet even in these Commentaries, there is nothing that is opposed to my interpretation: on the contrary, the Commentaries presuppose it. All that is given in the Commentaries lies outside of the matter of the Yih-king itself and in no way helps to explain the meaning of the sentences. Hence there is no reason why we should deal with them. I wish, however, to give a short specimen of these Commentaries to my readers, in order to complete what they require to know regarding the Yih-king. Turning over, at haphazard, the book of M. Philâstre, I find (Tom. II., p. 198), Kua XLIV.:—

1st TEXT.—*Keu:* an adult young woman; not to use; to marry a young woman.

Commentary. A negative† begins to be born. Starting from this moment it increases, little by little it augments and achieves greatness: this means the young girl growing and on the point of becoming adult. The negative increasing, the positive declines; and *if the young girl is strong* and the lad

* Dr. Legge's *Yih-king*, p. 363. † *Negativité.*

weak, then the text warns [us] that *he should not marry such a girl.* In marrying a girl one wishes her to be sweet and obedient. The Kua *Keu* represents the negative that begins to advance, increases, little by little acquires force and puts itself in opposition to the positive. This is why it is not desirable *to choose her for a wife.*

—— *Keu:* to meet. The absolute suppression of the negative would form the perfect Kua *Keu*, with its unity of substance. That is to say, the Kua of the 4th month. Certainly one meets it, and then a negative becomes visible and forms the Kua of the 5th month. When a thing was not expected and one suddenly sees it face to face, it is like an unexpected meeting. This is why the Kua mentions a meeting. The meeting is without regularity; and, moreover, there is only one negative which meets five positives; and the result is that the female garments are wanting in cleanness, and that energy and order are extreme. *To take her for a mate will be hurtful* to the positive; and hence both the symbol and its meaning in divination."

There is scarcely need to say that this is all mere fancy, except the four phrases which I have Italicized; and they prove that the text should be translated as I have done, and not as a part of a long, unconnected sentence, as M. Philâstre does.

We may conclude that all these points tend to confirm my interpretation against which no serious objection has yet been raised. There still remain for explanation the speculations, as prolix as they are nonsensical, which the Chinese philosophers have given us regarding the lines of the Kuas, the *Yin* and the *Yang*, *etc.* All these, however, are of a comparatively recent date. The ancient books contain not a sign of them; and they are, besides, quite foreign to our subject. I may perhaps, later on, make them the subject of a special treatise. My sole object in this one has been to give the true meaning of the text of the Yih-king and its ancient symbolism; and in this undertaking I hope I have not failed. That some divergence of views may arise as to the precise meaning of this or that sentence, is not to be wondered at; for many of the sentences are elliptical, vague and ambiguous. This difficulty, however, does not weaken the system itself according to which I have rendered the book. I hope soon to publish in the *Tung-Pao* of Leyden, the text itself of some chapters of the *Yih-king* together with their translation; and then,—I venture to assert—there will be no more room left for doubt or contention.

THE END.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By Prof. Dr. Edward Montet.

I. History of the East and of the People of Israel.

The History of the Semitic East and especially that of the People and Religion of Israel continues, as may always be expected, to furnish matter for many books.

As a work of quite a general character, we note the appearance of the first issues of the 2d vol. of Prof. Maspero's "Ancient History of the people of the Classical East." The first dealt with the "origins" (Egypt and Chaldæa), the second is devoted to the "first intermixture of peoples." The first chapter, which is being published while we write these notes, is entitled: "The first Chaldæan Empire and the Hyksos in Egypt."

We have received four books on the History of the People and Religion of Israel. The first to arrive was that by Professor van Hoonacker of the University of Louvain,* who, in this new work, enforces and completes the opinions which he had already put forward in previous studies on the same subject. He especially maintains that the coming of Esdras and the reformation wrought by him regarding mixed marriages were subsequent to the sending of Nehemiah. His work has a very hard-hitting polemic character and the author devotes many pages to the discussion and refutation of propositions put forth by Kösters,† T. André,‡ Ley,§ *etc.*

Dr. H. Willrich‖ furnishes us with new materials for the study of a very interesting period of the history of Israel. The author modestly calls his book the "work of a ploughboy" (Kärrnerarbeit), meaning that he leaves to others—to theologians,—the task of building on the ground which he has levelled with the materials which he has furnished. His work (which we intend to review later, in an article specially devoted to the study of religious history) deals chiefly with the historical sources of this period, which extends from Alexander the Great to the Maccabean rising. A special notice of it will give us all the more pleasure because we have ourselves dealt with the history of this epoch in our "Essai sur les origines des partis Pharisien et Saducéen (Paris; Fischbacher, 1883). Particularly does the author use his lens and dissecting knife on the doubtful and spurious literature of the Hékatées, Aristées, *etc.*, as well as on

* Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone; Paris, Leroux, 1896.

† Het Herstel van Israël in het perzische tijdvak; Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1894.

‡ Le prophète Aggée: introduction critique et commentaire; Paris, Fischbacher, 1895.

§ Historische Erklärung des 2ten Teils des Jesaia; Marburg, Elwert, 1893.

‖ Juden und Griechen vor der Makkabäisshen Erhebung; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1895.

Josephus, Jason of Cyrene, *etc.*; and he thinks, generally speaking, that too much weight has been allowed to Jewish tradition and to the writings that proceeded from it.

Dr. Sellin, Privat-Docent at Erlangen, has published the first part of a History of the Religion of Israel,* entitled: Relation between Jahveh and the Israelite people and individual, according to the ancient notion of Israel—a portion of Biblical Theology in which he explains, according to the Old Testament texts, the first religious developments of Israel. He writes strongly against the distinction drawn by the critics between the religion of the prophets and that of the people.

M. A. Bertholet gives us a study both in religious history and in Oriental law, in his essay on the relations of Israelites and Jews with strangers,† from the most ancient times down to the birth of Christianity. He not only goes over the variations in Hebrew and Jewish legislation with regard to strangers deducing therefrom facts which prove a change of customs and of law, but he specially brings to light, epoch by epoch, their *specialism* and their *universalism*, that is to say, the religious notion, at times narrow, at times wide, which either excluded the stranger from communion with Jahveh, or, on the contrary, admitted him to the kingdom of heaven.

II. Hebrew and the Old Testament.

A very important work on the Old Testament, which we hope in a later article to notice more in detail, is a Hebrew and Aramaic concordance of the Bible‡ due to the care of Sal. Mandelkern. It is a folio of xvi + 1532 pages, divided into 4 parts: 1st, Hebrew concordance; 2d, Concordance of all the pronouns and of the relative pronoun אשר; 3d, Aramaic concordance; and 4th, the concordance of Proper names, including the Holy Tetragrammaton, יהוה, with its abbreviation, יה.

M. J. Halévy has published the first volume of some critical and exegetical studies on the Old Testament.§ The first tome contains the history of the beginnings according to Genesis, i—xxv, with a translation of the text and commentaries on it. This very pregnant work is full of judicious remarks and interesting observations, and shows numerous agreements found in the cuneiform documents. We do not, however, understand why this learned Orientalist declines to admit a plurality of sources for Genesis, and persists in maintaining the unity, in origin and composition, of a book which science has, by a method of rigorous proof, demonstrated to have had several authors who wrote at various epochs.

We note, in the *Zeitschrift des eutschen Palæstina-Vereins* (vol. xix, fasc. 1), a monograph by Dr. Blanckenkorn on the formation and history of the Dead Sea (with maps and plans); and the appearance of the 9th fasciculus of the "Dictionary of the Bible," by the Abbé Vigouroux.

* Beiträge zur Israel. und jüd. Religions-geschichte; Leipzig, Deichert, 1896.

† Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden; Freiburg und Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1896.

‡ Veteris Testamenti concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ; Lipsiae, Veit and Co., 1896.

§ Recherches bibliques; un vol. grand in 8vo., de 496 pages; Paris, Leroux, 1896.

The already rich literature on the Book of Enoch has been increased by a work full of interest,—The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, translated from the Slavonic by Morsill and edited by E. H. Charles; (Oxford, The Clarendon Press; 1896.)

III. Aramaic.

If students of Semitic philology and theology do not thoroughly understand the Aramaic of the Bible, it cannot be for want of handbooks to its knowledge, for they have issued in a continuous stream for several years. In 1882, Fischer re-edited Winer's Grammar, and Baer published his *Adumbratio Chaldaismi biblici.* In 1884, there appeared the excellent grammar of Kautzsch, and, in the United States, that of Brown. In 1891 we ourselves published our "Grammaire minima de l'Hébreu et de l'Araméen bibliques." In 1895, one of the best of our former scholars, M. T. André, began the publication of A Philological and Grammatical study of the Aramaic passages of the Old Testament out of Esdras; and in our last report in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (April, 1896, p. 358), we noted the recent work of Strack. To this already long list, we must add the Grammar by Marti* in the well-known collection called *Porta linguarum orientalium.* Composed with extreme care, this work seems to us, by the precision and clearness of its method to mark a real progress even beyond former publications. It embraces an extensive grammar of Biblical Aramaic (430 pp.), a Bibliographical notice (4 pp.), paradigms (14 pp.), and the Aramaic texts of the Old Testament, with a Glossary (40 pp.).

IV. Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature.

We have before us some interesting specimens of a new edition of the Babylonian Talmud, both text and a German translation.† The text is that of the *Editio Princeps*, with variants and is given quite entire. We hope this publication will be successful, for we are told that it is issued purely for the sake of benefiting learning. It will form about 8 volumes, of which only a small number of copies will be issued. In mentioning a new edition of the Schulchan Aruch (the German Translation by Löwe, Vienna; 1896) we must still express our regret that the new translation of this important work, undertaken in 1888 by Dr. von Pavly, remains uncompleted.

V. Syriac.

The Catholic Press at Beyruth lately published, in 1895, the first volume of an important work: *S. Gregorii Theologi liber carminum iambicorum (versio Syriaca antiquissima e codice Vaticano CV.).* The Syriac MS. from which the text is taken dates from the end of the vi.th or the beginning of the vii.th century. The edition, which is beautifully printed, like everything published at this Beyruth Press, was prepared by the late Rev. Fr. P. Bollig, S.J. The volume has at its commencement the *fac-simile* of a

* Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Biblisch-Aram. Sprache; Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1896.

† Der Babylonische Talmud, Text mit Varianten nebst Uebersetzung und Erklärungen; Berlin: Lazarus Goldschmidt, 1896.

page of the manuscript and a table comparing the Syriac Text with the Migne edition. We intend to return to this important work when the second volume is issued, which will contain the notes and corrections.

VI. Assyrian.

Since our last Report, there has come the 4th instalment of the "Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (Assyrian-English-German) by Muss-Arnolt": from the word *Buranū* (perhaps meal) to the word *Dimitum.* It is a pity that the publication of this work is so slow—the first issue was in 1894, and as yet only 256 pages have been printed. There is room for improvement, both in the editing and in the typographical arrangements.

We welcome with great satisfaction, the long expected appearance of the 4th volume of the beautiful collection of Assyrian and Babylonian texts, arranged under the editorship of Prof. Schrader.* This important publication has the great merit of being issued with extreme correctness, which is all the more noticeable in a work on Assyriology. This volume contains judicial texts, contracts and commercial documents, *etc.* It is the work of Dr. Peiser. The documents here reproduced and translated extend, in date, from the first beginnings of Babylon (the 2d Dynasty of Ur, the 1st Dynasty of Babylon, *etc.*) to the times of the Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ. To facilitate fruitful research of the highest interest amid this rich granary of texts, there is a very full index.

VII. Arabic.

At present we can notice only the publication of the 11th and 12th issues of Jahn's translation of Sibawaihi's Grammar†:—the 9th issue, being the first of the 2d volume, appeared in 1894. When will German authors and publishers learn that works should be issued either entire at one go, or within a time which should be precisely and rigorously fixed beforehand?

* Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, sammlung von Assyr. und Babyl. Texten in Umschrift und Uebersetzung, herausgegeben von E. Schrader. Band IV., Berlin; Reuther und Reichard, 1896.

† Sibawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik nach der Ausgabe von H. Derenbourg und dem Commentar des Sīrāfī; Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1895.

TWELFTH REVIEW ON THE

"SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VEDÁNTA SÚTRAS WITH ŚANKARA'S COMMENTARY, TRANSLATED BY GEORGE THIBAUT.

(VOLS. XXXIV AND XXXVIII.)

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.)

To those who desire to explore the profoundest abysses of Hindu Philosophy these two learned volumes will afford ample material. They contain the body of doctrine known as the *Uttara mīmānsā* or "ulterior investigation," as distinguished from the *pūrva mīmānsā* or "prior investigation" into the Vedic text and its meanings. The "prior investigation," taught by the sage Jaimini, concerned itself with what may, not inappropriately, be called the physics, that is, the material side of the religion, the ritual of the Vedas, the reconciliation of apparent discrepancies, and the solution of difficult problems arising therefrom. The "ulterior investigation" may as appropriately be termed the metaphysics, dealing as it does, under the guidance of the sage Bādarāyana, with the spiritual meanings, and the system of religious knowledge founded thereon. Thus the former is also known as the *karmakānda* or "action-section," the latter as the *jnānakānda* or "knowledge-section." This latter branch of Hindu theology is also, and more commonly known as the Vedánta (literally, *Veda-anta*, end or object of the veda). It is based on the Upanishads, those mystical treatises on the nature of God, on the relations of soul and matter, and other abstruse questions, two of which I have lately noticed in this journal.

Vast as is the literature connected with the two branches of the Mīmānsā, the sūtras or aphorisms on which it is based, are few in number, concise even to obscurity, and quite unintelligible without a commentary. They are like Merlin's enchanted book:

> "A square of text that looks a little blot
> * * * * *
> Writ in a language that has long gone by.
> And every margin scribbled, crossed, and crammed
> With comment, densest condensation, hard
> To mind and eye."

The modern student might add, as Merlin does:

> "And none can read the text, not even I,
> And none can read the comment but myself."

In fact the Sútras were not meant to be understood or used without the commentary. They were mere catchwords—a *memoria technica*—like the old formula in logic—"*Barbara celarent darii ferioque*," *etc.*, meant to

enable the student to remember the principles laid down at length by the teacher. The commentary gives in detail the full instruction on the point indicated by the three or four oracular words of the text. The commentary *is*, therefore, the teaching,—the Sútra is the key to it, and may be as brief as the teacher pleases: the briefer the better, because the more easily remembered.

The commentary selected for translation in these volumes is the famous one of Śankara, which is not only, in all probability, the oldest, but the most orthodox, most profound and most generally followed by the Hindus themselves, both ancient and modern. It has itself been commented upon, expounded, enlarged, and used as the basis of further speculations over and over again. For to the mind of the Hindu, religious study is an end, not a means. The European student spends his youth in study to acquire the knowledge which will fit him for a career of action in after life; the Indian student pursues learning for its own sake and prolongs his scholastic career till old age, in the hope of attaining to that knowledge which will fit his soul for a higher sphere hereafter. That his text books should be voluminous is no drawback but is rather a benefit to him; for the subject is so high, abstruse and illimitable, that the longest life is barely long enough to comprehend it fully. To him "divine philosophy" is, in Milton's words:

> "Musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

But to return to our subject. Dr. Thibaut's admirably lucid and complete introduction furnishes the reader with the clearest possible synopsis of Śankara's teaching. It must be called his, and not Bādarāyana's; for, as explained above, the enigmatically concise teacher is lost in the expounder whose authority has come to be regarded by the followers of his school as final and indisputable. Whether his doctrine, however, represents "an uninterrupted and uniform tradition bridging over the interval between Bādarāyana, the reputed author of the Sūtras, and Śankara,"—or whether it is "nothing more than bold attempts of clever sectarians to force an old work of generally recognised authority into the service of their individual tenets,"—is a subject for critical inquiry which has already been partially undertaken, and will probably in the future still further occupy students of Indian theology. Whatever may be the conclusions ultimately arrived at by the learned, the present work will always possess interest and value, as exhibiting, clearly and fully, the tenets of one at least of the most important and wide-spread schools of Hindu thought.

Śankara then, interpreting the otherwise unintelligible Bādarāyana and regarding him as an interpreter of the Upanishads, which in their turn interpret the Vedas, teaches as follows: "Whatever is, is in reality one; there truly exists only one universal being called Brahman* or *Paramātman* —the highest Self." This Supreme Soul is pure intelligence,—"not a

* This is the stem-form of a neuter noun, more usually employed in the nominative form Brahmā,—to be distinguished from Brahmā one of the triad of deities of a later mythology, composed of Brahmā, Vishnu and 'Siva.

thinking being, but thought itself, absolutely destitute of qualities or attributes." We ourselves, together with all material phenomena, are caused by *Māyā* or "illusion," a peculiar power associated with, but subordinate to, Brahman, under whose guidance it "modifies itself by a progressive evolution into all the individual existences distinguished by special names and forms, of which the world consists." The one indivisible Brahman is present in all these forms, but is broken up by *Māyā* into "a multiplicity of sentient principles" called jīvas (individual or personal souls, literally = lives).

The unenlightened soul is unable to look beyond phenomena: *Māyā*, like a veil, hides from it the true nature of things. Thus restricted, "cabined, cribbed, confined," it becomes limited in extent and power, burdens itself with merit and demerit by actions, and is thus subjected to re-birth in future embodied existences. This condition lasts till the end of each great world-period or *kalpa*, when the Supreme Soul retracts the whole material world, dissolves and merges it into non-distinct *Māyā*. Individual souls, freed from actual connection with material adjuncts, remain in a state of unconsciousness. But they do not thereby escape from the consequences of their actions. A fresh *kalpa* is almost immediately started, in which the balance of their old account is brought forward; and "the old round of birth, action and death begins anew, to last to all eternity as it has lasted from all eternity." But he who has studied and completely assimilated the esoteric principles of the Veda, and has learnt that his true self is identical with the Supreme Soul of the universe, "obtains at the moment of death immediate final release, *i.e.*, he withdraws altogether from the influence of *Māyā*, and asserts himself in his true nature, which is nothing else but the absolute highest Brahman."

What is this but the groundwork of Buddhism? We see clearly the source whence Buddha derived his ideas; and the last quoted words give, perhaps, a clearer explanation of the real meaning of *Nirvāna* than can be gained from Buddhist texts themselves. Whether Buddha's teaching, or at least the metaphysical side of it, is an advance upon this Vedántic doctrine, is a question which lies beyond our present scope.

Of course such a doctrine as this raised great difficulties, and the greater portion of Śankara's work is devoted to the explanation and solution of them. Other teachers there were, such as Rāmānuja, whose doctrines differed from these in various points; but for these differences and for the solution of the numerous difficult questions arising from the doctrine, the reader is referred to the work itself. Dr. Thibaut's learned and perspicuous analysis is so arranged as to serve as a key to the arguments and general scheme of the text. References to Deussen's important work "Das System des Vedanta," and Mr. Gough's "Philosophy of the Upanishads" will enable the student to compare the views of those writers with the interpretations of the Indian scholiasts. Investigations of this kind, however, are a matter for specialists, for and by whom a considerable body of Vedánta literature has been created both in English and German. It would, therefore, be out of place here to enter more minutely into the details of Śankara's teaching. Two points, nevertheless, strike the European

reader as interesting contributions to the subject (or as some call it, the Science) of Comparative Religion.

The first is that the Indian philosophers created a great deal of difficulty for themselves by persisting in finding or trying to find the basis of a highly metaphysical system in the simple hymns of the Rig Veda,—the rude ritual of an early pastoral race. But how often has this happened in the world's history? Have not the Greeks sought to discover a complete religious system in Homer's rhapsodies? And does not Augustine, at the end of his "*De Civitate Dei*,"—that magnificent picture of the world as a State or Commonwealth ruled by God,—strive to torture the plain narrative of Genesis into a series of symbols and myths prefiguring all the mysteries of the Christian religion? Abel is to mean the Crucifixion,—Seth the Resurrection,—Noah's Ark the Christian Church,—and so on. Thus also the Kurán has been found to contain material which has served ingenious persons as a foundation for systems of extraordinary mysticism. In all these cases, the underlying principle is the desire to win adherence to theories by proving that they are in accordance with the teaching of that authority which, in the theorist's time and country, is regarded as the highest.

The second, and still more interesting point is that just as Buddhism, beginning with no supreme responsive Being, was driven, by the imperious demand of suffering humanity, to conceive Avalokita and Tárá, so Hinduism, starting from the *Paramātman*, the impersonal Brahman, was led, by the force of those beliefs which no philosophic system can crush out of the mind of man, to acknowledge a divinity who could enter into personal relations with his creatures. In the eloquent words of the learned editor, "The only religious books of wide-spread influence" among the Hindus "are such as the Ramayan of Tulsi Das, which lay no stress on the distinction between an absolute Brahman inaccessible to all human wants, and a shadowy Lord whose very conception depends on the illusory principle of *Māyā*, but love to dwell on the delights of devotion to one all-wise and all-merciful Ruler, who is able and willing to lend a gracious ear to the supplications of his worshippers."

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By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S.

I.—THE FESTIVAL OF THE CHERRY BLOSSOM—SAKURA-NO-HANA MATSURI.

A sea of fragrant white foam bursts like a great tidal wave over the land of the gods in the early days of spring. It is the beauty and breath of the cherry flowers set free from the embrace of the dark-brown boughs, that have rocked them so persistently into life, through the long night of winter's silence.

The blossoming of the cherry trees, sakura-no-ki, which gains perfection about the seventh of April heralds in the spring. It is a season to which all classes look forward. It is a time wherein to rejoice, and crowds of light-hearted peasants may be seen wandering far and wide wherever the faint banners of blossom hang out their allurements to far-seeing eyes. Maps are distributed marking out the flowered districts in shades of pink and pearly colour wherever the trees are known to be richest, and most worthy of a visit.

Pleasure boats well ladened, will supply from one village to another many admirers. It is a national fête in which all may participate, it is a sight which all may share, and yet each may regard as an individual privilege. The exquisite beauty and profuseness gladdens the senses, and brings to each separate life a joyous experience never to be forgotten. A general holiday is declared in order that all nature-loving beings may for awhile suspend labour and duty to participate at the yearly coronation of the Land.

The warm early April sun upon the pale pink, pure white, and rich red petals, irrigates through the air perfumes, and scented elixirs that stimulate the lovers and devotees of Nature to raise their orisons of thanksgiving. The swaying branches above, the admiring crowd beneath, both in spring attire, rejoice and smile, and become gay in each other's company, and mankind for awhile forgets his cares, and completely surrenders to the force of a fleeting joy.

There is a powerful and subtle fascination in this cherry blossom for the people whose country it crowns so regally. The faint perfume conveys hidden sentiments of the most soul-stirring nature. More poetry has been written to extol the virtues of the sakura-no-hana, than any other floral gift.

What is the Yamato Damashi-i?

The enquiring mind can only be answered in the following aphorism:

> "'Tis the perfume the cherry bloom wafts to the skies,
> When it sees in the East its sun god arise,
> This is the spirit of Old Japan!"

Again, there is an ancient proverb that has been handed on through all time which has influenced many generations of the chivalrous races of

hero worshippers, that "As the cherry is first among flowers, so is the warrior first among men."

Poetry and flowers go hand in hand, they are ever found drawn within the closest bond of union. The reverence for the one calls forth the sentiment of the other. Thus when in the spring the boughs are fairly ladened, and this Festival of Sakura-no-hana is commemorated, when the luxuriant petals double and multiply in such profuseness, that anyone standing beneath them might be hidden from view, sweet *musumes* half shyly creep beneath into the shelter and tie strips of white paper lightly to the boughs. Upon these papers are written with the greatest care well chosen verses of poetry or proverbs applicable to the season. It is done in order that poetry and flowers may in this charming manner become associated together. These poetic offerings when lavishly supplied, make as they flutter a weird and strangely musical rhythm of their own. This mingles with the song of the bees, gathering the first honey of the year and diffusing the pollen, and thus assisting the secret works of nature, in setting the blossom for fruit.

All through the holiday peasants will seclude themselves beneath the trees and picnic for the whole day: they love the flowers best which they have to look up to—flowers that grow in profusion, that give a breadth of colour and a generous dole of tender perfume, that speak to them in a language all lovers of nature can interpret without words, flowers that draw men with the magnetic power silent and irresistible into each other's companionship.

Mr. Alfred Parsons, whose brush interprets in such a poetical way the charm of the cherry blossom, has feasted English eyes in his beautifully illustrated paper entitled "A Japanese Spring." The gardens of Uyeno and Yoshino, memorable for their beauty at the opening of the year, give fair enough pictures to show that native pride and love is not overstrained. The fugitive character of this first display of nature makes us mourn; but is it not because the year is yet so young and there are other children to bring forth out of the abundance of her budding overburdened heart? It is to the autumn flowers we look for a longer tarrying, and are not disappointed.

Visitors during this Festival are regaled at the tea houses with a beverage made from dried and salted sakura petals, and are also served with little cakes in the form of buds and flowers covered with pink sugar. On quitting these wayside restaurants, some of these cakes are put up in papers, bearing representations of the blossoms, and these are offered as parting souvenirs.

Everything that can possibly bear the impress of this symbol of perfect heroism and the embodiment of the national spirit, receives the sign manual of the Sakura-no-hana.

In the history of Japan it is related that when the Emperor Go-Daigo was taken prisoner, Kojmia Takanori his faithful vassal trespassed within the castle garden, and stripping the bark from a cherry tree wrote upon it to the effect that reliance might be placed upon the Emperor's faithful subjects to release him at all hazards and restore him to power. The promise was effected in the true spirit of the Yamato Damashi-i.

Like all customs and institutions that are traditional, kept up by an untutored race and handed down from one generation to another by hearsay, they are bound to differ in different counties, towns, or provinces as the case may be. At Kioto at this Festival of the Cherry Blossom, the Maiko-dori, a special ceremonial, is carried out in the following manner.

A large room of many mats is prepared into which about fifty musicians assemble, clothed in bright colours which suit well the youth and life of the performers. When the guests have all arrived into the centre of the room a geisha, or peasant girl appears dressed in a very bright coloured *kimono* and *obi* like the rest of her companions. On a *zen* or low table very slightly raised from the ground like the table placed for the spirit feast at the ceremony of Bom Matsuri, she prepares a bowl of tea, according to the ancient formula of the Cha-no-yu ceremony. It is a powdered tea of the first leaves of the tea plant, which she mixes before the guests with the aid of the bamboo brush or stirrer, until the brew is thick and frothy to whiteness. The guests are each given a tiny teacup full and two small cakes frosted with pink sugar—one cake to eat and one to take away with them ; they are in the form of the cherry blossom. Whilst the guests thus partake of tea in ancient style on a circular raised platform the singing girls perform before a scenic painting relative to the season. As they sing they dance gracefully and carefully, while coloured lamps flame down upon them. From representing spring by holding branches of spring-flowering trees and umbrellas covered with real and artificial flowers, everything changes to summer emblems; then on to autumn, when in their hands the performers hold forth and waive the tinted tesselated leaves of fading autumn. The scene is at last transformed and winter reigns—a deep snow-ladened landscape is revealed upon the stage—the movement of the dancers becomes more and more subdued, in the presence of winter all grow hushed into peace!

Although there are varied opinions concerning Japanese music, to some few it is weirdly beautiful, bringing back years of forgotten ages, as the voices of the dead we loved so well and lost so long ago. Youthful voices take up this strain year by year, chosen for the sweetness and power of interpretation they possess.

We are told that in Japan all festivals are symbolic and more or less of a religious nature. This Sakura-no-hana Matsuri accompanied with the Maiko-dori speaks for itself in a language that needs no other conviction.

II.—TATTOOING.

Tattooing, or the art of indelibly marking the human body, by means of inserting various materials liquid or solid beneath the epidermis, and thereby producing designs of a permanent nature upon the outer skin is known to be extremely ancient.

This art was prevalent in India, Japan, in the Islands of the Pacific, the South Sea Islands and more especially New Zealand. This last named country we are aware was originally inhabited by cruel and barbaric tribes renowned for the savagery they inflicted upon each other.

Tattooing in New Zealand was chiefly demonstrated on those who devoted their life to warfare, it was undergone for the purpose of making themselves hideous in the eyes of their enemies. But the tortures of the art were also obligatory—a boy was tattoed on reaching manhood—a soldier on joining the ranks; by the fortitude they exhibited during the operation, was their heroism appraised—a stoical endurance was a proof of manliness. All chieftains, and men of title, or rank, were called upon to suffer this distinguished custom.

Tattooing was a painful process, of long duration, lasting many hours, and afterwards causing days of sickness and general uneasiness. The instruments used were somewhat large, they were made of bone or ivory, with saw-like teeth, or pointed at the ends like chisels. After the desired design had been drawn upon the skin deep incisions were cut which caused a free flow of blood, and then finely powdered charcoal or lamp black was inserted into the wound which had been traced along the flesh.

In India gunpowder was selected as a medium, and rubbed into the furrows made by the instruments.

The early Britons who were skilled in this severe art, stained themselves with a herb called *glastum*, which was really a species of either plantain, or knotgrass.

Indian women were occasionally tattooed, but chiefly for ornamentation to the lips, the face and the tongue, also round the jaw, as the idea prevailed among them that the pain of toothache could be averted if this measure was resorted to. Even priests were not exempt, though the mark was confined to a small square patch over the eyes.

Many benefits were considered to accrue to those who were tattooed. The chief of a tribe was known by his particular *amoco* or mark. It became his personal seal or signature, and a correct reproduction appeared on any document of a serious or binding nature. His *amoco* was much venerated by his followers, and carefully studied in order to be readily recognised in case of need.

The skin of the body was considered less sensitive to the changes of temperature after it has been tattooed, for in some cases the limbs as well as the face were ornamented with tattooings, and only the portion of the body covered with clothing was suffered to go free from punctures of this kind. The operation successfully accomplished, the person operated upon was considered for a time sacred. He was forced to become *tabooed*, and was not permitted to touch food of any kind with his own hands for the term of three days. He was fed from the same supply of viands as the chief under whom he served, by the women of the chief's household or family. The lower orders of the community during this season of *taboo* were entirely dependent for sustenance on the kindness and consideration of any passing stranger.

We have heard of sand pictures, flower pictures—pictures burnt in upon thin sheets of wood or stems of trees with red hot needles. Flesh pictures are perhaps to our notion the most remarkable of any. Time refines all things, and the rudest barbaric inventions can be toned down, and made acceptable and even worthy of admiration.

Tattooing achieved in Japan became a special artistic effort, countenanced for a variety of purposes as well as for branding criminals. Amongst others when printing was not generally understood, folklore, superstitions, historic events and other items of national interest, were transmitted from one generation to another by means of puncturing information of this kind upon the exposed limbs of travellers, peasants, *betto*, and the *kuruma* and other classes of foot runners. By this means many beautiful classic tales have been preserved to posterity and handed on from province to province of the Empire.

In the year 1868 A.D. the practice of tattooing was interdicted by royal decree, and abolished as unworthy of the nation's advancing civilization. But foreigners visiting the shores of Japan craved after this novelty, and the patronage of two of England's Princes saved the art from dying out.

Through the kindness of Lieut. Salwey R.N. who was most successfully tattooed during a brief stay of the squadron in 1881 in Japanese waters, the following correct explanation of the Oriental method is here given.

There was a great run for the services of the special artist as all the officers were desirous of having their limbs marked for life, and engagements were kept up to the early hours of the morning. The operation was conducted as follows. "You laid flat down on your back with pillows under your head, kindly put for you by the artist's daughter with your coat off and shirt sleeves rolled up. You gave your arm into the lap of the horrid looking old Narabi who proceeded to paint in the outline with an ordinary paint brush. All this was delightful but when the fine outline needles began it was not so nice. The outline needles consisted of four, eight or twelve needles packed close together in a sort of penholder, and the points were dipped into Indian ink, and then the outline was pricked into your arm.

"The rapidity that the pictures went on at was wonderful. The old man pricked and dipped into the ink and then with rice-paper rubbed off the blood, and pricked again, dipped and pricked and rubbed off, and so on, until the arm, which at first hurt one,—well unpleasantly, soon became absolutely numbed. The shading needle was the worst; this consisted of about twenty to twenty-four needles all bound together in a similar manner, and the scales of the dragon (which I selected for my tattoo) were done with this until the arm bled profusely, and when it was finished I could hardly lift my arm.

"I remember that dressing and undressing was a weary task, and when we midshipmen were overboard, the salt got in, and made us ring out. After about a fortnight the arm healed up and covered with a fine film of flesh, and then gradually peeled off like the so called transferables we have all used at school: and out came the most lovely picture! . . .

"After possessing my tattooes for thirteen years, and never once regretting having them done, I only regret their having faded so much. If I met Narabi again I should have more added without doubt. My arms have been the best curios I brought home. . . .

"Tattooes with Indian ink, and with the red stain of the cinnabar as done in Japan form an art in themselves!"

The wild tribes of the South Sea Islands preferred conventional designs: in the extreme East the tattooes became finished pictures worked in upon the flesh, full of lifelike movements well expressed, such as always can be recognised in all the executions of this artistic nation.

Obscure races who inhabited latitudes, the climate of which justified the absence of wearing apparel, sanctioned the general custom of appearing nude, as an inevitable necessity, with no intention of immodesty in the sense that it appeals to the civilized communities. But these races were always more or less habituated to decorate themselves in one way or another. The methods of tattooing which existed in ancient times suggest neither beauty nor terror in our eyes, whatever effects they may have produced on the ocular sense of savages. We know by the experience of travellers, that lives have often been preserved by gifts of gaudy baubles, beads, feathers, smart trinkets which the aborigines of out of the way tracts of land have coveted as personal ornaments to lay over their skin.

The dark races love glitter, colour, and sparkling objects which can be utilized as mock apparel.

The first lesson in the advance of civilization is that the body must not be exposed, and the general use of clothing accepted in Japan and all Eastern stations has done away with the obligation of tattooing the skin or hiding the human form under a false covering. We are informed by those who travel to the uttermost parts of the earth to teach and civilize humanity, that they meet with very little opposition as regards the matter of dress. It is a novelty which undoubtedly succeeds as it invests the wearers with a dignity and interest not at all displeasing to them. In the English schools of Zululand, the Transvaal and other stations, the Christian children may be singled out by their simple garments, which become a great pride to them to don. The only thing to be regretted is that in some instances clothing entirely unsuitable in make and fabric ridiculously fashioned and out of date is cruelly foisted upon eager purchasers, often causing them to be a laughing stock to travellers. As an instance of the readiness to possess clothing the following narrative will furnish a proof.

Some years ago a conchologist visiting one of the obscure South Sea Islands in search of specimens came across a unique and precious shell in the possession of a native.

A considerable amount of money was offered for the prize, as well as many other tempting exchanges, but the only thing the savage craved for was the coat the Englishman was wearing. The barter could not be effected for a long time as neither understood the language of the other. The native plucked wildly at his breast and arms with one hand while he held up the shell with the other. A pantomimic scene ensued, the Englishman being willing to part with anything but the one thing desired. Pushed into the water at last, he sought his boat for safety, but the precious object being tantalizingly held out, with fiercer gesticulations for the exchange to be effected, the collector at last yielded and tearing off the outer garment flung it to the native who instantly leapt into the water and seizing the coveted object gained the boat and completed the bargain.

This conchological specimen may now be seen in one of our great national museums.

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF BUDDHISM

(IN TWO PARTS).—PART I.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETD.).

THE subject of this slight sketch is Buddhism, that great religion which, founded in India twenty-five centuries ago, now numbers in southern and eastern Asia four hundred millions of adherents. In Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Indo-China and Tibet it is the principal religion. In Tartary, the Chinese Empire, Japan and Korea it is very extensively, though not exclusively, professed, and in Mongolia, Manchuria and parts of Siberia more or less perverted and debased forms of it are current.

It is of course impossible within the limits of two papers to treat so vast a subject exhaustively; but I shall endeavour to give a clear, though necessarily brief account of its principal doctrines, based partly on the works of Hardy, Oldenberg and other principal authorities, and partly on personal observation.

We must begin with some remarks on the development of religious ideas among the Aryan race in India, in order to understand the sources from which the Buddha derived many, if not all, of his doctrines. We shall then examine the story of his birth, life and death, endeavouring to distinguish what is historical in it from what is legendary, after which we shall come to an exposition of his teachings, and the organization of the community, congregation or church which he founded.

These three things—the Buddha himself, his law, and his congregation, constitute the sacred Triad of the religion. It is embodied in the formula used at the ordination of monks, and in many religious ceremonies: *Buddham saranam gacchámi; Dhammam saranam gacchámi; Sangham saranam gacchámi.*

"I seek the protection of Buddha; I seek the protection of the Law; I seek the protection of the Congregation."

I.

First then let us rapidly survey the history of religious thought among the Aryans in India.

The earliest inhabitants of India appear to have been a barbarous race, small of stature and dark-skinned. Their descendants are still found in the forest tribes and the agricultural and labouring classes in many parts of India. At a period so far back in dim antiquity that its exact date cannot be given,—certainly more than two, and probably more than three thousand years before Christ—India was invaded from the extreme north-west by a tall, fair-haired race who called themselves Ârya. They came from some northern region and spoke a language identical with that of the earliest Greek, Latin, Celtic, Teuton and Slavonic races of Europe: whether they were akin to them in race we cannot precisely say. Two sciences, both

still in their infancy, are at the present time disputing about this point. Philology says they are akin, Anthropology says that it is far from certain whether they are or not. At any rate, not only their language, but a great many of their manners and customs, and their physical characteristics as described in their literature and shown in their descendants are so strikingly similar to those of the European races as to constitute a strong argument for their original unity.

Their religion was like that of the ancient Greeks and other Aryan speaking races,—a worship of the personified powers of nature. It has been well described as an offensive and defensive alliance between the god and the man. The man offers to the god sacrifices, accompanied by hymns of praise, and prayers for material blessings, and in return, the god bestows wealth, health, protection from enemies and victory in battle.

But though originally perhaps part of one great family with the Aryan races of Europe, the Aryan of India became so entirely isolated from the outer world that for a long succession of centuries he was subject to no external influences, and worked out his own development by himself and on his own lines. That love of intricacy, that tendency to hair-splitting, and highly refined complexities of thought, which is, even in the present day, so characteristic of the natives of India, led to the development of the simple offering of sacrifice, hymn and prayer into an intricate and elaborate ceremonial. Mystic power was attributed to every word, to every tone in prayer and hymn, to every action in the ceremony. The building of the altar, the bringing within the sacred enclosure and placing in its proper position of each cup of water, milk or wine, of each branch of the sacred plants, the postures and gestures appropriate to each part of a long service—all these things became matters of the highest importance requiring long and careful study and practice. It was taught that a mistake in a single word or gesture would deprive the sacrifice of all its value, and the gods would bestow no blessings in return. Thus the duty of conducting the sacrifice, which in the very earliest times had been performed by every householder, by every father of a family, fell by degrees into the hands of a particular class, those who knew the Brahma or prayer-formula and who were therefore called Brahmans. This class soon narrowed into an exclusive sacerdotal caste. Relieved from all the duties of secular life, maintained in plenty and comfort by the gifts and offerings of the laity, surrounded by an intensely superstitious awe and reverence and protected from even the slightest injury to person or property, the Brahmans followed the natural bent of the Indian mind and gave themselves up to a life of contemplation. They allowed their minds to run riot in the wildest fantasies. They even relegated to the lowest and least honoured section of their caste the sacrificial duties on which their pre-eminence was originally founded and became, not priests, but as the Greeks at a later time correctly described them, philosophers.

At a very early stage in their speculations they arrived at the conception of one Supreme Being, high above all the masses of gods and goddesses to whom the ignorant multitude offered sacrifices and paid vows. In their most ancient literature, the hymns of the Rig Veda which we cannot place

later than 2,000 years before Christ, we find traces of this conception. In the elaborate and voluminous commentaries on the Vedas known as Brahmanas and Upanishads, which may be placed from about the ninth to the seventh century B.C., this idea gains ground and is largely developed. The material or anthropomorphic gods worshipped by sacrifice, prayer and praise were not sufficient for the philosopher; he sought to know and give a name to the great power or powers which lay behind and above all these. A higher world of forces, some friendly, some hostile, rose in his mind. The Greeks we know had a similar conception. They too spoke of something higher than all the gods, some power to which even Zeus himself must bow. They called it Fate, the Indian after much casting about ended by calling it *'Atman*—Soul. It would take up too much space and carry us too far from our subject to go fully into the interesting question of Brahmanical religious speculation. It is important here merely to notice the conception of a great all-powerful Essence, Force, or Entity, overruling all things. Then the next step was to conclude that this Soul of all things also was *in* all things. The Brahman explained this by a simple metaphor: "If a lump of salt be thrown into water it dissolves, it becomes invisible, yet if you drink any portion—even the least drop of the water, you perceive the taste of the salt." If it were said that this is Pantheism the astute Brahman replied—"No—for the water and the salt remain two distinct things. There is water in the cup, and there is salt; but the salt is not the water, and the water is not the salt. They are intimately blended, they are inseparable, but they are still two co-existent entities."

Union with this world-soul is the highest aim of man. The religion of the Brahmans admitted heaven and hell—nay, it admitted countless heavens and countless hells. Death was a fact that it had to meet and deal with; but in the strange, fantastic exuberance of idea, which was engendered by long solitary meditations in the lonely forests, one death was no more sufficient than one heaven or one hell. There arose, therefore, long before the Buddha, the idea of the possibility of countless rebirths. The human being died and was born again repeatedly. His position in future lives depended on his *Karma*—actions in this life. If he led a good life he would be rewarded by being born in a higher sphere next time; if an evil life, in a lower sphere, even as an animal or an insect. But neither bliss nor punishment was eternal: they came to an end and the soul was born again.

The only escape from this intolerable succession of rebirths was absolute union with the *'Atman*, the world-soul; and this could only be attained by long-continued, severe, mental discipline resulting in the suppression of *Kâma* or desire. When a man's mind has arrived at a condition similar to the "dreamless sleep of a child," in which nothing is felt, nothing is perceived, nothing is desired, he has attained perfection, he is freed from re-birth, he is one with the world-soul. But the suppression of desire can only be attained by long practice. The first step is to dispossess oneself of all worldly goods, to wander, homeless and houseless, about the world, indifferent to everything, relying upon chance for the supply of such things as are necessary to support life, and not caring in the least whether one gets them or not.

The next step is knowledge or perception. Renunciation by itself is insufficient, it is merely the preparation: till a man has entirely subdued *Kâma* or desire, he cannot begin to recognize the higher state. Long continued absorption in thought, perfectly undisturbed by desire, leads at last to knowledge—to the full perception of the *Atman* as One, Infinite, All-embracing. "He," it is said, "who discovers and perceives [apprehends, or recognizes] the *Atman* dwelling in the darkness of this corporeal existence, he is all-creating, for he is identical with the Creator of all things. His is the world, for he himself is the world."

These two conditions—freedom from desire, and the apprehension of the *'Atman*—are really one; for, as another text says, "when a man apprehends the *'Atman*,—when he says—'I am that' [*tadaham*]—what can he desire, what can he long for, in corporeal existence?"

As a counterpart to this—desire, and not apprehending, are the root and essence of all clinging to existence.

One further development must be also mentioned on account of the light it throws on the much discussed question of *Nirvâna*.

A sage is asked, "Is there consciousness in the *'Atman*," he answers, "No." "Is there, then, no consciousness in one who is united with the *'Atman?*" "No. How can there be?" replies the sage; "consciousness implies two existences. If two men exist one can see, hear, speak to, the other. But if only one exists, there is no one for him to see, or be conscious of. How then can consciousness exist?" And yet this world-soul, which is in all things though at the same time one indivisible entity, rules everything. Whatsoever is done in the material world is done in accordance with His or Its will. As an ancient Poet has it:

> Through fear of him the sun doth rise;
> Through fear of him the winds do blow;
> Through fear of him clouds veil the skies,
> And death throughout the world doth go.

This conception of an unconscious Will ruling all material phenomena, union with whom is the only means of escape from the curse of existence, was common in India for some centuries before the rise of Buddhism.

More than one Teacher, each surrounded by his circle of disciples, lived an ascetic life. Contemporary with Buddha was, for instance, Mahávíra, founder of the Jainas, still a very numerous sect in India. Many others there were whose peculiarities have come down to us, but whose sect has perished. Most, if not all of them, practised all sorts of penances, fastings, scourging and other chastenings of the flesh. Though Buddha himself was in all probability an uneducated man, so far as book-learning is concerned, he must have heard these questions frequently discussed, and he was familiar with the appearance, as well as with some of the doctrines, of the numerous wild, naked, repulsive ascetics who, then as now, wandered about the country. He did not claim to be an inspired teacher or pretend that he had received any message from on high. He worked out his own creed for himself, and in so doing he was influenced, to a greater degree than has generally been recognized, by the spirit of the country and the times in which he lived. He was an Aryan

Indian and the religion which he founded bears the distinct impress of the Aryan mind. And here two points specially deserve notice.

First. Unlike the reverent Semitic mind, the Aryan has no reliance on a higher power. The gods were for the vulgar and with all their power they could reward only with a temporary heaven or punish only with a temporary hell. The human mind proudly asserts itself as independent of the gods, and capable of rising to a higher level than theirs. It is self-dependent. It can win its own salvation for itself. The unconscious All-soul, the *'Atman*, gives no assistance to those who seek union with it. Renunciation and meditation may raise the human soul to that union, but the work must be done by the unaided human being himself. Accordingly we read much of penance and much of meditation, but nothing of prayer. The *'Atman* is a condition:—those who are in that condition naturally unite with the *'Atman;* to those who are not, even the *'Atman* itself cannot grant that union.

I do not know whether Auguste Comte had ever studied the philosophy of the Brahmins, or Buddhists—but in studying Buddhism one is reminded at every step of the doctrines of Positivism. There is nothing new under the sun. Is the religion of Humanity nothing more than a modern form of Buddhism?

Secondly. This esoteric knowledge was not available for the masses. For them the old material gods, the life of *Karma* with its endless re-births, was good enough. The secret of how to escape from re-birth was only for the sage devoted to meditation and asceticism.

The merit of the Buddha's teaching—that which has secured for it such an immense number of adherents and so great vitality,—is that it opened up a path by which the masses might obtain that liberation from the curse of existence which, under the system of Hinduism, had been reserved for a small and select class.

2.

We now come to the Buddha himself. Here we are met at the outset by the difficulty that the story of his life has been so overlaid by successive layers of legend and myth during the course of twenty-five centuries, that the keenest critical acumen can hardly arrive at the real facts or unearth the real man from under the mass of fable and invention beneath which his true personality is buried. It has even been doubted whether he existed at all. One learned savant, Professor Sénart of Paris, has written a big book in support of the theory that the life of Buddha, as told by the northern Buddhists—those of Tibet and Nepal—is nothing more than a myth of the Sun-god. But this view is not generally accepted. I need not enumerate all the arguments for and against this and other theories; suffice it to say, that a great majority of those who have studied the question are now agreed that Buddha was an historical person; and if we eliminate all that is marvellous and superhuman, we certainly get a figure which is not only possible, but given the known conditions of the country and time, very probable.

We have no life of Buddha dating from his own times.

This is not surprising. When a new teacher arises, the first thing that

attracts attention is not the history of his life, which all his contemporaries are well acquainted with, but his teachings. It is not until he himself and all his contemporaries and the generation that knew them, have passed away, that men begin to ask who he was, when he lived, and what were the circumstances of his life. This was the case with our own Christian Scriptures. And the case was even stronger in India. The Greeks and Romans cultivated history,—the Indians did not. Among all the vast and varied stores of ancient Indian literature there is hardly a single historical work, hardly a single allusion even to historical events. The earliest account of the life of Buddha comes not from India itself, but from Ceylon; and as, from internal evidence, it may be placed as early as 100 years after the death of the Buddha, we may accept it as the most authentic. It is significant, that it is at the same time the simplest and least marvellous.

The story is this. Sudhodana, the chief of the petty State of Kapila, lying between the Ganges and the Himalayas, a little to the east of the present province of Oudh, had a son born to him at a date which though it cannot be precisely fixed was probably about 624 years before Christ. It helps to fix the date, if we remember that the life of Buddha is very nearly contemporaneous with the captivity of the Jews in Babylon. He lived for 80 years. The generally accepted date of his birth is the fifteenth year of the reign of Josiah, 24 years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; and the date of his death, 543, is only 7 years before the accession of Cyrus and the return of the Jews under Zerubbabel to their own land. Only 50 years later, the Greeks defeated the Persian hosts on the glorious field of Marathon; and nearly at the the same time the Romans expelled Tarquin, the last of their Kings, and formed their great republic.

But to return to the Buddha. His mother Máya died seven days after his birth, and he was brought up by Prajápati his father's other wife, who was also his mother's sister. Concerning his youth the earlier accounts tell us little or nothing. He was by caste a Kshattriya, the caste of kings and warriors; and his life and training were those of the young nobles of his day. Hunting, the use of weapons and the art of war generally, together with athletic sports, were his chief occupations. He married young, as they do in India, the daughter of a neighbouring prince and had one son who afterwards became one of his father's most devoted disciples.

When he was about 29 he suddenly left his home, adopted the dress of an ascetic and wandered away to the country of Bihar, south of the Ganges. There, in the hilly region of Rájagriha, he for six years practised all the penances and mortifications usual among ascetics. There were in various parts of those wild hills other ascetics (*fakirs* we should call them now) practising similar austerities. They considered him as one of themselves and are said to have admired the ingenuity and severity of his self-torture. After a while, however, he began to perceive the uselessness of thus punishing his body, and he made the discovery, which says much for his common sense, that by thus reducing his bodily strength he also impaired

the power of his mind; and he left off those practices. Whereupon the other ascetics looked upon him as one who had fallen from the higher life and returned to the allurements of the world. When by degrees he had recovered his bodily strength by eating wholesome food and behaving generally in a rational way his powers of meditation and reasoning also recovered. He left Rájagriha and wandering westward came to a place then called Uruvela—now known as Buddh-Gya—the Jerusalem, Rome, Mecca, of all the Buddhist world. Here, sitting under a *pippal* tree one night, there came to him at length the true knowledge—the enlightenment. He saw clearly the nature of existence. He saw all the worlds, past, present and future; he understood the sequence of life; how suffering arises and how to escape from it. As he himself puts it in one of his subsequent discourses, "When I grasped and understood all this, my soul was released from the Sin of Desire, from the Sin of Earthly Existence, from the Sin of Error, from the Sin of Ignorance. In me thus released arose the consciousness that I was released. Destroyed was Re-birth, completed was the Sacred Change, accomplished was the Task. Never shall I be born again into this world. This knew I beyond all doubt."

The tree under which this momentous event occurred is called the *Bodhi* tree or tree of enlightenment, popularly shortened into the Bo tree. It still stands in the same place, or more correctly what is still shown is a descendant of the original tree. When I saw it last, in 1885, it was quite a young tree which had sprung up from the mouldering stump of an older one, which in its turn had probably grown from one older still. Numerous cuttings were taken from it in former times and carried to other Buddhist lands, where they took root and grew, and are still highly venerated.

The date of this attainment of Buddha-hood, as it is called, is usually placed in the year 588; and from this time the prince bears the title of Buddha which means "The Enlightened" or "The Awakened." What his real name was we do not know. The name by which he goes previous to his attainment of Buddhahood is Siddhártha; but this looks like a title or an artificial name, as it means "he who has attained his object" and seems therefore applicable to him rather after acquiring Buddha-hood than before. He is also called Gautama; but this is not his personal name, but the name of the clan or tribe to which he belonged; his father was a Gautama and so were all his relations. Another name by which he is known is 'Sákya Muní, but this again merely means the "Saint of the 'Sákyas"—Sákya being the name of the sept or division of the great Gautama clan to which his family belonged.

The rest of his life, upwards of 40 years, he spent in wandering about teaching. He had a very large following of disciples who wandered about with him, and whom he sent to preach his doctrines in various parts of India. He himself did not go very far from his native place. He preached at Benares and in several parts of Oudh and Behar; but he did not apparently go to Western or Southern India. After a long life of teaching he died at Kusinárá, a place the situation of which is not known, in the eightieth year of his age. His body was burnt, according to Indian custom; but bits of his bones, his teeth and various other parts of him

were preserved, and enshrined in stately monuments in all Buddhist lands, where they are worshipped to this day. Huge domes of brick work covered with elaborately carved slabs of stone, representing the principal events in his life, were built to receive caskets containing a tooth, a hair, or some other relic; and many of these in India and elsewhere are still in existence.

In this brief account of the life of Buddha as we find it in the earliest texts, you will observe that there is nothing at all unusual or uncommon. It is quite conceivable that a thoughttul intelligent young Indian prince should weary of an idle, luxurious existence and should be led to adopt the ascetic life. It is true to nature also that this change should take place at the age of thirty, when the newness and freshness of life begin to fade away and more earnest views and ideas arise in the mind. It is true to Indian nature that the only alternative to royal luxury and splendour should be utter beggary and privation; true also to that nature that days and years should be spent in intense self-concentrated meditation and that a man should emerge from such a period of inward struggle possessed of a deep-seated unshakeable conviction of the truth of those conceptions which his meditations have given birth to. It is true not only of Indian, but of universal human nature, that a man possessed of deep-seated convictions and a fervent earnestness of nature,—be he Buddha, or Paul, or Muhammad,—should shake the world and influence the minds of myriads, nay of millions. In all this there is nothing improbable,—nothing that is not exceedingly probable. It is not surprising either that, as the centuries rolled on, myth and legend should incrust themselves round the name of the great teacher. Reserving for a later stage more about the graceful and poetical legends which have grown up round the history of Gautama, the Buddha, I proceed to a sketch—it can be little more—of the main features of the religion which he taught and the society which he founded.

3.

The basis of all the Buddha's teaching is Pain—the pain and sorrow of existence—and how to be freed from it. The commonly received story of what we may call his conversion—a story which I am afraid we must in the light of scientific research consider as legendary,—is as follows:

King Sudhodana when the young prince was born rejoiced at the thought that he now had a son who would perpetuate his race and succeed him on the throne. But a venerable sage predicted that the youth when he arrived at manhood would desert his kingdom and lead the life of an ascetic. To prevent this catastrophe the King caused three palaces to be built, one for each season of the Indian year—the cold, the hot, and the rainy. Each of these palaces was surrounded by beautiful gardens and parks and was filled with every kind of comfort and delight: there were gold and silver and jewels, rich clothing, splendid furniture; paintings, music, delicious food; crowds of beautiful attendants; flowers, fruits, and shady groves; sparkling streams, broad lakes, abundance of game for hunting—everything, in short, that could make existence happy. The prince was not to be allowed to go beyond these palaces. One day, how-

ever, he was seized with a desire to see the world outside and he commanded his charioteer to drive him through the city. Three days running he went out and each day he saw some instance of suffering. The first day he met a decrepit old man, the second day a man overcome by disease, and the third day a dead body carried out on a bier followed by sorrowing relatives. Thus he became acquainted with the existence of old age, disease, and death and was told that every human being was liable to these three calamities. A fourth day he went out and met a man in the yellow robe of an ascetic whose countenance was perfectly calm and cheerful. He was told that this was a man who was free from all the cares of life. He returned home, thoughtful and sad. That night, when all in the palace were asleep, he arose and went away in secret to the forest. There he threw away his princely clothing and jewels, put on the garb of an ascetic and commenced his life of meditation and preaching.

When after attaining to Buddha-hood he began, as the phrase goes, to "turn the wheel of the law"—in other words to impart his doctrines to the world,—he set out by enunciating the four great truths which are the foundation of the Buddhist religion.

1st. The truth of Pain:—Birth is pain, disease is pain, decay is pain, death is pain, the presence of that which is not desired is pain, the absence of that which is desired is pain,—in short all existence is pain.

2nd. The truth of the origin of Pain:—Pain arises from attachment to material objects, this gives rise to desire, and desire to continual rebirths.

3rd. The truth of the liberation from Pain:—It is possible to obtain liberation from pain by the total suppression of desire, and of attachment to material objects.

4th. The truth of the means of Liberation:—Liberation from desire and consequently from re-birth can be surely attained by the eight-fold path. This consists of

1. Right Faith.	5. Right Life.
2. Right Resolve.	6. Right endeavour.
3. Right Word.	7. Right reflection.
4. Right deed.	8. Right absorption.

In other words, a virtuous life, culminating in perfect abstraction from all earthly things and leading direct to that mysterious condition which has been so much discussed, known as *Nirvâna.*

If we examine more closely these four truths or fundamental principles, we shall obtain a clear idea of what may be called in modern language the Pessimism of the Buddha's teaching.

I. All existence is pain:—this is the constant burden of the endless tale—all the enormously voluminous literature of Buddhism is based upon this idea, and repeats it incessantly. Even the gods are not free from it. Buddhism recognises the existence of the myriad gods of the Hindu pantheon, but conceives of them as beings who, though immeasurably superior in knowledge, happiness, and power to human beings, are as immeasurably inferior to the Tathâgata, the Perfected Buddha, and are subject to decay and death.

II. As to the origin of Pain, the second great truth, Buddha teaches that it arises solely from man himself—or to speak more accurately from the *I*, the Self—the *Ego* of European metaphysicians. Steadily ignoring, in its absolute Atheism, the possibility of man's receiving any help from a higher Power, Buddhism places the source of all existence in man himself in the I,—the *Ego*.

This Self is something apart from all phenomena, from all material, visible, or conceivable things.

"Is corporeal existence myself?" Buddha asks his disciples. And the answer is—"No;—for it changes and passes away, but the Self remains."

"Are sensations, ideas, material objects, perceptions, myself?" "No;—for they change and pass away, but the Self remains."

It is this self, then, which is the cause of all things, the only reality. It is the action of the Ego which gives rise to what the Buddhist Scriptures call the Chain of Causation, the twelve *Nidânas* or Primary Causes.

The text which describes them runs thus:—

1. From Ignorance spring the forms of action;
2. From them Consciousness;
3. From that the *Kâma Rûpa* or organized Being;
4. From that the Six organs of sense—(our five + thought);
5. From them Contact (between the senses and external objects);
6. From that Sensation;
7. From that Desire;
8. From that Attachment;
9. From that Existence;
10. From that Birth;
11. From that Pain.

In other texts the Chain of Causation is represented as a circle in which five of the Nidânas or Primary Causes are mutually dependent on each other the last being dependent on the first. Thus Consciousness causes Contact, which causes Sensation, which causes Desire, which causes Action. Action causes Consciousness and so we begin again, ever revolving in the same vicious circle. This is what is called the Wheel of the Law which Buddha set rolling at his first public preaching at Benares.

This is undoubtedly all very confused, and so the earlier disciples seem to have thought. Many are the questions they ask the Master on this subject, and long and elaborate are his answers. His idea seems to have been that—as we saw in the Brahmanical theory of the *'Atman*—conscious existence is impossible unless there is some thing or person, external to the mind, of which it can be conscious. Thus the Self must do something before it can be conscious of its own existence. In other words consciousness arises from Action; but if the Self knew that Action would lead eventually to Pain, it would not act. It is only because it does not know this that it acts, which is only another way of saying that Ignorance causes Action and Action causes Pain.

III. Then we come to the 3rd great truth the removal of Pain. It follows naturally from the Chain of Causation that to obtain release from Pain, we must reverse the process which causes it. Knowledge, the reverse

of Ignorance, and total absence or suppression of desire will effect this, and lead to the ultimate goal of all Buddhist effort, *Nirvâna.* Here we touch the central point of the whole system, the most obscure and difficult question of this strange religion. What is *Nirvâna?*

If we go back to the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word, *Nirvânam* (pronounced in Pali *Nibbânam*), we find that it means extinction, or more strictly the state of being blown out—as the flame of a candle is blown out. But scholars have long been disputing whether in its application to Buddhism this word means total annihilation, or simply blissful existence. It may be stated thus. That *Nirvâna* means extinction, all admit. But the question is, What is it that is extinguished?

Is it the man himself? If so, then *Nirvâna* means total annihilation.

Is it the man's passions? If so, then *Nirvâna* means a state of blissful rest, and freedom from the pain of desire and existence.

Now in support of the first of these two alternative propositions, the logical result of the system comes in. If all existence is Pain as the First Great Truth teaches, then freedom from pain can only be secured by cessation from existence, or annihilation.

In support of the second, we find numerous texts in which persons still living are said to have attained *Nirvâna* because they have subdued all their passions and though still existing are perfectly indifferent to existence. They continue to live, they do not commit suicide, because to do so would exhibit a preference for death over life, and that would be incompatible with their absolute indifference to both states.

Some scholars, notably Childers, the learned author of the Pali Dictionary, adduce arguments to prove that *Nibbânam* is used in the sacred texts in two senses—that there are in fact two kinds of *Nirvâna*,—one a state of blissful passionless existence, the other annihilation.

But this view though supported by a large number of texts seems hardly to meet the whole range of the Buddhistic teaching.

The view most recently advocated by Oldenberg and others, and that which, on the whole, seems to be nearest the truth is that neither Buddha himself nor his earlier disciples laid down any clear and definite dogma on this point. The Buddha himself seems in fact to have shrunk at the last moment from the logical consequences of his own arguments. They brought him to the brink of the awful unfathomable gulf of Nothingness, and he recoiled from the prospect.

He was asked whether the Ego, the Self, exists after death. He gave no answer. Then he was asked whether the Ego, the self, perishes at death. Again he gave no answer. The enquirer not being able to obtain a reply, went away. Then his disciples asked him why he gave no answer. He replied, because to say either Yes or No to either of these questions might engender error.

To another disciple he said, "I have not taught you whether the Tathâgata, the Perfected Man, such as I am, lives after death. I never undertook to teach you this. I undertook to teach you such things as make for Edification. This does not make for Edification. Therefore I

do not teach it"; and he adds, "what I have not revealed, let it remain unrevealed."

His earlier disciples after his death taught on the same lines. They held that the question was one beyond all human understanding. That the Self could, by the eight-fold path, be released from the liability to re-birth was certain; but what became of it when it was so released, when it so attained to *Nirvâna*, they refused to discuss.

"Is *Nirvâna* annihilation? We cannot say."

"Is it continued existence? We cannot say."

Though, however, it may not have been distinctly taught that *Nirvâna* was annihilation there can be little doubt that this is the only thing that it can logically mean, and that this is always tacitly understood.

IV. The fourth Great Truth—the Way to the release from pain, with its eight-fold path, brings us down to the level of earthly existence once more. If the first three Truths comprise the Metaphysics, the fourth Truth may be termed the Ethics, of Buddhism.

It is by this Truth that the abstract speculations of the other three Truths are brought into practical application and relation to the every day working life of human beings.

We have seen that as ignorance is the primary cause of Existence and so of Pain, its reverse, knowledge, is the cause of the removal of that pain. Now we are further told that knowledge is attained by, and is impossible without, well-doing.

A man may be content with the lower life of continual re-birth, whose reward is that in each birth he shall be placed in a higher station than before: or he may aspire to the loftier destiny of becoming freed from re-birth and attaining to the mysterious *Nirvâna*. But whichever of the two be his aim, the lower career of the simple citizen, or the more exalted one of the ascetic, in either case well-doing is the basis.

This was inevitable. No system of religion that the world has ever seen could long exist without morality; and, like all other human systems of Morality, Buddhism takes the form of Prohibitions rather than precepts. It is "thou shalt not," rather than "thou shalt." Thus the Five prohibitions, are

Thou shalt not destroy life;
Thou shalt not steal;
Thou shalt not commit adultery;
Thou shalt not lie;
Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquors.

But over and above these, there are innumerable other counsels of perfection; and for the priesthood there are in addition special obligations. At his ordination, the priest has to engage to observe the *Dasa-sîla* or ten ordinances. He says:

1. I will observe the ordinance that forbids the taking of life;
2. I will observe the ordinance that forbids the taking of that which has not been given;
3. I will observe the ordinance that prescribes chastity;

4. I will observe the ordinance that forbids lying;
5. I will observe the ordinance that forbids use of intoxicating liquors;
6. I will observe the ordinance that forbids eating of food after mid-day;
7. I will observe the ordinance that forbids attending at dancing, singing, or acting;
8. I will observe the ordinance that forbids use of flowers or perfumes on the body;
9. I will observe the ordinance that forbids use of high or honourable seats;
10. I will observe the ordinance that forbids receiving gold and silver.

The prohibition of the taking of life even of the smallest animals is well known as a distinctive feature of Buddhism. It is carried to a very great excess. Unfiltered water may not be drunk lest there should be minute animals in it. The ascetic will not use a walking-stick, lest he should inadvertently kill insects. But many of these precepts are not peculiar to Buddhism. They are shared with it by several other Hindu sects.

But to Buddhism as contrasted with Hinduism belongs the honour of laying particular stress upon the merit of kindliness, forgiveness of injuries, well wishing to all creatures. The ascetic may have no room for pity for himself. He knows how to obtain release from the pain of existence. He cannot, however, for that very reason, refrain from feeling pity and compassion for those who are still bound by the chain of Causation and cannot obtain release therefrom. But here Buddhism stops. It does not tell the ascetic to live in the world in order by his teaching and example to raise it to a higher level. He is to pity the world but to pass it by and devote himself to solitude, abstraction and indifference. Indeed the eight-fold path itself is to be followed not from love to one's neighbour, but as a means of securing one's own release from the pain of existence. The eight right things group themselves under three heads: Righteousness,—Abstraction,—Knowledge;—and these in their turn lead to *Nirvâna*. But it has already been pointed out that, in order to attain *Nirvâna*, there must be total severance of the soul from all sublunary affairs. If, therefore, a man loves his neighbour he breaks the rule of indifference. An ancient text says, "All pain and suffering on earth arises from that which is dear to me. He, therefore, to whom nothing is dear, is free from pain, and he who strives to attain to that state in which there is no pain, allows nothing in the world to be dear to him."

Under these circumstances it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there is a contradiction between the various parts of the Buddha's teaching.

Innumerable as are the treatises that have been written on the subject, it still remains obscure. Benevolence—giving away everything, even one's self—is *not* inculcated out of love to one's neighbours, but as a means of attaining peace and blessing for one's self. Buddhism may thus not unfairly be regarded as the religion of glorified Selfishness: monasticism in all religions is after all mere glorified Selfishness; and monasticism is the highest grade of Buddhism.

The monk or *Bhikkhu* is told every day, on returning from his daily round of begging, to ask himself, "As I went on my rounds to-day have

I felt pleasure or longing or hatred or confusion or anger towards any of the persons or objects that I met?" If he can answer "No," then his conduct is correct; if not—if he has felt like or dislike, his conduct is faulty and he must set himself to purify his mind by deep contemplation. For the Thought, not the Word or the Deed, is the highest part of man, his true Self.

And in struggling towards the right and towards *Nirvâna*, man is constantly assailed by *Mâra*, the Tempter, an impersonation similar to the Devil of other religions. He is conceived of as a very powerful god, one of the numerous gods whom Buddhism recognises, living in a heaven of his own, attended by numerous emissaries, or evil angels as we should say, by whom he tempts men to evil. On the memorable night when Prince Sidhartha attained Buddha-hood under the Bodhi tree at Uruvela *Mâra* with all his hosts tempted him, but fled away discomfited from the imperturbable composure and abstraction of the Buddha. Wherever there is life, with its pain and suffering, wherever there is anything which prevents the sage from attaining *Nirvâna*, there is *Mâra*, the principle of Evil: He is life, for life is evil; he is death, for death is evil. He is not to be struggled against, but to be conquered by opposing to all his attacks the impregnable adamantine wall of complete abstraction from all things.

The Buddha himself expresses it in a parable. "There was once a tortoise that came to drink at a river. There came also a jackal. The jackal said 'let me devour the flesh of this tortoise.' But the tortoise drew his head and legs into his shell and so remained. The jackal waited in vain. The tortoise remained immoveable, withdrawn into himself, unassailable. At length the jackal departed baffled. So does *Mâra* depart baffled from the perfect man."

But obviously perfect abstraction is only possible for the ascetic who has no worldly cares or occupations. The *Bhikkhu* or beggar, as he is called, can attain to *Nirvâna* by "the Road" *Maggo*. This has four steps,—(everything goes by fours in Buddhism).

The first step is called "entering the stream" (*sotâpatti*). One who has attained to this grade of perfection can only be born again seven times, and he cannot be born in any lower state, as for instance, in the form of any animal, or in any of the four hells.

The second step is called "returning once" (*sakadágámi*) because he who has attained this stage can only be born again once, and that too only as a man or as a god.

The third is called "not returning" (*anágámi*) because he is not liable to be born again except in the highest of the heavens, whence he proceeds at once to *Nirvâna*.

The fourth is "saintship" (*arahatta*) whence the highest saints in the Buddhist records are ordinarily known as *Arhats*.

The *Arhat* has attained to absolute perfection. His bodily existence may last for some time longer as the Buddha's did; but when it ends, he passes straight to *Nirvâna*, and even in this life he enjoys perfect freedom from all passions, affections or other disturbing influences. He has strange miraculous powers. He knows past, present and future. All the worlds

that have been, are, and shall be are present to his mental view. He can transport himself at once, by the mere effort of his will, whenever he pleases, can become invisible, can communicate with people at a distance and do various other marvellous things.

Higher than the *Arhats* again, are certain mysterious beings called *Paccheka Buddhas*, or Buddhas self-made or by themselves. These are men who, without being taught, have raised themselves by their own efforts to the status of Buddha-hood but have not been able to impart their knowledge to mankind.

Higher even than them are the *Samásambuddhas*, or Supreme Buddhas who have not only attained to the highest point but are able to teach the world. There have been numbers of these Buddhas in time past, ages and ages ago; and the highest of all the Supreme Buddhas is Gautama, the Sákya Muni. He knew all that had happened in the past. He remembered how many times he had been born and what form he had been born in. There is an immense literature of *Jâtakas* or stories of the former lives of the Buddha; he was born as a human being in various positions, as various kinds of animals, in various heavens and hells; and he tells the story of what he did in these numerous existences, to point the moral of his teaching.

From these ancient birth stories, a perfect mine of invention, have sprung a very great number of the fairy tales and popular children's stories, Märchen, current in European countries.

Among other things, the Buddha prophesied that his religion would only last a certain time:—Five hundred years he said, but modern Buddhists say five thousand. Each of the previous supreme Buddhas has taught his religion to the world of his day. His teaching has lasted a certain time and then died out, till a new supreme Buddha arose and taught the world again. So it has been, and so it shall be for ever and ever.

The extinction of Buddhism from the earth will be gradual. First it will cease to be possible for men to attain to *Nirvâna*, the practices which lead to it being forgotten. Next the *bhikkhus* will cease to observe the precepts; thirdly the knowledge of Pali, the Sacred language, will die out and men will no longer be able to read or understand the scriptures of their religion. Fourthly no more priests will be appointed; and lastly, there being no priests, no reading of the scriptures and consequently no worship of the relics of Buddha, those relics themselves will vanish from the world, and with them all knowledge of the doctrines of Buddha, and all observance of his law will entirely disappear from the earth.

4.

The community, society, or church which the Buddha founded was a society of monks, or ascetics. They are called "samano," that is, one who has mortified his passions, or more frequently "*bhikkhu*," that is, a beggar. Immediately after Buddha's death we are told five hundred of his principal followers assembled at Rajagriha and compiled the Canon of the Law from what they each remembered of the teaching of the Master. One hundred

years later, irregularities in doctrine and practice having crept in there was a second great meeting at a place called Vesâli, where the questions in dispute were finally settled. These are known as the first and second Great Councils and by them the doctrines and ceremonies of the Buddhist community were fixed.

Theoretically, any man may be admitted to orders. Practically, however, it was found necessary to make certain exceptions, to prevent the community from being disgraced by unworthy members, and from coming into conflict with the political and social institutions of the country. On the first ground, admission was denied to those afflicted with deformities or diseases of a serious character, and to men of notorious evil lives;—on the second ground, to persons in the military or civil service of the state, to debtors and slaves, and to sons whose parents refused their consent. Nor could children be admitted. A man could not enter the Novitiate till the age of fifteen, nor become a fully ordained monk till twenty. If, however, he presented himself for admission when of full age, he might proceed to ordination after a few months' novitiate.

The ceremonies of ordination both to the novitiate and to the priesthood are extremely simple. For the novitiate or *Pabbajâ*, in fact, the process is similar to that in force before Buddha's time for the commencement of a monastic life in the various Brahmanical and Jaina sects. The candidate dresses himself in the yellow robe of an ascetic, shaves his head and beard, goes before any ascetic, or company of ascetics he may meet, and repeats the solemn formula "Buddham saranam gacchami" etc, or if he is unacquainted with it asks the ascetic to teach it to him. When he has once pronounced it he is enrolled among the number of the novices and begins the daily routine prescribed for that class.

For admission to the full standing of a *Bhikkhu* or ascetic—upasampadâ,—the ceremony is a little more elaborate, but even this is very simple. The postulant, at the close of the term of his novitiate, appears before a regularly convened conclave of ascetics, and prostrating himself with joined hands raised above his head—the ordinary Indian position in supplication—begs for admission to the order. He is then asked whether he suffers from leprosy, epilepsy, consumption and several other diseases; whether he is a human being,* and a free man; if he is in the King's service; if he is free from debt; if he has the consent of his parents; if he is of the full age of twenty years, and if he is provided with the priestly requisites, *viz.*, the yellow robe and the begging bowl? If his answers to these questions are satisfactory, he is further asked his name and the name of his teacher. Then the head priest asks the others if they consent to his admission. Those who consent are to keep silence, only the objectors are to speak. The question is put three times; and if the assembly remains silent, their consent is inferred and the words are pronounced: "So and So is admitted to the order of *Bhikkhus*." Then he is instructed in his duties. He is to subsist on food which he begs from house to house; his clothing is to consist of the rags which he can pick up; his bed is to be the ground beneath a tree.

* The object of this question is to keep out demons who might be admitted under human forms and then disgrace the congregation by evil conduct.

Then the four great prohibitions are repeated to him. He is to abstain from taking life, from taking what is not given (theft), to observe chastity, to abstain from thinking highly of himself. This concludes the ceremony and the novice is thenceforth a fully ordained monk. He is free, however, at any time to resign the ascetic life and return to the world; he may leave the community without bitterness and if at any future time he should desire to rejoin it, no opposition is offered. The way to *Nirvana* is open to all, to take or leave as they please. A society of ascetics who profess to have overcome all human passions cannot feel angry with a comrade for leaving them or refuse him re-admission when he seeks it.

Thenceforth the ascetic leads a life of contemplation, study and mortification. Of prayer, of religious rites and ceremonies, there is little or no trace in the earlier Buddhism. For prayer, there is no place. Whom should they pray to? There is none that hears. Buddha has attained *Nirvâna.* If a man should pray to him, he could not hear. The ascetics meet together twice a month, at the full moon and the new moon; no laymen may be present. At this meeting the eldest monk present recites the sacred precepts and after each one asks if all the monks have observed it? If all are silent it is assumed that they have. But if any one of them has broken a precept he must come forward and confess, on which he is either admonished, or some penance is imposed on him. At the close of the rainy season, there is another solemn meeting at which each monk invites the assembled brethren to tell him of any faults he may have committed in order that he may confess and expiate them.

These few simple ceremonies are the only ones prescribed by the original constitution of the Buddhist religion.

It remains only to speak of female ascetics. The Buddha himself was at first unwilling to allow women to enter upon the higher life of asceticism. But the women themselves insisted upon it—and needless to say, being women, they got their own way. A series of rules was prescribed for them, chief of which was that they were to treat all monks with the profoundest respect, and never to address them, though they might answer if spoken to. Their rules in general followed the same lines as those prescribed for male ascetics.

I have now, I hope, succeeded in laying before my readers the main features of the Buddhist religion as promulgated by the Buddha himself.

In my next paper I propose to describe modern Buddhism,—that is the changes and developments which the original creed has undergone in the various Asiatic lands into which it has been introduced.

TINNEVELLY BEFORE, AND AFTER, THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

By J. B. Pennington, M.C.S. (ret.)

In a paper read before "*the East India Association*" in 1893, I endeavoured to show that India in general is not worse off, even financially, under the administration of the British than it was before; and I instanced the condition of Tinnevelly before and since the last Poligar War as corroborating my view. I propose now to consider the condition of that district before and after the final assumption of the government by the British a little more fully; and I select Tinnevelly, both because I can speak with the confidence derived from some personal knowledge of its circumstances up to a fairly recent date, and also because it is one of the few Districts which has not wanted its "*sacer vates*"; I have thus the advantage of relying on a much more competent and learned observer than myself in the person of my old and honoured friend, the late Bishop Caldwell.

I am aware, of course, that there have been considerable changes in the country since his History was written, not always, I am afraid, for the better; and one of the most serious of those changes results, I believe, from the fact that, as time goes on, the memory of what India really was in pre-British days grows fainter and fainter, so that the present population having never been accustomed to anything but law and order are apt to compare our rule with that which is supposed to have prevailed in some imaginary Golden Age, of which real history has no record whatever. There is indeed no reason whatever to suppose that there ever was any such Golden Age in India; such evidence as we have points quite the other way; but even if in the remote past there ever was a time when Tinnevelly enjoyed the blessing of uninterrupted peace and a settled Government, that is *not* the time with which the British administration should be compared. All its apologists need to prove is what the government of the country would have been if the British had not deposed, or set aside, the corrupt and effete administration of the Nawab. This, so far as Tinnevelly is concerned, only commenced in 1744, so that we did not even upset an old and settled government. Now, if anyone, after a dispassionate review of the condition of the district during the whole of the 18th century as compared with its condition since the last Poligar War and the final assumption of the Government by the British, is still of opinion that the old free and lawless life was preferable to and more suited to the country than the present reign of law and order, because the little wealth the people were able to acquire was all spent in the country, he is welcome to his opinion, and we may even admit that it may have been pleasanter and more interesting for some of the Poligars; but it certainly was not so for the great bulk of the inhabitants. It is of such infinite importance that the rising generation in India should clearly appreciate from what the intervention of the British saved them, that I repeat here Bishop Caldwell's opinion on this point.

After justifying himself with the opinion of Professor Wilson in his Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandiya to the effect that,

"had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to enforce the habits of social life, the four districts to the south of the Cauvery, most admirably fitted by Nature to support an industrious population, would have reverted to the state in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would once more have become a suitable domicile for the goblins of Ravana or the apes of Hanuman,"

he goes on to state his own deliberate judgment as follows :

"The first reflection that arises in one's mind on reading the foregoing sketch of the history of this district is that war seems to have been the normal condition of Tinnevelly, as of the rest of the old Pandya country, and doubtless also it may be said of the rest of Southern India *from the beginning of man's abode in these regions till* 1801. A district that never from the beginning knew peace for 80 months together—probably never even for 80 weeks—has now enjoyed profound uninterrupted peace for 80 years! And in consequence all the arts of peace have had time to be developed, and to approach something like perfection.

"Another conclusion which we deem entitled to form is that, prior to the cession of the district to the English, the administration of public affairs, and the condition of the country, instead of improving as time went on, in virtue of the lessons taught by the accumulated experience of the past, were *steadily getting worse and worse.* Things were worse under the Náyakas than under the Pándyas, *worse still under the rule of the Nawab, and worst of all,* as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn, during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal, and the only real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious 'renters.'

"Of the many beneficial changes that have taken place since then, one of the most remarkable is that which we see in the Poligars themselves. The Poligar has become a Zemindar, and has changed his nature as well as his name. One can scarcely believe it possible that the peaceful Náyaka and Marava Zemindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untameable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and daring the history of the last century is so full. One asks also, Can it be really true that the peaceful Náyaka ryots of the present day are the lineal descendants of those fierce retainers of the Poligars, who were so ready, at the merest word of their chief, to shed either their own blood or that of their chief's enemies? . . .

"The whole aspect of things in Tinnevelly has changed for the better in a wonderful degree since the assumption of the government of the district by the English, and beneficial changes of all kinds are still in progress. The thick impervious jungles which covered most of the plains, and which had, for generation after generation, furnished the haunts and hiding-places of banditti, have disappeared, and cotton and food grains cover those tracts instead." (A French missionary's letter, written in 1700, states that "for some time past a large jungle *on the Tinnevelly Coast* had been infested by tigers to such a degree that after sunset no inhabitant of any village in the neighbourhood dared to move outside his door, and that even in the daytime travelling was not quite safe," etc.)

"Good roads have been made wherever they were required, all the rivers and principal *nullahs* have been bridged over; carts have, to a large extent, taken the place of pack-bullocks; and transit duties have been utterly abolished."

Col. Fullarton says that in 1783 (exactly 100 years before this book was published), "the ryot was stopped at every village by the collectors of transit duties, who exacted a duty for every article exported, imported, or disposed of"; and that "so insupportable was this evil that between Negapatam and Palghat, not more than 300 miles, there were about 30 places of collection. . . ."

"The Government in the great famine of 1877 did not leave the people to perish, as they would have been left, and could not but have been left, in former times, but set itself, at whatever cost, to preserve them from dying of hunger. . . . A truly paternal Government has not only helped the people in every emergency, but it has helped them to help

themselves. It has not only governed them better than they were ever governed before, but has taught and encouraged them, as far as it is possible at present, to govern themselves. It has endeavoured, not to raise a few classes only, but to lift the whole community to a higher level. So quiet, peaceful, and contented has the district become that it is governed by the merest handful of Europeans . . . and we have the extraordinary spectacle of 1,700,000 natives submitting to be governed by ten Englishmen. Nor would it be sufficient to say merely that they *submit* to be governed ; they accept our government readily and willingly as the best they have ever had, and the best they are likely to have in this age of the world. This might almost be called a miracle, but it is at any rate a striking proof—and so I believe it is regarded by the natives themselves—that a strict administration of justice and unselfish efforts for the public good will ever ensure the loyal obedience of the best portion of the people, and the approbation of the Supreme Ruler of the world."

With all respect to my friend, Mr. Rogers, and our Bombay critics, we long since discovered in Madras that a reasonable and moderate revenue settlement is the best preventive of crime, and (with some aberrations) have steadily pursued that policy ever since 1861, with the remarkable results so eloquently described by an unbiased outsider like the Bishop, and for my present purpose, I believe that Tinnevelly may fairly be taken as a sample of India generally ; for the principles of government in India are pretty much the same everywhere, and it does not seem reasonable to suppose that even Bombay has a monopoly of common-sense.

For the reasons referred to above I shall not endeavour to trace the condition of the District further back than the middle of the 18th century, when something like satisfactory evidence is forthcoming. What Hindu history is like is clearly shewn by Bishop Caldwell in a quotation from the Panjalamkurichi Epic, a Tamil poem written at the time to commemorate the great victory of the Poligar over the British army so lately as 1801, when the Poet-historian was himself familiar with the fact that the siege of this petty fortlet had ended in the defeat and flight of the Poligar and the final overthrow of the whole of their tribe. Knowing all this, he does not hesitate to describe his patron as having routed the British Army singlehanded and captured a battery of 100,000 guns ! thus shewing a luxuriance of imagination in these prosaic days quite worthy of the Ramáyana.

Though I need not enter into the early History of Tinnevelly I must just draw attention to the fact that it has been the seat of some sort of Government from time immemorial, and is described by Marco Polo as "the best of all the Indies," and "the finest and noblest province in the world." Its capital, (which he calls Cael,) at the mouth of the Tambraparni was, he says, "a great and noble city" where, (amongst other things,) 2,000 horses were imported every year from the Persian Gulf at an average cost of Rs 2,000 each !—what would Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji say to such a "tribute" being sent out of the country ? nearly ½ a million sterling, and that in the 13th century !—what a terrible injustice to the poor tax-payers of Pandiya ! It is not at any rate a country just reclaimed from barbarism, but has always had probably as good a government as ever fell to the lot of an Indian kingdom.

The first authentic and trustworthy description of the District which ever saw the light seems to be that written by Colonel Fullarton in 1783, a time

when "misrule was at its height." He is loud in its praise, but shews that bad Government and the plundering habits of the Poligars neutralised all its natural advantages. Even the Poligars, however, were less ruinous than the "Renter" whose

"main object was to ransack and embezzle that he might go off at last enriched with the spoils of his Province."

The established practice, Col. Fullarton says, was to allow the farmer one-half of the (gross) produce of his crop for the maintenance of his family, and in the

"richest soils it was hardly known that less than 40% of the gross should be allotted to the husbandman. Yet," (he adds), "Renters on the coast have not scrupled to impress on reputable farmers, and to inflict on them extreme severities of punishment, for refusing to accept 16 in the hundred as the proportion out of which they were to maintain a family, to furnish stock, implements of husbandry, cattle, seed and all expenses incident to the cultivation of their lands. But should the unfortunate ryot be forced to submit to such conditions he has still a long list of cruel impositions to endure. He must labour week after week at the repair of water-courses, tanks and embankments of rivers. His cattle, sheep, and every other portion of his property are at the disposal of the Renter, and his life might pay the forfeit of refusal. Should he presume to reap his harvest when ripe without a mandate from the Renter whose peons conicopolies (accountants) and retainers attend on the occasion, nothing short of bodily torture and a confiscation of the little that is left him could expiate the offence. Would he sell any part of his scanty produce, he cannot be permitted (to do so) while the *Circai*" (represented by the Renter) "has any to dispose of. . . .

"But these form only a small proportion of the powers with which the Renter is invested. He may sink or raise the exchange of specie at his own discretion; he may prevent the sale of grain, or sell it at exorbitant rates; thus at any time he may, and frequently does, occasion general famine. Besides maintaining a useless rabble, whom he employs under the appellation of peons at the public expense, he may require any military force he finds necessary for the business of oppression. . . ."

The consequences of this kind of administration were such as might be expected. Mr. Nelson notes that in 1782 there were only two substantial brick and stone buildings in the Town of Madura: one was the old Palace and the other the residence of the Muhammadan Manager; and Bishop Caldwell says this state of things was not peculiar to Madura and that he had sought in vain for any trace of a private house built by any private native of stone or burnt-brick in Tinnevelly prior to the assignment of the Nawáb's revenues to the Company in 1781.

"This fact," he adds, "furnishes us with a most telling illustration of the difference between the anarchy that prevailed before, and the order and security that began to be introduced by the strong, peaceful Government of the English."

The various sieges of Panjalamkurichi, which lasted off and on for nearly 40 years, are well deserving of attention, but I must confine myself to pointing out that the very name of the place is full of interest—"Kurichi" in Tamil meaning especially a village *in a forest.*

"There is no trace of a forest now in the neighbourhood, but up to the time of the last Poligar war (1801), the whole black cotton soil country in the north of Tinnevelly was (largely) covered with thick woods. The conqueror that has changed those woods is cotton; but cotton would never have been able to prevail against the woods, if the rule of the Poligars (and I think we may add the 'Renter'), had not come to an end" (p. 134).

Another witness, Colonel Donald Campbell, who commanded another expedition, writes from Livagiri, a town beautifully situated under the hills,

"I heartily wish the Nawáb would fall upon some method to preserve this delightful country from absolute devastation. It is really melancholy to reflect that, unless a speedy and effectual remedy is applied, these fertile fields, the most beautiful I have ever seen, will next year be a barren waste."

My next extract from the Bishop's storehouse of information shews that bad as the state of Tinnevelly was in the latter half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, it was better than that of many other parts of the Presidency, for letters had to be sent from Madras to Bombay *viâ* Palamcottah and Anjengo

"in consequence of the normal condition of the districts intermediate between Madras and Bombay being one of extreme insecurity through the wars and commotions caused by Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan and the Mahrattas."

The principal event of the year 1785, and one, the Bishop says,

"productive of much mischief to every district in the country, Tinnevelly included, was the surrender to the Nawáb of the assignment of his revenues—in virtue of which surrender the civil administration of the Company, with all its advantages, ceased for 7 years."

The report of the Committee of Assigned Revenues, which may be considered the first Local Administration Report, gives an interesting description of the Poligars and the Nawáb's relations with them. They say there were then

"32 Poligars with an array of followers, armed with pikes and matchlocks, estimated at 30,000 strong and possessed of strongholds which the Nawáb's troops had often found it difficult to reduce, and from which, even if they were taken, it was easy to escape into the woods. When the Nawáb was strong he levied as much tribute from the Poligars as fear induced them to yield; when, on the other hand, he was weak, he had to content himself with their gratuitous offerings, and wait for a more favourable opportunity of enforcing his demands."

The Committee estimated that not more than 40% of the amount due from the Poligars ever reached the Treasury; and considering the amount lost by depredations and spent on constant military expeditions they found that the Nawáb must have lost several lakhs of pagodas in his dealings with the Poligars. And

"that," they continued, "was not the only inconvenience attending the system. A state of frequent warfare and perpetual distrust took the place of that mutual confidence which ought to have made the Poligars good subjects in time of peace, and useful auxiliaries in time of war. The consequence was naturally that when Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic, in 1780, they availed themselves of that opportunity to withhold the payment of their tribute, to plunder the country and commit other acts of violence and hostility which obliged the Company to send a large force against them in the midst of the war. The army under Colonel Fullarton, by a well timed" (and, we may add, brilliantly executed) "expedition against two of the principal Poligars" (Panjalamkurichi in the east, and Sivagiri in the west,) "brought the whole to a sense of obedience, and the equity of the subsequent settlement improved that obedience into a real confidence in the Company's Government."

In another paragraph they expressed their regret that the

"Nawáb had already commenced, as in former times, to anticipate the revenue by borrowing money and requiring advances from the different Renters as the price of their confirmation. This practice they deprecated not only because of the interest that would have

to be paid on the sums borrowed, but still more on account of the power it placed in the hands of the Renter to re-imburse himself at the expense of the country."

They proceeded also to compare the expensiveness of the Nawáb's government with the inexpensiveness of theirs during the assignment. They had

"reduced the Nawáb's separate disbursements upon the peace establishment from 13½ lakhs of pagodas *per annum* to little more than 2 lakhs; and during the time they had the collection of the revenue, even in time of war, the charges did not exceed 11% on the gross demand."

So the comparative peace and comfort that prevailed during the "Assignment" from 1781 to 1785 was followed by 5 years of renewed disorder, of which Mr. Lushington, some ten years afterwards, gave the following graphic account:—

"With the knowledge of these facts (of misrule and disorder) it will appear very natural that the inhabitants should look back to the Company's management as an era of comparative happiness, and contrast it, in a very feeling manner, with three succeeding years of extortion under Iktibar Khan, when the system of mortgage and sale prevailed in its worst rigours. From these intolerable oppressions the inhabitants fled in numbers to Travancore, and the ruin of the country was fast approaching. . . .

"The accuracy with which the evils of this system were described, the determination shown by the Company's Government to put an end to them, and especially the establishment about this time of the Commercial Investment may be said with the strictest truth to have arrested the destruction of Tinnevelly."

The people who so dearly appreciated the difference between the rule of the Nawáb and that of the Company were people who had had for a whole generation ample experience of both systems: the mischief is that nowadays no one has had any practical experience of the "good old times."

In 1790, the company were compelled to "assume" charge of the country again, and in 1702, the Nawáb was induced to accept the inevitable and assign by treaty the management to the Company. This was promptly followed by another expedition against the contumacious Poligars, specially directed against him of Sivagiri,

"who, in contempt of all authority and of every principle of justice and humanity, had made a violent attack with his peons on the Poligar of Settur and put him and his family to death."

This expedition seems to have been fairly successful; but unfortunately the next year the Government being short of troops was obliged to temporise. Weakness was duly followed by fresh outbreak; till, at last, the Government were driven to the necessity of disarming the Poligars as the only possible means of

"restoring these distressed provinces from their present state of anarchy and misery to a state of subordination and prosperity."

As a characteristic incident of the times we may just mention that, in 1797, one Poligar (Urkad) shot a neighbour of his, the Poligar of Singampalli; and the Collector complains that there was "no one to do justice" in what is now one of the most peaceful and prosperous parts of the Queen's dominions.

But in truth no peace was possible in Tinnevelly or anywhere else in the

Presidency, till the death of Tippu Sultan, on the 4th May, 1799. Up to that time,

"the disorders prevalent in the country had not been removed and had scarcely even been mitigated."

Progress and prosperity in Madras date from his death, which was promptly followed by the two last Poligar wars, finally and for ever reducing these lawless chiefs to submission. So we come at length to the 31st of July, 1801, on which

"happy day," says the Bishop, "results were achieved by a single stroke of the pen which 57 years of war and 20 years of negotiation had failed to effect."

Experience had proved that it was

"unreasonable to expect that any thorough or permanent reform could be effected, that the oppression and misrule of the Poligars and Renters could be brought to an end, that peace could be firmly established or that any solid foundation could be laid for future prosperity, till the entire undivided sovereignty over all classes in the country should come to be vested in the English Government and the Nawáb be allowed to retire from the business of Government on a pension."

It was not till the 1st October, 1801, that all fighting was at an end and the work of building up the Tinnevelly we know could fairly begin. Even in 1820, or later, the Collector had to report that land in the Tambraparni Valley, which is now assessed at 20 Rs. an acre and pays it with the greatest ease and regularity, had "no saleable value."

The cultivation of that valley now is not surpassed in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, and land can hardly be bought for love or money.

One more contemporary witness and I have done. Christian William Gericke, a Pomeranian, born in 1742, went out to Madras as a missionary in 1766. In 1800 he went to Ramnad and Tinnevelly; and from that time till his death, in 1803, he was constantly moving about Southern India, and must have been exceptionally familiar with the state of the country for many years before and for 2 years after it came under the direct rule of the British. This is his account, in a letter to the Collector of Tinnevelly (Mr. Cockburn), towards the end of 1802—

"I have great happiness in assuring you that in this my long journey" (from Palumcottah to Ramnad, through the heart of the Poligar country), "I heard no such complaints as I used to hear formerly; but, on the contrary, I have frequently heard the inhabitants express themselves much satisfied with their present situation. The Hindus in the Mysore country, in comparing their present situation with the former, said that their condition would be still better if the English had taken them under their immediate protection. As to the Southernmost countries, I mentioned to Col. Martinz the very words in which the inhabitants expressed themselves in comparing the present times to the former; for instance, 'where before we could not travel without fear in the day we may now pass with great security in the night. Since the time that the English have got the better of the Poligars *there is not a thief in the thickest jungles.*' The Colonel said it is so, and rejoiced at it *and the readiness of the people to acknowledge it.* We have several times conversed on the present happier state of the country."

Well might Lord Lawrence, when asking whether the people were happier under English or native rule, add—*Sua si bona nôrint.* Unfortunately they no longer know how much they have to be thankful for.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on Wednesday, April 29th, 1896, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., in the chair, a paper was read by J. B. Pennington, Esq. (formerly Collector of Tinnevelly), on "The District of Tinnevelly before and after its Conquest by the British," which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

The following, among others, were present:—Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., Colonel and Mrs. Bennett, Brig.-Surg. Lt.-Col. Drake Brockman, Surg. Lt.-Col. J. Ince, M.D., Surg. Lt.-Col. C. E. M. Shaw, Major Drury, Rev. S. J. Crawhall, Mr. J. D. Birnie, Mr. S. R. Bhagtam, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Currie, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. Wm. F. Grahame, I.C.S., Mrs. Wilfred Hampton, Miss Hampton, Miss Hook, Mr. G. K. Lloyd, Mr. J. Maitland, Mr. C. Krishna Menon, Mr. and Mrs. G. S. Morris, Mr. T. Carr Morton, Mrs. Nash, Miss Pennington, Mr. P. P. Pillai, Mr. C. Powell, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. E. Cox Seaton, M.D., Miss Sadleir, Miss Salmond, Mr. B. Simson, Mr. R. B. Swinton, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Pennington, the paper was read. In the discussion that ensued,

Mr. PETER PAUL PILLAI (Agent for the Madras Land Owners' Association) said that while fully agreeing with Mr. Pennington as to the misgovernment that preceded the advent of the British in the Tinnevelly District in 1801, he thought that in certain matters Mr. Pennington had taken too optimist a view. No doubt the whole system under the Mahommedan and Hindoo Governments was thoroughly rotten and the East India Company had effected Radical Reforms in doing away with the renting system and reducing the Polygars to private land owners. The Polygars abused their power to such an extent as to destroy the Village System which had stood during ages of Anarchy. The Government had found it necessary to abolish the Police functions entrusted to the Polygars and thus restore the Village System. No doubt the country had reaped the blessings of peace although crime was, he thought, increasing in the district. Several things of the gravest character required the immediate attention of the British public. Families of ryots who had been flourishing during the Mahommedan and Hindoo period had been swept away. Vast transfers of property were taking place, and the conditions of property were not all that could be desired; in fact the Legislative Council was making more havoc in the Village System than the unruly Polygars had done. Communal rights over waste lands and other things were being done away with. The Labour difficulty was increasing; so much so that a great part of the country was uncultivated which still paid full taxes. In 1876-7 the land lying waste was 444,179 acres; in 1893-4 the figures were 478,049 acres. The conclusion he drew was that in spite of the blessings of

security enjoyed under British rule their material condition was not proportionally prosperous.

Mr. ALEXANDER ROGERS admitted that there was a great improvement as far as general Government was concerned but things might be a great deal better than they were. He had been in correspondence with the Government on the subject of the Revenue System in Madras which obliged the Government in order to realize its Revenue to evict to a very large extent. The Tinnevelly district was not exempt from this blight. In the last four years there had been 3,127 evictions of people holding land from the Government for non-payment of Revenue in that district alone. 5,944 acres had been sold by the Government in order to realize its Revenue, of which more than 1,000 acres were bought in because nobody found it worth his while to take up the land.

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN: About one per cent. of the waste land has been sold.

Mr. ROGERS thought that if the land was properly assessed so much would not have to be bought in by the Government. A large quantity of personal property also had been sold sometimes for more than it was estimated to be worth.

Mr. PILLAI thought that was a defect in administration.

Mr. ROGERS: The Assessment was not excessive but it was uneven and required revision. If they took the whole of Madras the evil was far more crying. In twelve years there had been 850,000 evictions in the Madras Presidency.

Mr. PENNINGTON: Not of different people; they are often the same people year after year.

Mr. ROGERS said his chief object was to have the system of assessment thoroughly examined.

Mr. KRISHNA MENON (from the College of Agriculture at Madras) had great pleasure in bearing testimony to the interesting paper read by Mr. Pennington who had left behind him an enduring name. Mr. Menon was not a native of Tinnevelly but he had been deputed by the Government to report on the Agricultural condition of the people there. There was always, he thought, a tendency on the part of writers to take too roseate a view of the present situation and a very gloomy view of the previous time. The period selected was a period of transition between the Mahommedans and Mahrattas and the English and French intriguing between them. That was a period when there was no security. Earlier Governments had not been so bad as they had been described. All that an Indian peasant required was to shelter himself from rain and to provide clothing and food. Bishop Caldwell was mistaken in saying there were only a few brick and tile houses and concluding from that that there was more prosperity when there were more brick and tile houses. He fully admitted the blessings they had enjoyed from the British Government but because Britain boasted of a better civilization and better system of Government it was their duty to point out the dark side of the Administration. He thought the administration was too centralized. If help were required the whole machinery of administration had to be set in motion and then

it was sometimes too late. There should be more confidence in the people. The breaking up of the Village System had brought about a great increase of crime. He contested the statement of Mr. Pennington that taxation was much lighter than it previously was.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD thought that a paper such as that which had been read was exceedingly useful and he would be glad if some of the Indian members would take a particular district and read a monograph on it. Mr. Pennington had graphically described the disorder of an earlier day and contrasted it with the present times but the world had been moving and they must look at the real condition of the common people and how far life was pleasanter with them.

Dr. INCE thought it was contrary to fact and to experience to say that they were better off now in this country than they were a hundred years ago and that that was especially so with reference to India. He thought they were rushing on rapidly to social destruction.

Mr. THORNTON desired to know a few of the circumstances under which the village community system was being destroyed. *Primâ facie* one would deeply regret the destruction of any existing state of things. It was possible to maintain the Village System. It was maintained in full in Northern India where Village Communities were of the very greatest assistance in the administration. They managed their own affairs even in the matter of Assessment of Revenue. A lump sum was assessed which the Villagers themselves distributed among the different holdings.

Mr. SWINTON, having been in the Tinnevelly district many years ago, pointed out that a Village System might have two meanings; it might mean a community of land under which headmen of the village would pay a lump sum Assessment, and adjusted it among themselves, a system which had long been extinct in Tinnevelly, or it might mean the system under which the head of the village had the village watchman and the village porter and the village priest under him, and that system remained.

Mr. PILLAI complained that the Government had taken the communal control from the villagers as regards irrigation works and similar things. This necessitated their employing other men to watch the communal property of the village particularly during times of flood and times of sowing and reaping. They had really no control over such things.

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN desired to corroborate what Mr. Thornton had said. He did not doubt that the last speaker was perfectly correct in his statements but he doubted the correctness of his way of looking at things. He was certain that the policy of the Indian Government was in every way to preserve the village communities of India. The policy of the Government did not vary from day to day. He was certainly fully convinced of the importance to India of the Village System and did not desire in any way to weaken it.

The CHAIRMAN thought that in one sense it might fairly be said that Mr. Pennington had nothing to reply to because he understood that the only thesis maintained by Mr. Pennington was that India had gained by the conquest at the commencement of the century and that had not been disputed by any speaker except perhaps one who did not appear to receive

much support. The various speeches that had been made had no doubt called attention to a good many points as to which the administration might admit of improvement. The point which chiefly struck him was that to which Mr. Martin Wood had referred, that the India of the past must not be compared with the India of the present, but with the Europe of the past. Mr. Pennington had shown that an immense improvement had been effected since the days of the Nawab. It was surely worth while to analyse the causes of that improvement. What was it made the British officer able to enforce a kind of order and justice which the officers of the Nawab had not been able to enforce? One of the most obvious answers surely was because they came from a free country. Probably if a competent speaker had analysed the period shortly following the British conquest he would not be able to draw quite such a roseate picture as Mr. Pennington on the authority of Dr. Caldwell had drawn. Every step in the direction of Democracy in England has been accompanied by a corresponding elevation in the character of the men sent out to India. The same observation might be made as to the state of the Indian Government before the Mutiny. All through the great merits of British Government had been the sense of equal justice and the necessity for fixed law which naturally came from a people accustomed not to be arbitrarily taxed at home, and to have some voice in their own affairs. He saw no evidence which would lead him to suppose that there was any radical difference between British nature and that of the Polygar or the Mahommedan or Hindoo. Law and order in England had progressed precisely in proportion as the principles of popular Government had prevailed, and the same process which had elevated them from the state of things existing at the time of Magna Charta might be expected to produce the same effect in India. Mr. Menon had pointed out the excessive centralisation of the present system. The only remedy for that was the encouragement of an electoral system for local matters which would render that centralisation unnecessary. Sir Lepel Griffin had said with perfect truth that the policy of the Government was to maintain the village system. Mr. Pillai representing the land owners of the Madras Presidency had said that that was not the effect which the Government measures had produced. They therefore had one out of innumerable cases in which the Government had excellent intentions but those on the spot who saw the working of the thing were unable to recognise those intentions, and there was therefore a want of sympathy between the two that pointed to the necessity of encouraging the various sections of the people of India to combine to regulate their own affairs under the general direction of the Government and to communicate their views to the Government.

Mr. PENNINGTON in reply, said he felt scarcely able to deal with the numerous subjects which had been referred to—many of them matters which he had not even alluded to in his paper. He had never said that the Government of India was absolutely good, but it had constantly improved and was still improving. He thought the Indian Government went as far as it could in teaching the people to govern themselves. It

was a slow process. He regretted the breaking up of the Village System as much as anyone, but it appeared to be inevitable on account of the development of individualism. Mr. Rogers had referred to the Revenue System of Madras. He was not prepared to discuss that question, but thought that the circumstances of that Presidency might be different from those of Bombay. For one thing in Madras there was a vast amount of waste land which people took up temporarily. That did not seem to be so in Bombay. Mr. Krishna Menon also thought that too roseate a view of the present situation had been taken but his only object was to show that things were not quite so bad as some people thought. Perhaps however Ancient India was in some respects a more pleasant place to live in than it was represented to be in the paper. As to the statement that brick and tile houses were not a proof of prosperity the reason for their not being built was, as Mr. Menon had himself suggested, that people in former times did not venture to show any signs of wealth. He did not at all deny the many evils of the present Government which he quite thought required constant reform just like every other human institution. Sir Arthur Cotton however bore valuable testimony to the fact that no country in the world had ever before made such progress as India in everything that constitutes real prosperity since he went out 75 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN on behalf of the meeting tendered their thanks to Mr. Pennington for his paper; and Mr. Pennington having proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman which was carried with acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

was held on the 29th May. Sir Lepel Griffin presided. He said that the question of a President to succeed Sir Richard Temple was still under consideration, but it was hoped that the office would be soon satisfactorily filled. In the list of Vice-Presidents an Indian Chief of importance has been added, and the Council were endeavouring to strengthen their own body.

Several papers had been read during the session. Those by Mr. Ghose and Mr. Nundy were specially noticed by the Indian papers. The Chairman justified the practice of the Association in giving opportunity for discussion of even views with which it might not be in sympathy, in order that all classes and opinions might be attached to it, and its authority both with the Government and the people and chiefs of India thereby increase.

Sir Lepel then alluded to the donations sent by H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia and H.H. the Raja of Nabha. The Association, he observed, had been working energetically, but it needed further funds to more effectively carry out its objects.

The Association was to be heartily congratulated on the successful result of its arrangements with "the Asiatic Quarterly Review."

A paper by Capt. Frank Younghusband was shortly to be read on India in its relation to Africa.

Sir Lepel moved the adoption of the annual report and accounts for 1895-96, which had been circulated among all the Members of the Association and which will be found in its Journal for July 1896. This motion was seconded by Mr. Balchand Chintamon Ketkar, a Member, and carried unanimously. The retiring members of the Council were duly re-elected and a vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

DISCUSSION OF A PAPER ON "INDIA AND AFRICA."

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Tuesday 23rd June, 1896, a paper was to be read by Captain Younghusband, C.I.E., on "INDIA AND AFRICA," which will be found elsewhere in this *Review*.

Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:—Major Baynes, Pundit Bishan Lal Kaul, A. K. Connell, Esq., F. J. Desa, Esq., Commissary General Downes. Colonel L. H. Evans, Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.S.I., W. A. Fraser, Esq., Indian Staff Corps, K. A. Ghaswalla, Barrister-at-law, Mrs. Featherstone Griffin, Henry Hall, Esq., Dr. G. Henderson, Sir J. and Lady Hills Johnes, V.C., K.C.S.I., Lady Lees, J. C. Penny, Esq., M.D., Deputy Surgeon General, Mr. Justice Pinhey, Miss C. D. Robertson, Mr. Alexander Rogers, T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., General Younghusband, C.B.

The CHAIRMAN having announced that Captain Younghusband was unable to be present, he having been summoned on special business to South Africa, called upon Mr. Lesley Probyn to read Capt. Younghusband's paper. After the reading of the paper the following discussion took place:

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN said it was his duty on the occasion to open a discussion which he hoped would be pursued by people more competent than himself. He would only remark on the first part of the question that the emigration of Indians to Africa was a subject which they would all be aware was one of very great complexity. It had engaged the attention of the Government, and the Secretary of State had it before him at the present time, in one shape or another. With a great deal of what Capt. Younghusband had said he was entirely in agreement, and there was no doubt that great advantages would accrue to both India and Africa if some such system of inter-dependence could be arranged by which the superfluous population of the one country might assist in the development of the other. But having had a great deal to do with Indian Administration he thought there were many difficulties which those who considered the question, should fairly face. It was of course very doubtful whether the aboriginal races of Africa would ever rise to any high level of civilization. It would be absurd to argue that the natural capabilities of all races for intellectual progress were the same, and, so far as could be seen, the experiments which had been made on a large scale in the United States and elsewhere did not lead one to believe that high intellectual development was likely to produce any very great results on any of the African races with which we had to do. Africa would depend upon forces outside itself for development, and such a country was obviously unfit for colonization by Europeans till, in time, in the course of the century which was about to commence, it fell into the hands of other races, possibly Indians, probably Chinese. There was a great deal to be said with regard to the qualifications of the latter two races. The Chinese, as was known, were not popular everywhere, and that very often for reasons, he believed, which were not creditable to those who objected to them. (Hear, hear.) He had seen the Chinese in British settlements, and especially at Rangoon,

and had been very much struck with their adaptability to the circumstances in which they lived, with the excellent citizens they made, and with the immense force and power of civilization which was behind the apparent barbarism of those people. Without the Chinese they would never develop a great part of Eastern Asia, and he could not but think that the same remark applied in a less degree, but still strongly, to the tropical parts of Africa. The Indian was very highly placed in the intellectual rank of races. There were no people more intelligent or more capable, and they possessed a great many virtues which the Chinese had not, and possibly never would possess. The Indians, with Europeans, might equally claim to be civilizers from their intellectual position. As was well known, the Indian was very fond of his home, and did not as a rule desire to emigrate permanently, and although he was willing enough to go as a Coolie or as a trader to Zanzibar or to found mercantile houses, he always wished to return to his native village. They did not make good settlers, for many reasons connected with race and religion, and various other considerations which would commend themselves to anyone acquainted with India; but if the Indian would go, and if, under conditions which the Government would be careful to frame, he could be persuaded to settle in some of the best parts of Africa with his family, then, as an experiment, the suggestion of Captain Younghusband might well be welcomed. It would be a great thing for the overflowing populations of India to have some place to go to, where they could amass money and live in a good climate, and if they could be persuaded to leave India for Africa he had no doubt it would be for the benefit of both countries. But India was not going to be so overwhelmed by growing population as was imagined, for as time went on, those laws of population settled themselves, and the rate of progress diminished as the country got filled up. He did not believe the time would come in the lifetime of any of those present in which the population of India would be at all too large for its present needs. That was all he would say on the main point of the paper. In conclusion he would observe that the East India Association, which professed to concern itself with all subjects connected with the interests and advantage of the people of India, would be singularly cowardly and evading a clear duty if it was to avoid expressing a distinct opinion on the one question now before the English and Indian peoples, in which the interests of England and India touched regarding Africa, that was the payment by India or by England of those troops which were employed or would be employed in the reconquest of the Equatorial Provinces of Egypt. He thought that was a question which no person who was a true friend of India and who wished well to the British Government at home could possibly be silent upon in an opportunity like the present when the question would very soon be raised in both Houses of Parliament, and when, if the honour of England and the English people was to be considered, it could only be decided in one way. (Hear, hear.) If the question was one for moderation of language (and he had not the faintest doubt that the Government desired to do justly by its great Dependency) he affirmed it was one on which no two answers could be given. So long as Indian troops were employed in Africa on work entirely outside

those duties which were laid down in the India Act for the legitimate employment of Indian troops out of Indian Revenues, so long as they were employed out of India, they should be paid the whole of their ordinary pay, the whole of the extraordinary expenses, and not one rupee should be charged to the Revenues of India; and he believed that was the opinion of all persons who had had anything to do with the administration of India. The Government at Home and the Houses of Parliament were naturally unaware of the strong feeling excited in India on the question, and it would be very bad policy, pretending, as the East India Association did, to represent Indian interests, to be silent on the question. The matter was one of very great importance, and the honour of England was distinctly involved. (Hear, hear.) He would, in conclusion, read one sentence of a speech which was made by Lord Salisbury in 1869, when he was Lord Cranborne. It was made in the course of the debate on the employment and the payment of Indian troops used in the Abyssinian Expedition. The sentence which he was about to read seemed to him to make it absolutely impossible for any other than a just decision to be reached by the Government of which he was now the chief. The sentence was as follows:—"I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the Oriental Seas, from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England, because it is always bad policy not to have that check upon the temptation to engage in little wars which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for them. If this garrison which we keep in India is, as all Indian authorities assert, so necessary for maintaining that country in security and peace, that garrison ought not to be rashly diminished. If on the other hand it is too large, and India can for any length of time conveniently spare these troops, then the Indian population ought not to be so unnecessarily taxed." (Hear, hear, and applause.) With these remarks of Lord Salisbury he would conclude, because he did not think that there was anything further to state on the subject. It entirely comprised the whole field of argument, and was, to his mind, unanswerable. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MARTIN WOOD said the subject under discussion was one which had very often come before members of the Association, and had then come before them in a somewhat acute form. As to developing tropical Africa by means of emigration from India, as those present were aware, both in Cape Colony and still more in Natal and the Transvaal, the attitude of the people there towards Indians had been singularly discreditable, and it was a subject which he thought the Association might well give attention to. In South Africa all Indians were looked upon as alike, and men of education and skill treated them as outcasts; which was a subject of great dissatisfaction in India. They would appreciate the importance of having Indians in Africa if they would remember that they had gone there without any organization at all, but with a certain degree of moralizing and civilizing power, and they should not be interfered with unnecessarily.

Mr. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., said he wished in the first place to say how heartily he agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin in what he had said respecting the great interest attaching to the subject of the paper. With regard

to the matter of the paper, what had been said was exceedingly interesting, but it did not go very far. It referred to the subject of encouraging the emigration of the natives of India into Central Africa, but it did not hint at the manner in which that encouragement had to be effected. He gathered however from one remark in the paper that it was considered necessary in connection with the emigration scheme that there should be a kind of body guard of troops in the different localities to which the emigrants might proceed. That opened up a big question, because it seemed to indicate that Captain Younghusband's idea was that we should gradually assume a protectorate over all the localities into which the Indian emigrants were to proceed. With regard to the exceedingly interesting question which had been opened up by Sir Lepel Griffin, he would venture to say that while to a large extent he heartily agreed with him, and while, like him, he regarded with the greatest jealousy any enforced payments from India in regard to objects with which she was not concerned, yet he thought we ought to remember that India, as well as the Colonies, and as well as Englishmen, was interested in all Imperial questions. Therefore he would say that it was not unjust to call upon India, of course to an exceedingly moderate extent (hear, hear) to give some assistance in regard to measures in which her interests were not immediately involved, but were involved in view of the fact that she was an important member of the Empire. He did not wish to be misunderstood—he would be the last person in the world to advocate charging the whole of the expenses of the Indian troops employed in Africa, upon the Indian revenues, but he hardly thought that there would be much injustice in allowing the Indian Government to continue to pay the troops, all other expenses being discharged by the Home Government. He did not think that would be so outrageously unjust as the Chairman seemed to consider. (A voice: Lord Salisbury's opinion.) Lord Salisbury was a statesman who was somewhat given to emphatic and incisive observations, and it was rather hard on a man in this country to judge him by a statement made while in opposition.

Mr. JINAH said that the paper which had been read on "India in Africa" was not only interesting to India, but to the whole of the world. He understood that the question before them was whether it would be to the benefit of India and Africa for Indians to emigrate to Africa and improve that country, which was in a condition of barbarism. The question had been to a very great extent answered by the Chairman. It might be said by some that Indians were fond of debating, and that sometimes Indians made very violent speeches, (Hear, hear) but he had no intention whatever of making a violent speech, but wished to make his remarks in a good-humoured and conciliatory spirit. It had always been said that the Indian Empire must be improved by a sort of forward policy, and by emigration, but he would like to know—and he asked the question of those Englishmen who had been over to India—whether they thought that they had improved India sufficiently—did they think that the Indians had done all they required for their country—did they think that Indians had improved their country to such an extent that they ought to go and improve other countries? Did they think that Indians could afford such expeditions as that

to Chitral? To suggest that they could, was, if he might say so, absurd. It had been said that Chitral was a great benefit to India. He dared say it might have been a great benefit to India, but the question was, had India improved itself to the extent that it could waste away two and a half millions of money in improving another country that had got nothing whatever to do with India? That was the only point of view from which Indians looked upon the question. It had been very well pointed out by one of the speakers that Indians were very badly treated in Africa, but for himself he would like to use a stronger word, and say they had been ignominiously treated in South Africa. They were not only treated badly in their own country, but even if they emigrated they were met with indignities. The advantages of Imperialism had been referred to, but from what little he knew of the Imperial instinct of the English people, he desired very strongly to reprobate that Imperial instinct. He had the greatest desire to see England and its Colonies united more closely every day, but when gentlemen came forward and argued from the Imperial point of view, as they had heard the question argued to-day, that India was a great part of the Empire, he would reply that, granting that the re-conquest of the Soudan would be for the ultimate benefit of India, was there any gentleman who would come forward therefore and say that India should pay the expenses of the campaign? He would ask gentlemen who talked about India being part of the Empire whether the Empire consulted India's wishes in undertaking the Soudan expedition? Was India's voice represented in any House of Parliament? The Chairman had made a just remark in saying that it was very unjust that such expenses as those attendant upon the re-conquest of the Soudan should be charged upon India. Did India benefit by the reconquest of the Soudan? If it did, was India the only country, or the only dependency, that did benefit by the re-conquest of the Soudan? Were there not other Colonies that were just as much interested in the re-conquest of the Soudan as India, and if so, how was it that England, that professed to be just and fair in other matters, did not call upon those other Colonies to pay towards the cost of the expedition? (The Chairman: Hear, hear.) Then there was another question—Indians knew quite well, and he thought every Englishman who had read about India knew, that whenever England had helped India in any little struggle, or little war, or in any way at all, India had always had to pay for it. Not only that, but they had had to pay for soldiers that were trained in this country—recruited and equipped in this country—from the time of their being trained till they were sent to India. They had not only paid for these soldiers, but had paid for the soldiers who came to their country and conquered it. Was it just and fair then that England should ask India to pay the expenditure of the Soudan expedition, that expedition not benefiting India? In addition, he would say that Indians were not Imperialists, for they had not their voice represented in any way in the country. If they had a voice in the Imperial Parliament then it would be very well for gentlemen to approach the question as they had done.

A Vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Lesley Probyn, the proceedings terminated.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT REGARDING SIAM AND THE MALAY PENINSULA.

Allow me a few remarks on the various opinions expressed, by different writers, on the Anglo French declaration, in your last issue Vol. I. No. 2, April 1896, and especially on that of Baron Textor de Ravisi, who takes up the cudgels on behalf of the French.

As you observe, "On the whole, the settlement may be looked upon as a satisfactory one, if only for the reason that none of the parties have a right to exult," but the French, according to the Baron, have just cause of complaint because having ceded to them even more than they could have expected to obtain, we have closed to them the prospect of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Kra; thereby dividing the Malay Peninsula in two, and throwing an insuperable difficulty in the way of a railway from Singapore to Birmah, which will shortly become a necessity, when railways will have been completed from the various Australian ports to Darwin Bay.

Now, in the first place, the question of cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Kra was, long ago, mooted by a Siamese Merchant, an Englishman, a Mr. D. K. Mason; but it was found impracticable by reason of the mountain ranges, and abandoned. Later on some French engineers surveyed the country to the South and struck on a line between Singora on the East Coast, and some point on the West, which appeared to offer certain facilities. At neither end of the scheme was there a port to speak of, and whilst the South West Monsoon threw certain difficulties in the way of navigators, from April to September, on the West Coast, the North East Monsoon, from October till March, closed the port or anchorage of Singora to navigation. These are, of course, difficulties to be overcome by science. The Baron exclaims: "France cannot allow herself to be locked up in the Gulf of Siam by English occupation of the Malay Peninsula. English and French vessels, as also others, have the right to shorten their voyages to the Chinese seas, and to avoid, besides, the dangers of the Straits of Malacca," which latter do not exist. The French idea is that the canal would draw from Singapore the trade of the Far East and drive it to Saigon, where, at Cape St. James, they propose to create a port and a coaling station. But would this scheme answer the proposed purposes? I think not. Singapore is a more central point, and most vessels coming from Europe and proceeding Eastwards, or vice versâ, have cargo to deliver or receive there, which they would not do at Saigon; and the saving of time, unless under certain circumstances, would not be so great as might be imagined, as entering and leaving the canal harbours, and the transit through, would have to be conducted at a moderate speed. The Baron further remarks: "Let England give up the protection of the Chinese in Siam (which by the way it does not do) and help us to pierce the Isthmus of Kra (the unpierceable), to be rigorously neutralized, so that it may equally serve to the commerce and defence of the Colonies of two allies, who ought to rule the far East on a footing of equality." This

with the Suez Canal before our eyes—with 75 of the trade passing through English, and 15 % French—thus also illustrating the national motto of "Liberty, equality, and fraternity."

In page 339—of the same number—you disapprove of Mr. Pickering's suggestion that "no Malay State would more benefit by the presence of an able and conscientious British Resident than Johore." Johore being so close to Singapore may, perhaps, be left to govern itself, because it is, so to say, under the thumb of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and anything going wrong is, at once, corrected by order—but the late ruler was undoubtedly, though a good friend and neighbour, too extravagant and spent too much on himself and too little on his Kingdom. Since his death a system of economy has been instituted; but there is no doubt that the advice of a Resident, on the spot, would do much more than any uneducated native can do, to develop the resources of the province, build railways, make roads, and assure a prosperous future.

A 46 YEARS' SINGAPUR RESIDENT.

DR. R. N. CUST ON THE OCCUPATION OF EGYPT AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDÁN.

The continued occupation of Egypt is unwise. The policy of holding Egypt for a short period, and giving it time to get its finance and administrative system up to the level of other second or third-class nationalities on the shores of the Mediterranean has done good work, and the time has now come for the British to retire. Egypt is part of Turkey, though enjoying a guaranteed autonomy: it is sufficiently large to pay its own expenses: its future is not brilliant, but if the six great Powers of Europe guaranteed its independence, and Great Britain withdrew, it would have a chance of holding its own. This is not mere surmise: I have had experience in annexation, and administering newly-annexed Provinces in India. In the spring of 1885 I followed Lord Wolseley's army up the Nile to the Cataracts, and was there when Khartum fell: I studied the subject of the administration from every point of view, and came to the conviction, that our best policy even as far back as 1885 was to prepare to withdraw, while we could do so with honour: I published a pamphlet on the subject, copies of which were laid before the Government of the time. Ten years have passed away, and every reason for retiring has become stronger. Egypt would be a very expensive country to hold in case of a war: it can be attacked on its four sides with ease by an enemy. In this respect it presents a great contrast to British India, which if held by a great maritime Power, has only one assailable flank, and that by no means easy of approach.

The mistake of still remaining in military occupation of Egypt seems as nothing when compared to the unwisdom of annexing the Egyptian Sudan. Great Britain should never attempt to occupy a country which has not a sea-front, or means of access by rivers entirely under her control. Fifty years ago when the question of annexing a portion, or the whole, of the Panjab was discussed, the question always was: will it pay? In these two particulars the Sudan totally fails, it has no sea-front—no access by navigable

rivers to the Sea exclusively under British control: it has already been the scene of two frightful disasters to the British arms, the destruction of Hicks' army, and the fall of Khartum. It never will pay the cost of occupation: it is a country without agriculture, commerce, or manufacture: the population consists partly of Nomads, partly of races in the lowest rank of uncivilized life. Ten years ago I thought how fortunate it was, that Khartum fell before the relieving force arrived, so that there remained no pretence for further occupation. It is quite right to have a strong frontier at Wadi Halfah, and to keep the route from Korosco to Abu Hamid under the absolute control of Egypt, but let us rest there, and withdraw from the control of Egypt, before a great disaster happens. If the Khedive likes to advance further with his own resources let him do so.

When first I knew Egypt in 1853 the great Pasha Mehemet Ali was alive —his son Ibrahim was on the warpath: he had just been compelled to retire from Syria: Dongola was spoken of vaguely. Lepsius, the Egyptologist, was preparing to find his way to Nubia: there was no pretence of the Sudan being part of the Pashalik of Egypt. Later on, the ruler of Egypt did indeed make successful inroads, and established a military occupation, very much as the British once held Afghanistan: it cannot with any regard to historical accuracy be stated, that at any period of the long annals of Egypt the Sudan was part of the country known as Egypt.

Nor will Egypt ever be strong enough to hold it: it is a region without boundaries, physical or political; without industrial products, or mines: it is the cradle of hardy independent races, and it would appear, as if Manhood, and Liberty, driven out of the rest of the world by the crushing systems of European Nations, had taken refuge in these Deserts. It would be sad to think that Christian blood and treasure should be wasted to enlarge the dominions of Mahometans over Mahometans hitherto free. Any one, who has studied Egypt, must know that nothing equitable, or manly, can come out of that degraded country and population. More than 2000 years ago the prophet Ezekiel called Egypt "a base kingdom—the basest of the kingdoms," and all subsequent history has proved it to be so. A few years ago, I met the ex-Khedive Ismail in private life, and we conversed in French about the Provinces of Western Asia and North Africa: he suddenly changed his language so as not to be understood by those present —and asked me—"what hope there was in my opinion for the amelioration of Egypt"? my reply was ready

"Barai Misr hechak umed neest."
"For Egypt there is no hope at all."

May 25, 1896. R. N. C.

THE BOERS AND THE UITLANDERS.

Had Mr. Chamberlain sent President Krüger the telegram which Emperor William was so blamed for despatching, he would, with that stroke of the pen, have reconciled the British and the Dutch in South Africa and made both the Jameson trial and the Pretoria clemency an anachronism. Instead of this, that pushing statesman has shown that he is a true Englishman, ready for the spring on the Transvaal, yet anxious to save appearances. He

also kindly prepared a constitution for the Uitlanders, who are only too glad to be allowed to live under the republic and who can get all they want, if they are fairly respectable and will take the oath of allegiance to the Republic. As a matter of fact, many of them left their country for their country's good and they do not care for the British connexion, not nearly so much, for instance, as a German Uitlander, who is, as a rule, the most loyal Imperialist and who is happy to have left the fatherland of military conscription. It is the English alone, who are the cause of all the trouble. Give them an inch and most will take an ell. Appoint them as porters and they will try to become senior partners, if not to oust their employers. A German is satisfied with making a living, a Frenchman with amassing a *dot* for his daughter, but many an Englishman, instead of studying the language and working really hard, will try to set aside his benefactor and become a ruler and preacher where he ought to be a servant and learner. This is why the world has got tired of English pretensions and will combine to put them down, in the Transvaal as everywhere else, in spite of enquiries by Mr. Chamberlain after the health of poor dear Mrs. Krüger, who, probably, changed her apron for the occasion. As for the Boers, they are in one big embrace or deadly hug on three sides surrounded by the British and their outlet to the sea is cut off by the Portuguese. Their fighting qualities are exaggerated, for at Krugersdorf they fired at random over their heads out of pits where their bodies where concealed and when a shell burst in an adjoining farm they rushed out of it crying like frightened children. To talk of Germany interfering is merely to seek a quarrel, for where or whence could Germany touch the Transvaal? Any ships of hers would be destroyed by the British fleet before she could land troops at Delagoa Bay and thence, even if the Portuguese did not actively oppose them, they would perish on their march up-country from fatigue and hunger, as did a private German expedition some years ago on its way to the Transvaal. The whole thing is merely a case of "giving a dog a bad name and then hanging him," so as to rouse the Imperial spirit in England and its transient flashes among the Afrikanders. What is wanted is that the English in South Africa should address themselves to work, rather than to prayer and plunder. The Boers now beat them at the Bible and they already fall out among themselves as regards the latter, witness the absence of "honour among thieves" when everybody in the late Transvaal imbroglio fought for his own hand. Was Rhodes with or against the Government, with or against the Reformers and ready to deprive them of their reward, if successful, either for himself or the Company or the Empire? The Government seemed equally ready to snatch the booty from him. The Reformers wanted to divide the high appointments of a Republic of their own after using Rhodes for their own purposes, and again "diamond cut diamond" when they abandoned Jameson on finding that he would not play their game, Jameson himself being apparently satisfied to be a scapegoat and get his pay. The British public—glad at any noise and thinking a gallop of horses "a fine thing"—acknowledges raiders as heroes out of that abundance of animalism that made the English sailors cheer the Pope the other day at Rome *when blessing them* and also cheering

the statue of his dethroner, Garibaldi! This is on a par with trying to curry favour with Germany, after boycotting German goods, by congratulating its Emperor on the victory of his yacht and yet meanly and sillily adding that this was due, not to the ship but to his English blood; with pretending that the Prince of Wales, by winning the last Derby, had strengthened the foundations of the Throne, though it was his horse, not even ridden by himself, that had run the race! If so, his success may have been pre-arranged, but it is no use arguing with people, so full of themselves and so ignorant of the culture of the Continent, as to mistake noise for enthusiasm and an animal demonstration, or even physical prowess, as a proof of moral superiority. An Englishman will ever treat a foreigner as if he were telling him "I am as good as you," whereas the Frenchman, the German or the Russian, in the amenities of intercourse, rather wish one to feel that "you are as good as I."

A GERMAN.

THE SOUDAN EXPEDITION.

Among the possible results of the Soudan expedition may be included the effect produced by European meddlers on the Muhammadan troops employed, Indian and Egyptian. A proclamation has been sent to them in Arabic, Turkish, Hindustani and Persian by some mischievous Anglo-Muhammadan, cursing them if they fight against Muhammadans at the bidding of a Giaour or infidel. This sedition-monger forgets that the Egyptians are only too eager to re-conquer the Soudan; that the Soudan Khalífa is an avowed enemy of the Turkish Khalífa and that his Islám is characterized by a prohibition of all religious learning, including that of the Koran. Muhammadans, like Christians, have at all times fought against their co-religionists, sometimes in alliance with, or under the orders of "infidels." Indeed, considering the heterodoxy of the Soudan Khalífa, it might be asserted that the present British campaign is in aid of a "Jihád" for the re-establishment of Sunni orthodoxy under Egyptian rule, but the war has really nothing to do with religion; it has been undertaken, not because, as alleged, the Derwishes were threatening Egypt, but because the reports of Wingate, Slatin Pasha, Cromer and others clearly showed that their power was breaking up. It seemed, therefore, opportune to crumple them up altogether. As for Indian troops, they are only too pleased and proud to be sent on adventurous, especially Imperial, expeditions, and have before now been employed in a similar way,—namely, on the Abyssinian campaign under Lord Napier of Magdala. SAFIR BEY.

ENGLAND, ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

That the Arch-Christian Empire of Abyssinia will ever make common cause with its old foes, the Derwishes, or, indeed, with any Muhammadans, on whom, including the Gallas, constant raids or crusades are made as a part of perennial religious exercises, seems very doubtful. Menelek has a fair grievance against the Italians, who inveigled him into the Treaty of Uchali in which they agreed that his relations with other foreign powers *might* go through them. This was afterwards changed in the Italian translation into "*should*" go through them and when Menelek, outraged at this bad faith, accentuated his traditional independence, not to speak of his

poor opinion of Italy as compared with other Powers, he was accused of breach of treaty and the first opportunity was taken to declare war against him. Menelek, unlike Theodore, gave the invaders a good thrashing, but he is a "most Christian King" and will, at any time, be glad to exchange skins for rifles with Italian, as with any other, traders. To make him a friend is the best policy of Italy and England, especially as regards the final pacification of the Soudan.

THE AMIR AND THE ARMENIANS.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan has shown his usual sagacity in inviting some twenty Armenian families, now resident in Calcutta, to settle in Kabul, where Armenians have long enjoyed a certain influence, some of them being even connected with the reigning Dynasty. Indeed, one Luka, who rendered us services during the last Kabul campaign, is a cousin of Is-haq Khan, whose mother was an Armenian and there is still, we believe, a small Armenian Church in Kabul. The new Armenian settlers are to obtain appointments and titles according to their abilities and it would be well for Afghanistan if larger numbers of that industrious and peaceful population could be induced to occupy a portion of the country round Kabul, where they could be protected, if the need for it arose, against Muhammadan fanaticism more easily than elsewhere. Nor can there be any doubt that the British conscience, alarmed at the Kafir atrocities, in spite of the apologies tendered by two of the Amir's European employés, will be somewhat mollified by his kindness to certain Armenians. At the same time, there can be no question that the campaign to subdue the Northern portions of Kafiristan is proceeding, now that the South, East and West have been annexed and that the survivors are treated with a leniency which, in some parts, is said to extend even to the free exercise of their religious and social usages. What learned Europe demands, and will insist on, is that the Kafirs be not deported from their ancient homes, in which alone the preservation of the race and the study of its old traditions and dialects are possible.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF JOHORE.

With reference to your praise of Johore, I must tell you that the late Sultan of Johore was merely a creation of the British Government and had not the least right to the title as being of royal blood. His father was the Tumongong or Prime Minister of the real Sultan, and by giving or selling his private property (the Island of Singapore) to the British he acquired such wealth and influence that he was able to gradually oust the Sultan from his position, and called himself Maharajah. Abu-bakr was brought up by the missionaries, and was from first to last the "protégé" of our Government who conferred upon him the title of Sultan. He was of no royal blood, and was a Bugis I believe. At any rate, Johore is as unfit to be left to native rule as any state in the Peninsula. And curiously enough I have just received a letter from a friend who is in Johore, and he says that the only cure for the country is a British Resident. And my friend is neither a Government official, nor a Merchant, Planter, or Miner.

W. A. P.

YOGA PERFORMANCES IN LONDON.

Among the *clous* of this year's India and Ceylon Exhibition at Earl's Court is, undoubtedly, the performance of various ascetic Yoga postures, or *Asan*, of which we give below the "Kamal-Asan" or "Lotus posture." This performance is equal to anything of the kind that could be seen in India itself. Indeed, its exhibition is rare in that country and Yogis, who would perform it before Englishmen and the uninitiated generally would not be *bien vûs*. By dint of practice and, generally, great abstemiousness, the body of the performer can be turned into the form of this or that flower, tree, quadruped, bird or building. The sight is not always pleasant to everybody, but it is, in a sense, decidedly artistic and we hope, in a future issue, to give an explanation of the whole series of these postures at Earl's Court from the various "standpoints," physical and religious, which they illustrate. The curious thing is that the performers seem to like to repeat these exhausting twists and contortions in order to prepare their final Nirvána, but the whole subject is one of as great interest to the student as it is to the sightseer and we hope also to give an account of the physical and mental *Yoga*, in which eight processes for mental concentration lead to the union of the human, with the universal, soul. These are: forbearance, religious observances, postures (as at Earl's Court), a peculiar suppression of the breath, restraint of the nerves, steadying of the mind, contemplation and profound meditation or trance. The third process, that of "postures," consists of eighty-four, of which some eighteen are shown at Earl's Court, but, of course, without the *mantras*, or invocations, which the profane have no business to know. Mr. C. Ardeshir, however, who deserves the credit of bringing the Yogi master and disciple from sacred Benares to secular London, accompanies the postures with a running commentary in English, which contains such information as he has been able to gather.



THE "KAMAL-ASAN" POSTURE.

In the Yogi master, a Brahmin, who is himself "lotus-eyed," or "Kama-

láyatáksha," we have the instance of a man, who, by mere physical discipline and the repetition of *mantras*, has reached a high mental stage, without even the traditional instruction in Sanscrit or even Hindî. He is, however, perfectly happy, with a "mens sana in corpore sano," for he professes more buoyancy at the end, than at the beginning, of the body-breaking performances, the mysterious properties of which we may describe hereafter, *e.g.*, eight days of the "Kamal-asan" are said to be a protection against bites and poison.

RUSSIA'S COUNTERMOVE TO THE KAFIRISTAN ENCROACHMENT.

The general drift of Russian official opinion is that England is decidedly wrong to connive at the successful Afghan "Jihád" in Kafiristan since it gives growth to a germ of Mahdism in Central Asia. This success in Kafiristan is bound to enhance immensely the Amir's *prestige* in Central Asia to the danger immediately of England which governs in India some 60 millions of fanatical Musulman subjects. A practical transfer thus of the Khalifat of Islam from Constantinople to Kabul, a consummation which is merely a question of time, implies untold possibilities of harm to peace and civilization in the future. England in India will be the first to suffer by it; symptoms of this are already not wanting. That is what far-sighted people in Russia see in the Kafiristan betrayal. In fact, we think that the Durand Treaty of 1893 was a game played too astutely by the British envoy, and that the Amir is decidedly the gainer by it. As to our compensation for Kafiristan this is considered immaterial, though military necessity has, in consequence, demanded a new step in another direction towards the conterminous Anglo-Russian boundary in Asia; but England has now brought this on herself by the decided perfidy of her policy in this question. In fact, by signing the Pamir treaty, Russia ratified the Durand agreement of 1893 blindfolded, and the unexpected development which this agreement now takes compels her to go back on her terms. At Kushk we are now within immediate striking distance of Herat and a similar extension of the railway from Charjui to Kerki enables us to hold Afghan Turkistan and, indeed, the thence easy road to Kabul, at any time, within the hollow of our hands. We are anxious for peace, but the Kafiristan business has taught us to distrust British assurances in future.

A RUSSIAN OFFICER ON THE ADVANCED RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.

It was to be expected that the Government of Russia would consider itself justified in adopting retaliatory measures in response to the surrender of Kafiristan by England to the Ameer of Affghanistan. Since the annexation of the Punjab, now upwards of 40 years ago, it has been the desire of the Government of India that Kafiristan should be considered as coming within the sphere of its influence. This claim has been accepted by Russia and by the Ruler of Cabool; and there existed every reason to conclude that Kafiristan would continue to occupy that position.

It was under this OUTWARD condition of things, that the representatives of England, Russia, and Affghanistan met on the border of the Pamirs, at

the later end of last year, to fix the boundary line that was to separate the three states. An agreement for the transfer of Kafiristan from England to the Ameer had then been settled for nearly two years—but notwithstanding this, Russia was allowed to conclude that the demarcation was carried out as if Kafiristan remained under British protection. The Durand Treaty was unrevealed. Its existence was unknown outside of the SECRET Department of the Governments of India, England, and Cabool!

It was only in April of this year that the Durand Treaty was made public in the second Blue Book presented to Parliament relating to the occupation of Chitral—whilst the Supplementary agreement of the 9th April 1895, entered into by Mr. Udney and the Ameer's General, was not published until a still later date.

These concealed Treaties are the instruments by which the Forces and Ghazies of the Ameer have subjugated the Kafirs, and carried desolation throughout their country; and it is through these Treaties that His Highness has been placed in the position to be able to deport at pleasure the Kafir population, and replace it by Affghan Military colonies and outposts.

It may be asked what concern is it to Russia whether Kafiristan be under England or the Ameer—It is outside of the Russian border, and England and the Ameer are free to interchange territory at pleasure.

I answer that this view has not been accepted even in the heart of Africa, and for the reason that it is opposed to what are considered to be general international interests. If this be the case in that distant land where rival interests are still in their infancy, how much greater is the need to consider the susceptibilities of a great nation, whose Asiatic boundary marches with the confines of India and Affghanistan for many hundreds of miles!

What would England have said had our nation been duped by a friendly power in a similar manner; and what would have been thought had we found a former Refugee—who was now an avowed enemy—placed in a position of vantage to operate against us whenever occasion might arise, whether on his own behalf, or that of his Ally and protector?

The Chitral-Kafiristan problem seems to me to be a tangled web, originating in misconception and short-sightedness. The occupation of Chitral led to the dishonourable surrender of Kafiristan. The surrender of that territory led to the cruel wrong which has befallen the unhappy Kafirs at the hands of the Ameer—whilst in the future, England is likely to consider herself drawn still further from her natural base in India, to meet measures which her own uncalled-for action has provoked.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, GENERAL.

QUESTIONS ON THE BLUEBOOK OF "CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE OCCUPATION OF CHITRÁL."

1. Whether, as a matter of fact, the petitions supposed to emanate from the Swat and Bajaur tribesmen for British troops to remain in those countries, if not for annexation to the British Empire, are not really copies of one and the same petition, bearing internal evidence of having been got-up from an English original—whether the petitioners do not belong to small or oppressed sections of tribes, who are anxious for us to remain lest

they should be destroyed by their indignant fellow-countrymen [as were our friends, the Hazaras, after our installation of the present Amir] as traitors for having assisted the British invasion or received money-payments from the conquerors and whether, finally, the acquiescence of the tribes to our holding the road to Chitrál through their territories is not really due to our renewed assurances to them that we do not intend to interfere any further with their independence?

2. Whether, as the trade in slaves had practically ceased in Chitrál before our occupation thereof, in consequence of the closure of the slave-markets and the denudation of the land of field-labourers, the institution of slavery itself in Chitrál was not actually confirmed by the British Government in order to guarantee the Adamzais and other landowners in the possession of their human chattels and so to secure their adhesion to the British Protectorate, which has deprived Chitrál of its natural defence, the tributary State of the Arnawai or Bashgal valley of Kafiristan and has also cut off from it the province of Yasin? (See para. 5 of page 8 of "Correspondence.")

3. Whether the modification of the Durand Treaty, the avowed object of which in "the Chitrál Bluebook" was stated to be the cessation of the Amir's *influence* over Chitrál, has not substituted for the former vague and ever-contested Afghan suzerainty, the *actual presence of Afghan troops* along the whole Western frontier of Chitrál by the cession of the Bashgal Valley? Whether "the Arnawai or Bashgal Valley" are not *practically one and the same valley*, draining into the Kuner from the West, and not, as stated by the Secretary of State, *two* valleys, of which *one* drains into the aforesaid river from the East, which no Kafir valley does—whether, Asmár with the valley above it up to *Chandak* was not the extreme point ceded to the Amir by the British under Article 3 of the Durand Treaty, as a great concession on our part in final settlement of the difficulties created by our support of Umra Khan in that direction—Whether "the Arnawai or Bashgal Valley" is not at least 30 miles as the crow flies north from Chandak and is not *a large and distinct country*, inhabited by some 40,000 Kafirs, of whom 16,000 have been distributed by tens in the Afghan villages of the Jelalabad and other Districts, as a consequence of the recent campaign and how it was possible that any revision of the details of the frontier demarcation on that side could possibly be held to include the abandonment of a country 30 miles to the north of its extreme point and one that was specially reserved to the British sphere of influence by the Durand Treaty of 1893?

4. Why that Treaty was not laid before Parliament in that year or the modifications subsequently made in it in 1895? Is it not a fact that the abandonment of the Bashgal Valley was due, not to any question of frontier demarcation at all, but really to the representations of the Amir during the Chitrál campaign when we were *threatened* by a rising in Swat and Bajaur? Whether 1 to 200 of his soldiers, then nominally "on leave," did not take part in the actions against us on the Malakand Pass and two days afterwards, as suggested in the book of the brothers Younghusband, and why it was not stated that the Durand Treaty, which was

supposed to justify our abstention from interference in Kafiristan, after all did *not* really do so as regards the Bashgal Valley, which was then under question in Parliament? Whether the Durand Treaty was not, even in its main outlines, based on geographical or territorial facts and, if so, why a facsimile of the original map, referred to in the Treaty, is not given in the "Correspondence" recently submitted to Parliament? Whether the people of Kafiristan were consulted by us before they were made over by us to their hereditary enemies, from whom they had ever been independent and whether they were given the option either to accept Afghan rule or migrate into British territory, as are the inhabitants of Derwáz, up to the 14th October next, by Russia under the Pamir Agreement, of which the Durand Treaty really forms a part? X.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ON "THE CHITRÁL CORRESPONDENCE."

1. Whether, as stated in the recently published "Correspondence relating to Chitrál," page 30, "it has been the consistent policy of the Government "to exclude from that country" (affirmed to be under Kashmir suzerainty) "not only the control, but even the influence of the Amir"?

Whether the reservation of the Bashgal Valley to Chitrál under Clause 3 of the Durand Treaty of 1893 was in pursuance of that policy and why the Supplementary Agreement of 1895 to that Treaty actually gives that very Valley to the Amir and thus substitutes the presence of Afghan troops along the whole Western frontier of Chitral instead of the previously merely apprehended "influence" of the Amir, which it was ever "the consistent policy of the Government to exclude"?

Whether the Mehtar of Chitrál, and the Maharaja of Kashmir, had given their formal consent in writing before the cession was made of the Bashgal Valley or of the Nari villages, the ancestral possession of Chitrál?

2. Whether, as laid down in Clause 4 of the Durand Agreement, the Supplementary Agreement "adheres with the greatest possible exactness to the line shown in the Map attached to the Durand Treaty," when it incorporates in the Afghan dominions a large and populous country over 60 miles in length which was especially excluded from them by Clause 3 of the same Treaty and which is 30 miles distant from the extreme point of that "line," namely Chandak, and whether these are the small "differences of detail" that the Joint Commissioners were alone authorized to make in demarcating the frontier under Clause 6 of the same Treaty.

3. Whether the Nari villages, which have been handed over to Afghanistan under Para VIII of the Supplementary Agreement of the 9th April 1895, which was only confirmed by the Amir on the 19 December 1895, are the very same Nari villages, the encroachment on which by Umra Khan was one of the reasons for the campaign entered into on the 1st April 1895 by the Government of India for the armed protection of Chitrál, as stated in the manifesto to the tribes issued on that occasion, and, if so, why Chitrál has been deprived of these villages (they figure on every Map of that country, except the one attached to the Durand Convention) which are the ancestral

possessions of Chitrál, without the previous consent of its Mehtar or of its Suzerain, the Maharaja of Kashmir, by the Government of India, that professed to act on their behalf and in their interests?

4. Whether, as a matter of fact, "the details" of the Boundary in question, as settled in principle by the Durand Convention, had already been demarcated by Colonel Holdich of the Survey Department and the real Boundary Commissioner, and whether his demarcation included the Bashgal Valley and the Nari Villages? and

Whether Mr. Udney, the political officer, who included them in Afghanistan, *after* the departure of Col. Holdich on the Pamir Commission, belonged to the Survey Department or did any regular Survey work before so including them and whether Ghulam Hyder Khan, the Afghan Joint-Commissioner with whom the Supplementary Agreement was made, is not the Afghan Commander-in-Chief who had invaded the Bashgal Valley in November last or before that Agreement, which violated the Durand Treaty in one of its main objects, was confirmed by the Amir on the 19th of the following month of December 1895?

5. Whether the Secretary of State will produce the Correspondence between the Viceroy of India and the Amir of Afghanistan that led to the cession of the important territory in question? and, if there is no such correspondence, how such a matter came to be settled without correspondence?

6. Whether, in return for this cession, a corresponding compensation has been made by the Amir? and, if not, why not? and whether, if the abandonment of the Bashgal Valley and of the Nari Villages to the Amir had been settled with him *before* the Chitrál campaign, though it bears a date long after that campaign, viz. the 19th December 1895, why that campaign was avowedly undertaken, as stated in the Proclamation to the tribes, to protect Chitrál against the encroachments on them?

7. Whether the Supplementary Agreement was arrived at in consequence of the Amir's pressure when we were in the midst of the Chitrál Campaign?

X. X.

KAFIRISTAN AND THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

From a military point of view, (always assuming that the Amir of Afghanistan is our REAL ally) the annexation of Kafiristan is clearly a gain to the defence of India—Under the old conditions, had the Russians ever intended to attempt the invasion of India from Badakshan, viâ any of the passes, which run South, or South East, from Fyzabad, they would certainly have endeavoured to do so by a pass leading to Jellalabad through Kafiristan, as they would have found in the Káfirs very valuable allies, who would no doubt have willingly assisted them—

As, however, Kafiristan has now been annexed by the Amir, it is clear that that road is closed to them—and the only military excuse for any advance to Jellalabad by any of the numerous routes between Chitrál and Kafiristan is removed—

The *military* occupation of the route Nowshera—Chitral, *in view of an attempted invasion along those lines*, becomes now more absurd than ever—

If Afghanistan is to be really our ally in such a contingency, she must defend the outposts, and we should concentrate our forces on the Peshawur-Nowshera line. CHELMSFORD.

FORCED BENEVOLENCES IN MOROCCO.

We trust that the iniquitous system of indenting on the liberality of the Moroccan villages on the road to Fez by European Missions proceeding to *kow-tow* to the Idrîsi Sultan, Imám and Khalîfa, has been put a stop to by Sir Arthur Nicolson, who has just returned from that capital, not altogether *rê infectâ*, like Sir Euan Smith, for has His Shereefian Majesty not subscribed to the drainage of Tangier and otherwise scratched the surface of the Atlas of our difficulties with him? At any rate, we understand that, following the example of the preceding French Mission which had received and disbursed an allowance from its own Government of 25,000 francs for its expenses *en route* to Fez, the recent English Mission has similarly paid its way for the first time, much to the disgust, no doubt, of the local *Kaids* or Governors, to whom the hospitality of the Sultan to his, generally self-invited, guests gave a welcome opportunity of squeezing the villagers and enriching themselves on the false plea of the exorbitant demands of entertainment by the "infidel" visitors.

THE NEXT ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

So far as we may be permitted to express an opinion on behalf of the adherents of the Statutory International Congress of Orientalists, we have every reason for hoping that the forthcoming meeting in September 1897 at Paris will unite all scholars and friends of Oriental studies in the one common aim of promoting them by all possible means, in theoretical as also practical directions. The final admission by the last Geneva gathering, though it began in a schism, of the validity of the Statutes of the Institution which was founded in Paris in 1873, till they are modified in accordance with the rules therein prescribed whilst maintaining its original principles inviolate, has removed the only obstacle against the cordial re-union and co-operation of the conservative with the progressive schools of Orientalists. It is in the City of its birth, under the auspices of its incomparable "School of living Oriental Languages" and with the aid of its learned Asiatic Society and the numerous Oriental appliances with which academical and official Paris abounds, that may be expected the further development of an International Congress of French creation, whose existence hitherto has been so useful to the spread of Oriental learning. We trust that suggestions for its still more glorious future will be considered at the next Congress and we shall be glad to record, from now, all that is proposed to be done or to be discussed in connection with it.

THE ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

NEW SERIES.

BY F. F. ARBUTHNOT.

A FEW words as to the past, the present and the future of the "Oriental Translation Fund" may be interesting to promoters of Oriental Learning.

The old Fund began in 1828 and lasted till 1878 when it collapsed from apathy and want of funds. An attempt to revive it on the old lines failed, but the endeavour to resuscitate it on business principles was introduced in 1891 and is working well though not at a profit. This however may come in time.

Under the new arrangements there appeared in 1891 a translation of Part I. of the first volume of the Persian author Mirkhond's great work the "Rauzat-us-Safa" or "Garden of Purity," followed, in 1892, by Part II. of the same. The larger part of these two volumes contains the Moslem version of our Bible stories adapted from the Korān, but considerably added to and embellished by a lively Oriental imagination. There is also in them much information about the early Persian kings, written entirely from the Persian point of view, on the information supplied by the great poet Firdausi, and other earlier historians.

In 1893, appeared in two volumes the life of Muhammad the Apostle, followed, in 1894, by the lives of his immediate successors Abu Bakr, O'mar, Othman and Ali. These three books are particularly interesting at the present time, as the Mahdi and his Khalifas or successors in the Soudan have been following and imitating in many ways the manners, customs and procedure of their first great Apostle and his successors. If a transfer of names and dates be made from Arabia to Africa, it will be found that the same ideas of warlike expeditions, letters to foreign potentates, division of booty, and fighting for the faith exist, exactly as they did in the time of Muhammad, but with considerably less chance of success than those earlier efforts which finally established a vast Arabian Empire, ending with the fall of the Abbasides and Baghdad in 1258.

Professor C. H. Tawney, the well-known translator of the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* and other works and now Librarian at the India Office, was good enough to supply the New Series of the Oriental Translation Fund with a translation of a number of Jain stories from Sanscrit manuscripts. This volume, with Appendix containing notes by Professor Ernst Leumann of the Strasburg University, was called the "Kathákoça" or "Treasury of Stories" and was published in 1895. A perusal of the work will show its value; it is the best collection of Jain stories that has yet appeared in English.

Owing to unforeseen circumstances the volume for 1896 has not yet made its appearance. It is hoped that this deficiency will be made up before the end of the year by the issue of "Kādambari" written in Sanscrit by Bāna Bhaṭṭa in the middle of the viith century A.D. and now translated for the first time by Miss C. M. Ridding. This work is of a peculiarly interesting nature as it gives an idea of the manners and customs of the people of that period told in the shape of a romance.

Shortly after the "New Series" was started, the Earl of Northbrook, then President of the Royal Asiatic Society, kindly offered £100 to pay for the publication of a volume connected with historical research in India. It is hoped that this volume, entitled "Srī Harsha Carita" or the History of King Harsha, written in Sanscrit by the Bāna Bhaṭṭa above mentioned and translated by Professor E. B. Cowell and Mr. Thomas of Trinity

College, Cambridge, will be published in 1897. This work contains an account of the dynasty founded by Pushyabhûti at Thânesar and particularly the beginning of the career of the second Mahârâjâdhirâja of this family, called Srî Harsha or Harshavardhana, who conquered and held the whole of Northern, Central and Western India between 606-648 A.D. The author of the work, which is full of the most interesting and literary details regarding the period, was the protegé and Court Poet of Srî Harsha.

Two other important Sanscrit translations may also be mentioned as under preparation. One called "The Pañcā-dasî" or "Fifteen fold" is a poem giving a summary of Vedantist philosophy in fifteen cantos. Sâyana is said to have composed cantos I. to VI., and Bhârati Tîrtha the rest. Both wrote in the 14th century, A.D.

The other work, entitled "The Kathā Vatthu" or "Account of Opinions," was composed by Tissa, son of Moggatî, for the Synod of Buddhists held under Asoka, 250 B.C. It discusses 250 views then put forward on religion or psychology which Tissa held to be wrong.

In 1867, Mr. Thomas Chenery translated and published the first twenty-six of the very celebrated Mukāmāt or Assemblies of Al-Harîrî of Basra, an Arabic work of great renown. As is well known, this work contains fifty Mukāmāt or Assemblies in all, and Mr. Chenery intended to have finished it, but unfortunately died before its completion. Dr. Steingass has now translated these last twenty-four Assemblies, and these, with his notes, will be published in 1898. It will cause much satisfaction both to scholars and students to learn that Harîrî's great work has been thus completely translated into English. It impressed Carlyle so much that he described it as one of the most extraordinary books that he had ever read, while Chenery says of the author:

"This eminent man of letters has been rewarded with a fame such as few have ever obtained. For more than seven centuries his work has been esteemed as, next to the Korān, the chief treasure of the Arabic tongue. Contemporaries and posterity have vied in their praises of him. His 'Assemblies' have been commented with infinite learning and labour in Andalusia, and on the banks of the Oxus. His poetry has been sung at the feasts of the great, and by the camel drivers in the desert. To appreciate his marvellous eloquence, to fathom his profound learning, to understand his varied and endless allusions have always been the highest object of the literary, not only among the Arabic-speaking people, but wherever the Arabic language has been scientifically studied."

It is hoped that arrangements will be made to purchase the remainder of Chenery's first twenty-six Assemblies; and, if successful, the pages will be cut down to the size of the volumes of the New Series, and being bound also in the same way will be issued as Volume I., while Dr. Steingass's translation will form Volume II.; and thus the work will be complete.

It is also proposed to publish a complete translation of the Korān without any notes or comments in one volume, while the second will contain an alphabetical index and analysis of the contents of the first. For instance, Abraham is mentioned in twenty-five chapters of the Korān. Under Abraham will be found the Moslem version of his story with all the chapters and verses of the Korān in which he is alluded to. All the proper names will be dealt with in the same way, while all subjects such as Ablutions, Alms, Debts, Marriage, Divorce, Dowries, Prayer, Slavery, Trusts, etc.,

will also be separately treated. The Korān, being thus as it were taken to pieces, will be found to be far more interesting than it has hitherto been considered to be by the general reader. The many verses in praise of the Greatness, Goodness, and Unity of God can only be compared with our Book of Psalms, the best exposition of the Deity that can be found in our own Scriptures, while that in the Korān runs upon the same lines, and is sometimes even more beautifully expressed.

Some years ago a company of twelve Arabic scholars determined to publish a complete text of the Annals of Tabari, the very celebrated Arabian historian, who wrote between A.D. 838-923. Tabari has always been looked upon as one of the most reliable of authors, and has been called by Gibbon the Livy of the Arabians. The first part or volume of this Arabic text appeared in 1879, and since then twenty-two parts or volumes, of 320 pages each, have been printed at Leyden, making a total of 7,360 pages, in three Series, the first containing nine, the second six, and the third eight parts or volumes or twenty-three in all. A complete translation of this text into English would be a very valuable addition to the New Oriental Translation Fund. The only difficulty is the money; and how is this to be obtained? by public subscription, by the generosity of some wealthy enthusiast, or by the assistance of the English Government? In such matters the French is far more liberal than the English Government, and gives far greater encouragement to Oriental translators. Many excellent works have already been printed and published at their expense, while to celebrate the proposed Exhibition of 1900, Mr. H. Zotenberg, the late Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, is preparing, at the expense of the French Government, a translation of the history of the Mongols by Rashid-uddin, and a history of the Kings of Persia by Tha'alébi.

It will be seen from the above summary of the past, present and future of the Oriental Translation Fund that the work is going on. The translations can be obtained at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, and indeed through all booksellers.

REPORT ON DR. BRETSCHNEIDER'S MAP OF CHINA.

Map of China, by E. BRETSCHNEIDER; *engraved and printed by* A. JLIIN, St. Petersburg. (Published in London by E. STANFORD; 10s.). Dr. Bretschneider has already, for many years, been favourably known in China, where his contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Missionary Recorder*, and the *China Review* attracted considerable attention some twenty years ago. Perhaps no one except Colonel Yule has done more to elucidate the various problems inadvertently set to us by Marco Polo, touching the precise nature of the Chinese relations with Arabia, Persia, Turkestan, and, in short, Asia generally. Of recent years, Dr. Bretschneider has been concerning himself more especially with Chinese Botany, and this map is specially intended to illustrate the author's *History of Botanical Discoveries in China*. To this may now be added his *Botanicon Sinicum*, the third part of which, entitled *Botanical Investigations into the Materia Medica of the Ancient Chinese*, has just been published

in Shanghai. When one is told that "X. found this flower growing all along the road between Y. and Z.," or that "A. says that among the mountains of B. this root is quite common," very little hold is taken upon the memory unless the reader has constantly before his eyes a good map indicating precisely where the places mentioned really are.

Dr. Bretschneider's map is exactly double the size of that of Dr. S. Wells Williams, *i.e.* the edition revised and compared with the most recent surveys by Jacob Wells, and republished in 1882. That is to say the whole sheet (of four parts, fastened in one) covers double the area of Dr. Williams' map. But unfortunately Dr. Bretschneider's map extends no further north than Latitude 42°, and no further west than Longitude 95° (east of Greenwich), in consequence of which Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet, and Turkestan are all omitted. This is not to be wondered at, when the purposes for which the map was compiled are considered; for as yet no botanical researches of any importance (if we except the work of Prjevalsky) have been made in those regions. None the less the fact is regrettable, and especially to those who, like the present writer, concern themselves precisely with the omitted countries. The superficial scale on which Dr. Bretschneider's map is constructed is thus, confining itself to China proper with a mere fringe of Mongolia and Tibet, about four times that of Dr. Williams, *i.e.* each of Bretschneider's areas is the square of the same areas in Williams'.

The map is so 'up-to-date' that it actually marks the new railway between Tainan and Taipei in Formosa: also that between Tientsin and Kin Chou in Manchuria. But we may inform Dr. Bretschneider that the northern half of this latter only exists on paper. The Viceroy of Chih Li quite recently reported that with energy it might be completed within three years or one, accordingly as work should be begun at one end only, or simultaneously at both ends; and three million taels would, he said, be required to complete it. Both Formosa and its rival island, Hainan, are very clearly depicted upon Dr. Bretschneider's map: in fact, this is the first time that a general map of China has condescended to the detail requisite to give one an idea of the trend of the mountain chains, the proportion of the flat-land, and the courses of all rivers in those two islands. It is strange that Cape Cami on the Lei-chou Peninsula, the scene of so many wrecks, should have been omitted. It would also have been useful if the innumerable lights and beacons along the coast of China had been marked—a thing of quite easy accomplishment with the aid of the Annual Customs Returns,—for then every skipper on the China coast would have considered it a duty to procure Dr. Bretschneider's map.

Port Hamilton, Port Arthur, Wei-hai Wei, Ta-lien Wan, Kiao Chou, and other places made notorious since Corea became a bone of contention, are all very conspicuously marked. Indeed the coast-line leaves nothing to be desired: the most minute bays, inlets, and islands are all given. It is fair to judge of the accuracy of other portions by those of which the writer has personal knowledge: thus the neighbourhood of Fusan, Chemulpo, and Söul in Corea is correctly depicted; so also the tract of country enclosed by Peking, Jeho, Dolonor, and Kalgan. The move-

ments of the successive Cathayan, Golden Tartar, Mongol, Manchu, and Japanese invaders can now be easily and intelligibly followed through the intricacies of mountains and rivers. The routes of nearly all distinguished travellers in China are marked, and in such a way as not to interfere with the proportions and harmonious general appearance of the map: even the minor journeys of officials are given: thus we can trace the movements of Lord Amherst, Richthofen, Prjevalsky, Fritsche, Baber, Pevtsov, Elias, Potanin, Gill, Garnier, David, Parker, Hosie, McCarthy, Bourne, Colquhoun, Morrison, Fortune, Margary, Macartney, and numerous other miscellaneous wanderers. Some few that we should have expected to see are omitted, such as Bushell in Mongolia, and Williamson in Shan Tung, or "General" Mesny in Kan Suh, Kwei Chou, and Yün Nan. On the other hand, the latest cut to Sadiya across the Irrawaddy sources by Prince Henry of Orleans is plainly shown: that river is restrained within its proper limits, and the Burmese boundary is unexceptionable. Dr. Bretschneider just manages to squeeze in Mong-sin—with a big red line to the *west* of it—presumably as a friendly act to the French. Mong-sin is his *Ultima Thule* to the south.

There are some notable changes from Williams' *dicta* in the neighbourhood of the Yellow River and Ordos country. We must confess to a little disappointment at seeing the whole vast region lying between the Etsingol, Great Wall, and Yellow River marked with a huge black smear, as if it were all uninhabitable desert. Where is Ch'ang-ning? Where the ancient Hiu-t'u? Where are the modern Eleuth nomads supposed to congregate? This region moreover is, according to positive Chinese accounts, the cradle of the ancient Turks. Have they left no wrack behind? No notice is taken of Rockhill's recent and important travels in East Tibet: this is a very grave omission, for Rockhill's book is easily procurable. There are some imperfections on the Chinese side of the Burmese frontier; for instance, Chansi is marked much too far north; there are too many rivers running between the Taping and the Irrawaddy, and certainly the important town of Myitkina, on the British side, should have been given at the junction of the Malika and 'Nmaika: however, Dr. Bretschneider may be easily pardoned for not having at his disposal all the information which perhaps the Burma Government alone could give him.

But enough of criticism. Dr. Bretschneider's admirable work is another most important contribution to our rapidly increasing store of Far Eastern knowledge, and no one who seriously reads any book of travels on China should be without it. The present writer finds it of great assistance even in solving the intricacies of the ancient *Yü Kung*. One speciality, we repeat, is the distinctness with which it shows at a glance the amount of level land in China: another striking feature is the enormous number of inland lakes, many clearly shown for the first time. It is to be strongly desired that Dr. Bretschneider will continue his labours so as to embrace the Mongolian, Manchurian, Tibetan, and Turkestan outlying provinces of China. Being a Russian, he has exceptional facilities for doing this at St. Petersburg, and his own particular bent of mind peculiarly qualifies him for the careful completion of such work. E. H. PARKER.

ASSASSINATION OF H.H. JANGI SHAH AND OF HIS SON.

This event, which has thrown the entire Khoja community of Bombay into consternation, is still unexplained. It took place at Jidda on the return of His Highness with a numerous suite from Mecca, en route for Bombay, where his daughter was to be married to her cousin, the Head of the Ismailian sect, the Aga Muhammad Sultan, regarding whom and his followers and creed we had a detailed account in our issue of July 1894. That spiritual Chief himself constitutes the object of pilgrimage by Ismailians, as he is the lineal descendant of the 7th Imám, Ismail, descended from A'li. The Ismailians naturally therefore sympathize more with the Shiahs than with any other creed and often go to Kerbelá, the shrine of the martyred Hasan and Husain, where also is the family mausoleum of the Aga family in which all its deceased members are buried. It is, consequently, unnecessary that an Ismailian should go to Mecca and H.H. was certainly the first and only Aga who has ever done so. It is now said that the murderers were Sunnis and, no doubt, Shiahs are not well treated in Mecca, though they are profitable pilgrims. An Ismailian would be a special object of abhorrence, but it is doubtful whether he would be deliberately murdered, as their Highnesses have been. We fear we must rather ascribe their untimely deaths, at 52 and 17 years of age respectively, to the indignation caused among bigoted Ismailians by the enlightened Jangi Shah going to Mecca at all. A Preacher or Dái from Kerbelá, it is said, had been deputed to warn him against going or to accompany him, so that he might quietly curse at the shrine the 3 Sunni Khalifas who preceded Ali, but Jangi Shah refused and so, we believe, three bigoted Khojas were found to destroy the innovator, a conclusion which is borne out by the fact that, as happened during the Crusades and on other occasions, two of the "assassins" destroyed themselves in prison and the third escaped. We shall examine the *pros* and *cons* of this view in another issue

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN AND CO.; 13, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

1. *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour, with an Introductory Sketch of the Military History of India*, by the RIGHT HON. LORD EGERTON OF TATTON, etc. New Edition. This is an enlarged *Édition de luxe* of a splendid *Catalogue raisonné* which, we believe, Lord Egerton published when his incomparable Collection of Arms was first exhibited at the South Kensington Museum. To this Catalogue, a masterpiece of special learning and of the Publisher's art, he has now added literary matter and illustrations of great interest. Two of the twenty-three full page Plates are beautifully coloured and, in themselves, provide a Chapter on artistic decoration of swords, especially those in the Tsarkoe Selo collection. It is, however, in the history of Oriental arms in which an unparalleled mine of information, ethnographical and military, will be found. At the present moment, perhaps, the arms of Soudan and Abyssinia will attract most attention, but the work is really an Encyclopædia of Oriental armour, which seems to answer every question as to the weapons and those that use them. Even the Kafir daggers of the Hindukush are referred to, whilst the essential characteristics of Mussulman and Hindu arms respectively are well dealt with. A wealth of anecdotes gives point to the minute descriptions and altogether it seems impossible to surpass, and difficult to equal, a description and a collection that only an enthusiast, a scholar and a man of means could have put together. We are glad that the Publishers, Messrs. W. H. Allen, are returning to their old Oriental love, which they had scarcely abandoned, and we can assure them that in the long and honourable annals of their activity as Oriental publishers, they have never presented to the public and to the specialist a more charming and well got-up book, than Lord Egerton's "Description of Indian and Oriental Armour."

MR. EDWARD ARNOLD; 37, BEDFORD STREET, LONDON.

2. *Persia Revisited* (1895), with Remarks on H.I.M. Mozuffer-ed-din Shah, and the present situation in Persia (1896), by GENERAL SIR THOMAS EDWARD GORDON, K.C.I.E., C.B., etc. We do not know which to admire most, the modesty of the man or the sagacity of the statesman that is shown in every page of this narrative by a famous explorer. Had he revisited the Pamir, as he has Persia, he would not only have found his previous conclusions confirmed, but he would also have given us those practical hints regarding the "roof of the world" that he now devotes to Persia and to its trade with England. Originally only meant as an account of a tour over ground that he had already so well trodden, the book now embraces the deductions to be drawn from the recent assassination of the Shah and the accession of the long-recognized heir-apparent. It reflects, incidentally, much credit on the political foresight of Mr. Curzon to have foretold on page 406 of his "Persia," published in 1892, that "if the present Shah were to die to-morrow, there might be isolated acts of lawlessness,

but I do not credit the likelihood of any general insurrection; I foresee no warring competition for the throne and I believe that the heir-apparent would succeed without firing a musket" as, indeed, has happened. Mr. Curzon has also been right about the much be-lauded "Zil-as-Sultan," the eldest son of the late Shah, though by a less noble mother; (page 420) "Whatever may be the ups and downs of the Zil's future career, he can no longer be regarded as a competitor for the Throne or as a formidable factor in the political future of Persia" in spite of, we would add, his professed leaning to England or his recent speech in favour of the much-needed Imperial Bank of Persia. His present advances also to the truly able Prime Minister, an old foe, will be taken at their true value. Persia has reason to rejoice in a continuance of experienced officials under a Shah, who as a good Muhammadan is in touch with his people, rather than in a would-be iconoclast like the Zil, who may yet live to bless his brother and Britain in honoured retirement at Bombay. General Gordon, who bears a deserved testimony to the generally good administration of Persia under the late Shah, shows a marvellous insight into the real cause that led to his assassination. Jemaluddin also is not a Bábi, but an advocate of the union of the Shiahs of Persia, as a fifth orthodox sect, with the four recognized Sunni faiths that acknowledge, more or less readily, the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalifa of the Muhammadan World. This dream explains Jemaluddin's influence at the Yildiz Palace, but the accession-speech of the present Shah clearly shows that he too will claim his share in the defence of Islám. We congratulate the scholarly soldier who has "revisited Persia" on a discovery which we can independently corroborate. His book should be in all our readers' hands.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW AND CO.; EDINBURGH.

3. The excellent book of Slatin Pasha, the real cause of the present Sudan campaign, as well as its daily progress, cannot be better followed than with *Bartholomew's special large Scale Map of the Sudan*, in hand. It is accompanied by a General Map of *North East Africa* and *an Enlarged Plan of Khartum*, to which, no doubt, our endeavours are eventually tending. That such a Map should be sold at a shilling is a marvel of cheapness and a credit to the Publishers' enterprise.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

(MESSRS. C. J. CLAY AND SONS, AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON.)

4. *Some pages of the four Gospels retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, with a translation of the whole text, by* AGNES SMITH LEWIS; 1896. Since her discovery of this remarkable MS. on Mt. Sinai in 1892, Mrs. Lewis has been most commendably active in her endeavours to place it before the public in the most perfect form possible. In a third journey to the Mount in 1895, with her sister Mrs. Gibson, she has supplemented the text already issued by adding what had been unavoidably left undeciphered and by re-verifying points on which doubts had been expressed. In this issue, therefore, she completes her previous translation, adds 98 pages of Syriac hitherto defective and gives 8 pages of minor *addenda*. The 98

pages are printed in black and blue, the former colour showing the work of the original transcribers, the latter of the author and her sister in their last visit. The Introduction deals with the variations and differences in this MS. and touches on some questions that had been raised after the first publication. The translation, in the parts which we have compared, is correct and scholarly, if occasionally a little (not too much) free. Appendices I. and II. give the Greek which is omitted in this Syriac MS. and the Syriac omitted in the Greek versions. The Syriac is beautifully printed, and shows the care bestowed in the editing. Other points, regarding the MS. and its peculiarities have already been dealt with in previous notices. We have now only the pleasure of recommending this issue for the consideration of Biblical students.

We are also indebted to the courtesy of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for a copy of *Vol. I. of the third edition of the late Professor Wright's well-known Arabic Grammar* based on the German of Caspari. The present edition has had the advantage of careful revision by two eminent scholars, Professor De Goeje and the late Professor Robertson Smith. It has been beautifully printed at the Cambridge University Press; and its external appearance leaves nothing to be desired. We hope to give a detailed notice of its contents in our next number.

MESSRS. W. AND R. CHAMBERS: LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

5. *The Life and travels of Mungo Park, in Africa;* 1896. Though our knowledge of Africa has greatly increased since the days of the intrepid Scotchman who penetrated alone and unprotected to the then almost fabulous Niger, his book contains so much information regarding manners and customs, productions and industries, trade and war, that this reprint is both interesting and instructive. The slave trade was then in full swing on the west coast; and many of the plain statements regarding the purchase and shipment of slaves by Europeans and Americans seem strange to the modern eye. Great is the contrast between the modern and Mungo's mode of exploring. Unknown then were the monster expeditions, got up regardless of cost and carried out with irresistible forces, which always impoverish the country through which they pass, often tyrannize over the people and sometimes slaughter them ruthlessly. Park's first and more successful expedition—for though full of troubles to himself it produced plentiful information as its result,—was undertaken with scanty means and few attendants, the employment of force being not even dreamed of. In his second, he was attended by some soldiers but the results were as disappointing regarding information acquired, as they were disastrous and lamentable in loss of life, especially that of the leader of the expedition. Even in our days, when exploring and other scientific expeditions are so numerous and successful, the plain narrative of the daring traveller of just a century ago is still full of interest, and from more points of view than merely the geographical. The publishers have done everything to render the book acceptable, including several good illustrations, a brief but comprehensive life of the traveller, and a short chapter on the present position of the Niger territory.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY: SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON.

6. *The Church Missionary Atlas*, new (8th) edition; 1896. This is a well got up large 8vo. book, with 32 coloured maps, interspersed with valuable letterpress, constituting a goodly volume. The maps are excellent, in every detail, giving nearly all the latest discoveries, and forming a valuable atlas in themselves. The letter-press is not confined to Missionary details. It gives sketches of the Geography and History of the places dealt with, with a mass of other information, including valuable statistics. The work done by the Church Missionary Society, well known as it is for its extent and thoroughness, is clearly stated; and if the trumpet *obbligato* is occasionally a little louder than needed, it scarcely mars the harmony of the whole; but we regret that, in some places, there is a very needless bitterness manifested against Catholics. We note, too, that though the works done by various Protestant Missionary Societies, other than the Church Missionary Society, are fairly noted, those of other religious bodies pass utterly without notice. As a test we turned to "Japan"; but though the letterpress told us (p. 209) that in the decade between 1882 and 1892, the rate of increase of the Catholics was 57 per cent. that of the Greek Church 146 per cent. and that of the Protestants 612 per cent., on the map facing p. 197 there is absolutely no trace whatever of the two former churches. Another and important defect is the want of a definite statement of the number of Christians in each district or country: the pastor must or should know the number of his sheep; and in 1896 we should know how many those sheep were, say in 1894,—at least in round numbers down to the hundreds.

MESSRS. JAMES CLARKE AND CO.: 13, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

7. *Industrial explorings in and around London, by* R. ANDOM, with nearly 100 illustrations by T. M. A. WHITWELL; 2nd Edition; 1896. Graceful and graphic, easy yet lively in style, beautifully, and what is more, regarding machinery, correctly and intelligibly illustrated, this well got up little book gives us a series of twelve descriptions of visits paid to as many typical industrial works in and near London. Pianos, ropes, soap, candles, tramcars, gas, paper, matches, rubber, wire, mineral waters and confectionery constitute so many unknown lands, into which the author and artist together take the reader and explain to him the wonderful machinery and ways by means of which things which we daily see without a thought of how they are made, are shown from their first to their last processes. Technical details are avoided, nor are all the processes explained or even named; but enough on each subject is given to furnish the reader with a good idea of how things are done, what does them, what the places are like in which they are produced. In other words twelve important London industries are very pleasantly, fully and clearly described and illustrated in this book; and it can be conscientiously recommended to our readers.

MESSRS. DIGBY, LONG AND CO.; BOUVERIE STREET, LONDON.

8. *Boer and Uitlander*, by W. F. REGAN; 1896; is supplied with portraits of the author, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and President Kruger,

and a map, which, however, is not much detailed. The book, dedicated to Mr. Gladstone, professes to give the true history of the recent events in the Transvaal; yet very naturally it goes back to 1496 to Bartolomeo Diaz. After telling us who the Boers are, and how (after having been British subjects for over 30 years) they decided to go away from British territory, he shows how they have persevered in that endeavour till now, when there is nowhere left for them to go to, and the various events of the Anglo-Boer history are touched upon, including the Chartered Co., and the origin of the present troubles. The whole question of the relations between the Transvaal and the British Government is thoroughly gone into and the action of British ministers and officials plainly criticized. The whole is written with a strong, not to say intense, anti-Uitlander and pro-Boer bias; and if the author states facts pretty accurately he is very partial in his deductions and violent in his condemnations. At p. 139 a Mr. Harris is quoted from the *New Review*, and because he is secretary of the Chartered Company, and Mr. C. Rhodes "its moving spirit," the latter is given the credit for what the former says. At p. 143 the knotty point is discussed very one-sidedly, how British subjects can get rid of their *status* as such. The fulsome praise bestowed all through on President Kruger and his advisers, each day enables us to judge of more impartially than the author does; his criticisms on Mr. Chamberlain's undignified actions we fully agree in; Sir Hercules Robinson everyone knew, when he was appointed, to be too old for the difficult position he fills; the action of the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, as cowardly when it came to the test as it was stupid in its want of organization, merits the contempt of every man. But when he states the Transvaal Government and people to be almost perfect, and denies that the Uitlanders have any substantial grievances, and passes over without comment the fact, which he himself states, that Catholics and Jews are excluded from the franchise, we realize how he writes from a one-sided view. That precisely is the merit of the work: it gives the case of the Boers at its best and that of the Uitlanders at its worst, exposing in the former case all that can be said in its favour, and in the latter bringing up all that can possibly be urged against it. With another book written from the opposite point of view, in the same manner and plan, a study of the two would enable the reader to form a fair and impartial judgment on the situation, for doubtless there are and have been faults on both sides, and neither party has come out blameless out of recent events. For such a purpose, this book is most useful.

EDUCATION SOCIETY'S STEAM PRESS; BOMBAY.

9. *Three Lectures:* The Reminiscences of the German University Life; the True Theosophist; and the Mricchakatikam, or, the Toy Cart, by DR. NISHIKÁNTA CHATTOPÁDHYÁYA, PH.D. The literary activity of the Bengalis is only equalled by their vivid imagination and powers of imitation. Dr. Nishikánta has sent us three Lectures, in one of which he is a typical Student of the German University at which he graduated,—whilst in the second he holds a candle to the demon of so-called Theosophy that his

knowledge of Sanscrit, as shown in the 3rd Lecture,—the charming drama of the Mricchakatikam or the Toy Cart—must have taught him to despise. We would invite our readers to the perusal of a piece that combines pathos with humour in the most approved classical manner and that reflects great credit on the taste and learning of the Lecturer, Dr. Nishikánta.

J. GARDNER HITT; EDINBURGH.

10. *John Chinaman—his ways and notions* by Rev. G. Cockburn, M.A. Let no one take objection to the circumstance that this book is written by a Clergyman. A Volume, less conventional, it would be hard to find. There are many, now that China is beginning to open her doors to Western Civilization, to whom this volume will be useful. It is the typical Chinaman whom the author sets out to portray, and he thus renders great assistance to the honest student of China and of her people. The style is crisp, the reader's interest is sustained throughout, and much information is conveyed in a compact form. To expect that the writer should be quite free from prejudice would be unreasonable—*e.g.* "At the time of the flood, of which the Chinese have many stories—how far original and how far derived from *Mahometan* and *Christian* sources, it is impossible to say." Something of the same spirit lurks probably in the sentence "'Confucius' is the ideal Chinaman, just as 'John Bull' is the ideal Englishman"—the comparison is scarcely apt.

MESSRS. GILL AND SONS; WARWICK LANE, LONDON.

11. *The British Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates*, by GEORGE GILL, F.R.G.S., is a compilation of their geography and history, for the use of students, including their physical, topographical, social, commercial, and political details. It is furnished with numerous maps, coloured and uncoloured, and has a copious index. The three classes of British Possessions are taken up one after the other and treated in systematic order according to a fixed plan. The distinction between the three classes in the title is not followed out in separate groups, but a good classification is given at pp. 7, 8, and 9, though even here it would have been better to give under each class a full list of all the British possessions falling under such class. Coming to details, we have glanced over the work and found many slips. At p. 95, Chillianwallah is called a decisive victory; p. 79, the Secretary of State for India is said "to be appointed by the Crown," which is theoretically but not really true; at p. 71 a "renowned Durbar" is mentioned as occurring at Agra in 1870, which seems to refer to the Imperial Proclamation Assembly at Delhi in 1877; at p. 300 there is an inaccurate statement of the French factories in Newfoundland; and the historic outlines are both meagre and end in all kinds of dates, from 1859 to 1893. There is, however, in spite of all defects, a great deal of well-digested information regarding the British Empire, which (after careful revision) cannot fail to be of great use in laying the foundations of a thorough knowledge of the subject in the students of various countries and climes who form part of this great whole.

MESSRS. GINN AND CO.; BOSTON AND LONDON.

12. *The Timon of Lucian, with Notes and Vocabulary* by J. B. SEWALL. The study of the Classics is being made easier and more pleasant every day. This will maintain the hold of both Greek and Latin Classics upon the cultured world. Timon was not the Tolstoi of his age, and the Russian sage can scarcely be deemed a misanthropist. The theme, however, is as apt to day as ever, and "The Timon" may well be added to the list of Greek classics in Secondary Schools so as to increase the variety of Greek reading in them and making it popular. The valuable notes in this edition will much facilitate the Student's comprehension of the text, whilst word-groups or symposia help him to acquire the meaning and use of related words.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON.

13. *Nihongi*, Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697, translated from the original Chinese and Japanese by W. G. Aston, C.M.G., Vol. i.; 1896. We have several times noticed the "Transactions of the Japan Society of London" and the interesting matter they contained; and we have now to mention that this Society has undertaken the cost of publishing Mr. Aston's translation with notes of the old Japanese history, Nihongi. We have received the first volume, which is uniform in size and form with the *Transactions*. Mr. Aston's qualifications as a translator need no praise from us: his former position at the British Embassy and long residence in Japan are sufficient proof. His careful Introduction gives a good idea of the book he translates, and of the numerous questions connected with its age, authorship, character and contents; and his numerous notes are full of oriental learning and erudition. There are several but not many illustrations. Of the *Nihongi* itself (as the translator acknowledges), the more important part is, of course, that dealing with the Age of the Gods, about 100 pages. For the study of ancient manners, customs and folk-lore it will benefit the student; but the few kernels must be sought out diligently amid a profuse mass of empty husks and shells; and in this search, the numerous versions given in full—often with scarcely any varying details—will tax his patience to the utmost. This means no slight on the translator:—he has only given correctly what was in the original. When we come, at p. 109, to the so-called history, matters are found even worse. The kernels become rarer, and the trashy surroundings even more worthless. But the whole is a good specimen of what often passes for history in the Far East, showing us what matters were considered important: western notions will not endorse the judgment. This first vol. brings us to the year 506 A.D., and the death of the loathsome and terrible tyrant Muretsu. The concluding volume is to be issued speedily.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

14. *Campaigning in S. Africa and Egypt*, by MAJOR-GENERAL W. C. F. MOLYNEUX; 1896. A short biographical sketch brings us at once to the author's service in S. Africa, the details of which are of great interest, and are illustrated with occasional sketch-maps. Anecdotes and amusing

incidents are interspersed with the pleasantly written narrative, which carefully avoids all matter that might wound the feelings of those whose participation in the actions described was not as brilliant as might have been. From two campaigns in S. Africa, our author returns invalided to England. He goes out next to Egypt against Arabi and gives us the details of that expedition, where accident and luck did so much more than skill in planning or executing. Our author does not touch on the Hamley-Wollesley controversy; and his remarks on the campaign itself seem needlessly mild and colourless, though we can easily read between the lines what he thinks of the movements he narrates. The book is very pleasant and instructive reading; and as such can be recommended. The entrance on the scene and the death of the ill-fated Prince Imperial of France are very sympathetically given.

15. *The Duties and Liabilities of Trustees*, six Lectures by AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, M.P.; Q.C. This is a charming book on a dull subject. *Ridendo docet* may be said to be the author's aim and there is more to be learnt by his light sarcasm than in many a ponderous tome. He advises *non possumus* as the reply of honest Trustees to the most plausible proposals regarding departures from the terms of their trust "To behave like this is not to be cantankerous, but honest; not pigheaded, but wise"; otherwise, he humorously suggests, "there is nothing to prevent a Trustee *out of his own money* providing for his beneficiaries." Was ever Law in this humour woo'd? It will certainly be none the less won, if puzzled Trustees go to Mr. Birrell's delightful little volume.

16. *Through Jungle and Desert*, by W. ASTER CHANLER, M.A. 1896. To the traveller and the travel-reading public there is a serious outlook. Soon there will be no more "terræ incognitæ' to explore, or curious records of unknown people to read. Africa has come to the publishing world, and for a time has come to stay. The author of this work, accompanied by Lieut. von Höhnel who had already made considerable explorations in that region, gave two years to travels in Eastern Africa. The book before us shows that they have been very fruitful in results. A large number of illustrations are also given from photographs taken by the author on the spot.

Starting from the town of Lamoo on the Tana River with a number of Zanzibaris as carriers, Somalis as care-takers of the beasts of burden, and a dozen Soudanese as warriors in case of extreme need, the expedition first encamped at Inkonumbi, the object of the explorers being to make themselves familiar with the large and unknown tract lying between Lakes Rudolph and Stephanie and the Indian Ocean, and to gain entrance to it through the territory to the south which is held by the warlike Somalis. For a distance of 200 miles the expedition followed the course of the Tana River in a N.N.W. direction and then struck the hill-country among which much of its adventures lay. As a narrative, the volume is lucid and full of interesting detail. Those fond of hair-breadth escapes and hunting-tales will find here much to their taste. Nor will the Geographer and philanthropist be disappointed. Two excellent maps accompany the volume; one of which is a most elaborate survey with details of lakes, mountains, sea-levels, etc.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

17. *The Heart of a Continent:* A Narrative of Travels in Manchuria, across the Gobi Desert, through the Himalayas, the Pamirs, and Chitrál, 1884-1894, by CAPTAIN FRANK E. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E. This is the second edition of a most admirable work by a master of his subject. We are getting so accustomed to the two Younghusbands, *par nobile fratrum*, joining in brotherly authorship, that a publication by one of them alone, seems almost to be an anachronism. Yet it is Frank Younghusband who can speak with the greater authority on what may be called to be his special creations: the unravelling of Manchurian topography, the Gobi desert revelations (even to his own mind as a meditator on human problems), the Yonoff incident and, we fear to some extent, the Chitrál imbroglio, though we much admire his sympathy with its people and late ruler, Nizam-ul-Mulk. What we cannot understand, is that he should not refer to the Kafirs in Chitrál or to Kafiristan at all, when he must have had exceptional opportunities for acquiring information regarding what is now "a burning question," but the large volume before us of over 400 pages is such a Thesaurus regarding the countries with which it deals, is so pleasantly and modestly written, and is so well illustrated with portraits, Maps and other attractions that only a scholarly and sympathetic Publisher, like Mr. John Murray, can supply, that it seems to be unreasonable to ask for Kafiristan, when so much is given regarding the countries with which alone it professes to deal. On these countries Captain F. Younghusband's work will, for many years, remain the standard book of reference, without which no properly appointed Library can afford to be.

18. *Our Responsibilities for Turkey*, by the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T. The only one of our statesmen, who has a conscience, the Duke of Argyll, attributes the perpetuation of Turkish misrule alike to Liberal and to Conservative Governments. He appeals, therefore, to the honest heart of the people of England to compel the Sultan to employ better men as his Governors and other officials, under European control, as in the case of the Lebanon arrangement. His Grace does not recommend war as an alternative to continued Ottoman misgovernment, though he would prefer this calamity to the national dishonour that we have incurred by leaving the Armenians to their fate. The Duke clearly shows that for the last forty years the mischief is due to English meddling and muddling in support of supposed British interests whatever be the real claims of humanity and of Treaty obligation. *We* provoked the Bulgarian atrocities by insisting on Turkey putting down the insurrection in Bosnia and in Herzegovina and when this was attempted with due severity, Mr. Gladstone wrote his famous pamphlet. We deprived the Armenians of the only Protector that could possibly help them, Russia, by first subjecting their protection to the unworkable consensus of all the Powers of Europe and thus stultifying the practical clause of the Treaty of San Stefano by the theoretical addition of that of Berlin, but, not satisfied with this perfidious kindness to the Armenians, we immediately after concluded the Cyprus Convention with Turkey by which we bound ourselves to protect Turkey in Asia Minor against an attack from Russia, possibly caused by her interference to stop

the continued misgovernment of Armenia. So, of course, Russia would not join us in putting pressure on Turkey, for fear of our turning round on her on the strength of that Convention or, worse still, on our establishing a constant sore in her side by an autonomous kingdom of Armenia. Therefore, after warning us, that she had no faith in Turkish promises, Commissions of Enquiries, Ambassadorial Synedria, and, least of all, in our impracticable Scheme of Reforms, which directly led to the massacre of the Armenians wherever they were in a majority (lest they should have a Governor of their creed under that scheme), Russia is now determined to take a course opposed to her traditional policy of breaking up the Mussulman Khalifate and of protecting oppressed nationalities. England may, henceforth, well exclaim with the Duke of Argyll, *maxima meâ culpâ*, but we see no remedy provided by our Cassandra, unless, indeed, it be that alliance with Russia, which was so much desired by herself, till French resentments provided her with a tool on which she can rely far more than on the vacillations and changes of British politics. In the meanwhile a greater danger is being prepared for this country than is feared by His Grace and that is "the Protectorate of Muhammadanism" by Russia and France.

ORIENTAL UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE; WOKING.

19. *A Photographed Edition of Háfiz Ośman's Manuscript of the Koran.* This work is of great value to orthodox Muhammadans and of artistic beauty as a *chef-d'œuvre* of Oriental caligraphy. It is a photo-zincographic facsimile of the famous manuscript of Háfiz Osman, renowned through the Muhammadan world for its accuracy and beautiful handwriting. The former point is specially important as any mistake in punctuation (the vowel-points) may materially alter the sense of the original "word of God" which should be unalterable. This is why good Muhammadans have a strong objection to printed or lithographed editions of the sacred volume, for not only does the process in either case subject it to the degradation of being stamped or put *below* the human hand, but it also opens the door to the innumerable mistakes of ordinary compositors or copyists. Photography avoids all this, for it reverently transmits by the sun's rays at an equal altitude of the sacred text its valued contents and is, moreover, a far cleaner process than either printing or lithography. To Courts of Justice a manuscript or photographed copy of the Koran is important as specially binding on the Muhammadans that are sworn on it. The Koran in question has a beautifully illuminated frontispiece glowing with all the splendour of the required Oriental colouring and it is, moreover, bound in accordance with the best traditions in green and gold (the specific Muhammadan colour), blue and gold and red and gold, each volume being, in addition, provided with a flap and some also with a silk ribbon to keep it together. Some copies also have a splendidly got up case with elevating band by which to draw out the volume. It is, therefore, not only indispensable to the accurate Arabic Scholar, but also of interest to all who wish to possess the best existing edition of the master-work of Muhammadan literature, whilst its brilliant get-up should secure it a place in every

drawing-room and its accuracy give it a claim to every Library of any pretensions. The Author lived in the year 1094 of the Hegra or about 209 years ago. After the end of the last Chapter, he gives a devout prayer in Arabic which the reader offers up to invoke a blessing on the perusal of the Koran; this is followed by directions in Persian as to the signs regarding the *modes* of reading and also showing where various readings are authorized by the Schools of Kufa and Bassora. The name of the reader-out of the Text, Ali the Meccan, and even that of the illuminator are given and at the end there is a testimonial from the principal Muhammadan Divines as to the absolute accuracy of this very photographic reproduction, every page of which has been compared by them with the original manuscripts. This wonderful work concludes with a small page of "errata" or rather of a few differing accentuations. The work is truly a *magnum opus* in itself and in the style of its reproduction. Leather-binding has been avoided, as many Muhammadans suspect it to be of pig's skin—so the volumes are cloth-bound in accordance with the most authorized Muhammadan directions.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; 24, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON, W.

20. *Quarterly Statement, April*, 1896. Most important is the announcement that an extension of one more year is given by the Turkish authorities to the *firman* authorizing the recent excavations which have led to so many important results and been followed with such great interest, and of which the 8th report fully rivalling its predecessors is given in this *Quarterly Statement*. The veteran Baurath von Schick gives some very interesting notes regarding a two-storeyed church, illustrated as usual with excellent plans. After the two articles on Dr. Bliss' Latin inscription from Neby Daûd—one by Canon Dalton, C.M.G., the other by Ebenezer Davis—containing some very good reading, the Rev. I. E. Dowling writes on Bible coins, already a well known subject, and the Rev. J. E. Hananer starts a rival cave against the Rev. W. F. Birch's rock of Etam. Prof. R. H. West's paper on the determination of heights in Lebanon will be examined with pleasure. The never-ending question of the route of the Exodus is discussed by Captain A. E. Haynes, R.E., and his views well merit attention. The whole number is, as usual, full of very interesting and varied reading.

THE PRICE CURRENT PRESS, MADRAS.

21. *Representative Men of Southern India*. This little book has made its appearance very opportunely for the confusion of all those who are pleased to doubt whether any good thing can "come out of Madras," and it seems to indicate that the Southern Presidency is, perhaps, after all not quite so "benighted" as "they would fain believe." We have read it with great pleasure, and, testing it by our personal knowledge of some of the distinguished officials described, notably A. Seshia Shastri, we are satisfied that it is a fair and very moderate account of their services. The passion they all showed for material improvement and the success they all attained are very remarkable, and surely point to some uniformity of prac-

tical training characteristic of Madras Administration; because they were evidently the natural product of their education and surroundings. No one, for instance, who did not know Pudukota both before and after Seshia's administration as the writer did, could possibly realize the complete transformation he effected there in a few short years. When the writer was in charge of the State rather more than 20 years ago it seemed to be in an almost hopeless condition: it is now, thanks to Seshia, a veritable "Model State." It may be questioned if any Province in India in any half century could produce ten Natives of equal merit (in their several spheres) with Lakshminarasu Chetty C.S.I., C. V. Runganada Shastri, Sir T. Madava Rau K.C.S.I., V. Ramiengur C.S.I., A. Seshia Shastri C.S.I., C. V. Runga Charlu C.I.E., Sir T. Muttusami Aiyar K.C.I.E., Rai Bakadur T. Gopal Rau B.A., Rai Bahadur P. Runganada Mudaliar M.A., and Rai Bahadur Ramasami Mudaliar M.A., and B.L., seven of them Brahmins and only 3 of other castes, but all alike men of equally sterling integrity. Nor do these names by any means exhaust the list of Madras worthies quite fit to take their place beside men who were only more fortunate in the opportunities they had of distinguishing themselves. All indeed in their various spheres of usefulness were men worthy of admiration, and even ardent social reformers, though, alas, as the author observes, "how few among them have given a practical turn to their sympathies by boldly putting themselves forward as *examples* to other members of their community." Caste and custom are still too strong even for such noble spirits. The book seems carefully compiled on the whole, though there are a few curious passages. On p. 84, Runganada Shastri, that almost miraculous linguist, is said to have been "full 6 ft. high," and a few lines lower down he is described as "for a Hindu rather above the middle height." 6 ft. can hardly be called *rather* above the middle height for a Hindu; and, as far as I remember, he was far from 6 ft. though a man of considerable height (for a Hindu), and of a most dignified appearance. We cannot close without one word in honour of E. B. Powell C.S.I. to whom most of these men owed so much, and so gratefully acknowledged their indebtedness. P.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; 1896.

22. *Buddhism, its History and Literature*, by P. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D.; Ph.D.

This excellent work by one of our best Pâli scholars constitutes the first series of American Lectures on the History of Religions, instituted very much on the lines of the English Hibbert Lectures, by an Association of scholars formed in New York City on the 6th February, 1892.

Prof. Davids divides his subject into the following six lectures: (α) Religious Theories in India before Buddhism; (β) Authorities on which our knowledge of Buddhism is based; (γ) Notes on the life of the Buddha; (δ) The signs, the path and the fetters; (ε) The wheel of life and Arahatship; (ζ) Some notes on the history of Buddhism. Though there is not much that is really new in this volume, it may nevertheless be truly said to represent the highwater mark of Buddhist research. Perhaps

the most important points dealt with are the fact of the absolute independence of Buddhism of any theory of Jivâtman and Paramâtman or Îśvara and Purusha, as taught by the Vêdânta, which prevailed at the time of its rise, and the question of the relation of the Sankhya system to Buddha's teaching. In opposition to Prof. Garbe our author believes that the Buddha was almost wholly uninfluenced by the Sankhya philosophy as a system, though he admits that before Gotama's time there were isolated thinkers of whose words we have no trace, who elaborated views similar to those out of which the Sankhya was eventually developed. The question of Authorities is one with which Prof. Davids is peculiarly fitted to deal, and we accordingly find the most complete list of Pitakas and Suttas with their commentaries that has yet appeared either in Europe or America.

All students of Eastern thought and faith would do well to add to their library this useful and interesting book.

MESSRS. SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; FETTER LANE, LONDON.

23. *A Turkish Grammar*, by the REV. A. TIEN, Ph.D. For teaching Turkish Dr. Tien adopts a new system combining general rules with phraseological exercises. This is, indeed, the best and the easiest system for learning Turkish in a practical manner and we, accordingly, cordially recommend this Grammar to the Student and the Teacher. A few phrases and examples, however, which Dr. Tien inserts in his book are, unfortunately, incorrect and others are old fashioned; for instance, on page 34 he says *alti kerré yüz bin* (six times a hundred thousand); the correct Turkish is simply (*alti yüz bin* = 600,000). Again on page 117 *param yoghusa idi* is explained to mean: "if I had no money"; this is not exact or elegant; the correct translation of "if I had no money" is "*eyer param olmasa idi.*"

There are other deviations from modern Turkish style and rules in Dr. A. Tien's book, but, in spite of these failings, we consider it to be the best of existing Grammars of that language in English.

24. *Cocoa– all about it*, by HISTORICUS. The cacao-nut from which cocoa and chocolate are made now is found in both Hemispheres. Since the days of Montezuma and probably long before, cacao was at home in the West Indies. A recent effort is its naturalization in Ceylon, where some of the very best cocoa is now grown. Trinidad cacao is much prized in the market, yet here the native producer is dependent upon the mechanical processes of Europe to convert the simple bean into the wholesome cocoa or the dainty chocolate; Trinidad beans find their way back as English chocolate. To the Spaniards, and the Jesuit missionaries, credit is due for the manner in which they fostered the growth of cacao. Foaming chocolate seems to have been the "champagne" of Montezuma's Court, and as the bounteous sustainer of hard-travelled men, the indispensable adjunct to his well-being and enjoyment. Creole ladies, gold-decked, and jewel-bedizened, drank the precious draught in Church, much to their own diversion and to the chagrin of the officiating Priest. At one period the cacao-nut was the current coin of the realm. As befits so excellent a product, it requires the exercise of great care alike in the choice

of soil, protection from immoderate sunshine, and from monkeys, squirrels, parrots and other denizens of the woodlands that affect the tempting nut. In Trinidad and elsewhere, a plant known as "The Mother of the Cacao" (Erythrina umbrosa) is cultivated as a sunshade for the delicate plant.

As the plant grows it is at first green; when it ripens it puts on a yellow and red tint: no more beautiful sight of the kind is to be seen than a plantation in full bloom. Indeed, inasmuch as the cacao-tree is at one and the same time in various stages of ripeness, the sight is one to be seen in order to be appreciated. Spring, summer, autumn and winter are all represented at one and the same time upon the same tree.

The Volume is admirably and profusely illustrated in explanation of all these points. It is a well-compiled standard work on the subject, is full of curious and rare information, and is, finally, a handsomely got-up book for the drawing-room table. "Historicus" has given us details of the modern appliances by which the rude nut is prepared for table use. Free from injurious or doubtful ingredients such cocoa and chocolate may well advance in public estimation, giving as they do a welcome change from the ever-recurring coffee and tea. In all its forms cocoa is most nourishing, and has the repute of repairing the exhausted tissues.

MESSRS. SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON.

25. *Johannesburg in Arms*, 1895-96, by C. J. THOMAS, 1896, is a small work but of deep interest, because it records the scenes witnessed, the words heard, and the feelings shown at Johannesburg by a casual visitor, stopped *en route*, at the time of the eventful "raid." It is graphic and clear, impartial and sound; and it certainly shows several points in a new light—notably the use made of the Jameson prisoners for extorting abject surrender from Johannesburg, for which purpose Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir J. de Wet both lent themselves as docile tools to the policy of President Kruger. Yet more clear becomes the utter want of organization. cohesion, unity and, we may add, pluck in the inhabitants of that town; and we confess to a savage pleasure at finding these unmanly men at last disarmed and at the mercy of the Boers, with only the weak arm of the Colonial Office to avert whatever the Boers may decide to inflict on them. The book well repays perusal, and all the more because the author has been careful to give only the impressions of the moment, and has not attempted to supplement them with subsequent information.

MR. E. STANFORD; COCKSPUR STREET, LONDON, S.W.

26. *Asia, Vol I., Northern and Eastern Asia*, by A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S. 1896, is a new issue of this well known geographical publisher's *Compendium, of Geography and Travel*, with numerous maps and illustrations. The second volume will deal with the rest of Asia—Southern and Western. Mr. Keane justly draws attention to the fact that the few years which have passed since the first issue of the work in one volume have seen so many changes and collected so much new information, that much of it naturally had to be re-written, and much more supplemented. The recent activity

of travellers—whether adventurous individuals, or so-called scientific and other missions,—has examined, surveyed and described many places and people till lately quite unknown or only inadequately dealt with ; and concurrently with the advance of such knowledge, the political conditions of Northern and Eastern Asia have become vastly changed. The steady advance and undisguised projects of Russia, the utter collapse and helplessness of China, the fierce rush and sudden halt of Japan, have changed the former aspects of Political Geography, aided by England's inability to have any definite policy regarding her unfriendly neighbours on her Indian North and East frontiers. Mr. Keane subdivides this book into 6 chapters, each one under 11 systematic heads, under which he deals with North and East Asia in general, then separately with Caucasia, Russian Turkestan, Siberia, the Chinese Empire and Japan. The eleven heads are exhaustive ; and our author deals with his subject in a plain yet flowing style, devoid of dryness or formality. His descriptions are pleasant,—his illustrations varied and good,—his information, collected from all the most recent books, correct and brought down to the first months of this current year. The maps are 8, clear and accurate. Altogether we have a really good and useful book, on the production of which we may compliment both the author and the publisher, and which we can recommend to our readers, who, like ourselves, will be glad to see it completed by the speedy issue of its concluding volume.

MESSRS. SWAN SONNENSCHEIN AND CO. ; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, 1896.

27. *The Indian Calendar with tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. dates and vice versâ*, by ROBERT SEWELL, late I.C.S. and SANKARA BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT of Poona. With Tables of Eclipses visible in India by DR. ROBERT SCHRAM of Vienna.

A most useful volume to every official, scholar or merchant who is connected with the East. It is difficult to apportion the praise between the learned and practical authors and the enterprising publishers, who have enriched Oriental research with a contribution without which the puzzle as to dates often renders enquiries contradictory or fruitless. Thus, for instance, we have in Sir W. Muir's admirable "Rise and Fall of the Khalifate," one date for its assumption by the Ottoman Sultan ; in Turkish Chronicles another and in ordinary universal histories a third, each being connected with some historical event that has a considerable bearing on these pretensions. But even in ordinary business transactions in India, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and other countries it is well to know the exact local lunar or other dates in correspondence with ours. Again, to Hindus and Muhammadans in England, the tables of this master compilation would be of great service. This year, for instance, some of these youths, under the guidance of an ignorant Turkish Imám, celebrated the I'd-ul-Fitr, a day before it was due and so committed the sin of finishing the Ramazán fast a day before its proper date—whilst they celebrated the last I'd-uz-Zuhá or Abraham's Sacrifice, the Muhammadan equivalent of the Christian atonement—one day later ; in other words they celebrated their "Good Friday" not on the Friday. The *magnum opus* before us deserves, and we hope, will

receive, a far more ample review than we are now giving it, but if Authors or Publishers will send us important works just as we are going to Press, they must excuse us, if we are either unable to give them full justice or are obliged to postpone their examination for another quarter.

For the same reason we can only acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a big descriptive work, "*The List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*," as also a "*Statistical Atlas of India*," which the Bengal Government have only just sent us. Both these volumes are of exceeding interest to ourselves and to our readers, but it is not possible now to say more about them than that they are worthy of the Government under whose auspices they have been produced. We trust to be able to review them as they deserve in an early issue.

MESSRS. THACKER AND CO.: CALCUTTA, BOMBAY AND 87 NEWGATE STREET, LONDON.

(LONDON: A. CONSTABLE AND CO.)

28. *The Literature of Bengal*, by ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., revised edition, with portraits; 1895, supplies a want which many must have felt. It gives a good sketch of the origin and progress of literature in the Bengali language, from its earliest years to the present time, with a sketch of the vicissitudes of the language and biographical notices, of varying lengths, of the principal writers in prose and verse. The translation of the Sanskrit epics, lyrical composers, prose writers, dramatic authors, novelists —all are noticed, and a continuous history is thus given of Bengali literature. Living authors and their works—for there is much literary activity in Bengal—the Babu Sahib judiciously excludes from his plan; but he comes down to 1894, and has a sketch of the late Babu Banhim Chandra Chatterji and his charming novels. Specimens of Bengali style are given in footnotes; and though there is occasionally a digression on persons and things not quite essential to the subject, that subject is treated with a thoroughness and knowledge and a simplicity of narration, which makes it very pleasant reading. It is enjoyable even by those who are not acquainted with Bengali as dealing with one of the most important tongues of India.

29. *The Poverty Problem in India*, by PRITHOVIS CHANDRA RAY; 1895. Our author undertakes a difficult though laudable task—to discover the causes of the poverty in India, and the remedies for the evil. He has collected much important information on the subject and his treatment of it shows much thought and a good command of English. He is not however very successful in his task, from want of accurate judgment and systematic order. Grinding poverty is the lot of the majority of mankind, almost all the world over; its causes are innate in human nature; it is not worse in India than in many another country; and if many cures for the evil can be pointed out for India, so they can elsewhere, but they remain outside practical possibility. Our authors views are peculiar. Exports for instance are a pure evil; an octroi duty is protection in its worst form; *parwaresh* is an excellent thing; and a well-paid Civil Service the "ne plus ultra" of evil. It is a pity he and his do not occasionally feel the system of "squeeze" of some countries, the *lugar* and *chowth* of not so long ago

in India; and the arbitrary fines, seizures and confiscations of previous governments, involving the ruin of families: a few cases of "zan, bacha brohlu men pilwa dra" would make these gentlemen sing a very different song. In this part of the work,—the showing up of evil and contrasting the present in India with the past and with conditions elsewhere, there is much exaggeration, childish reason, and absurdity of detail, as, e.g. the loss in wheat from weevils. But towards the end, he deals with some suggestions for improving the social and economic position of the country, which, as is not uncommon with Eastern writers, he treats without system or order. The management of arts and industries, transmigration from congested districts, better technical education of the people, and above all the investment of Indian Capital in its own development and the employment of the energies of her own sons in promoting improvements by act and example are all excellent and much needed things. Yet everything is the fault of the foreign Government. It is easy to abuse it and thus find many readers. But why not address the Indians themselves in their own language and urge them to produce their hoards, to take an interest in their country, to abandon idle ease for active work, and thus begin the necessary reforms? Why swear, for instance, at the enormous import of umbrellas, when half a dozen well to do Indians cannot be persuaded to form a company for manufacturing them locally: so with matches,—paper,—glass, pottery. No: they await a little "*purwustie*," and meanwhile upbraid every one except themselves. The subject is too vast and too dear to every one who has lived in India and got to love it and its people, to be dealt with in my limits. Hence here I can only recommend my readers to peruse this book carefully, to balance it judicially, and to discriminate critically amid its contents what is true and right from what is exaggerated, inaccurate and wrong. We should all be well grounded in this subject and view it from various points, to be able to add our efforts for the removal of evils and the development of good.

30. *A Directory of the Chief Industries of India, with two maps*; 1896. Under 41 heads—one being "Miscellaneous," this slender but valuable pamphlet gives the fullest details of the leading Industries of India and of the Tea and other gardens of Ceylon. Not a plantation, factory, "concern" or mine is omitted: all are briefly noticed. Of the two maps, one gives the Tea areas, and the other the Coal and Iron. Perhaps the most disappointing item for the future of India is the comparatively small area and the very restricted quantities in which coal is found; and one may well feel surprised why more prospecting has not been done in this line. Experts have expressed doubts—from geological considerations,—whether much coal will be eventually discovered in India; still it has been found where least expected; and it would seem worth while experimenting all over the country for this all-important mineral. The little book, necessarily very dry reading, is invaluable to the student of Indian finance and political economy.

31. *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, N. W. P. and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June*, 1895 (the Thomason College Press; Roorkee, India), consists of two parts,—the first, just over 2 pages,

giving Dr. Führer's report mentioning want of funds and the discovery of the new Asoka pillar in the Nepal Terai; the 2nd by Mr. E. W. Smith, the Architectural Surveyor, details work done in that department and preparations for the publication of important books, in the issue of which, however, we notice there is often much delay.

32. *A Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, by SIR ROLAND K. WILSON, BART., etc. Although we maintain that no one, who is not acquainted with Arabic and the law texts in that language, can thoroughly know, much less teach, Muhammadan Law, yet we recommend Sir R. Wilson's book most cordially to all Civilians and Indian Lawyers as also to the academical Student of the subject. Only those who have tried to wade through Hamilton's Hidáya or Matthew's Mishqát, even with the guiding thread of Macnaghten's questions, can "realize" the obligation under which learners and teachers alike are to Sir R. Wilson for his intelligible Digest. "Neither labour nor space has been spared to render the Index and other aids to prompt reference as complete as possible." In citing cases, dates have been given, thus avoiding the mistake of Stokes and Phillips of merely referring to them. Sir R. Wilson is quite right in his avoidance of Orientalisms in a practical book for Judges and Pleaders and he hits the nail on the head when he warns against the interpretations put on the Arabic texts by certain Muhammadan reformers, but we regret with him that Mussulman India should have fallen so low as to absolutely require for guidance in its own law an Englishman, though he be a man of the sympathy and learning of Sir Roland. There are no worse enemies to Islám and to India than the anglicised Muslims who seek to adapt their misconceptions of modern doctrines to the interpretation of their ancient law and religion, and we maintain that a knowledge of Arabic is a *sine quâ non* in contested points of that Law, even as administered by us in India. "Digests of Muhammadan Law," written in ignorance of Arabic can only be tolerated as a *pis-aller*, though they cannot lead to such absurdities as have characterized the decisions on Hindu Law by Judges unacquainted with Sanscrit and the Hindu texts. This is one of the reasons why we cannot get Bühler's "Manu" reviewed by any of our Judges, for it would show how wrong were the decisions even of those who wrote "Digests of Hindu Law."

T. FISHER UNWIN, PATERNOSTER SQUARE; 1896.

33. *In the Kingdom of the Shah*, by E. TREACHER COLLINS. Considering his lights and want of linguistic knowledge, Dr. Collins has written a very readable book on Persia, which Messrs. Unwin have got up entremely well. Dr. Collins gives us as revelations accounts of the well-known sweet meat *Halwa*, of the swift-footed *Sais*, of the safe *Kajawas*, and of other things Oriental, that are commonplaces to the Anglo-Indian or to the tourist in the East. We have "Fàith" Ali Shah, for "Fathe" in more places than one, so it cannot be a typographical error. Nor is Dr. Collins very liberal with "Bakshish," though, as a rule, he takes a genial view of Persian weaknesses. The illustrations of men, women, and places, as also of works of industrial art, are very good and, on the whole, the book comes in very opportunely for all those who do not care to look much below the surface

of things, at a time when Persia is attracting attention. Of course, on his own speciality, eye-disease, he speaks with authority and his accounts of his native brother-doctors, the Hakîms of Persia, is as interesting as it is, on the whole, benevolent. His tribute to Mr. and Mrs. Ney Elias for their influence in consequence of their knowledge of native languages and feelings is graceful and deserved.

MR. EFFINGHAM WILSON; 11 ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.

34. *A sketch of the Currency question*, by CLIVE CUTHBERTSON, B.A. The ever growing literature on this much discussed question tends to much repetition, as there is really little new on either side to say. Our author undertakes to give the arguments on both sides with the replies on both sides too. He recapitulates the chief of their arguments—states them briefly and clearly, and on the whole impartially. His own leaning is towards Monometallism. We miss an explanation why the enormous increase of late years in gold-production has not depreciated that metal; also a comparison of the production of the two precious metals. Occasionally we get an indirect glimpse of the real difficulty: "it would find very few adherents in the City of London," p. 81; occasionally, though an Indian official, he falls into errors regarding India, as, p. 92, that the object of closing the Indian mints must have been to restrict the number of Rupees in circulation, when it really was to prevent India from becoming the sink of the depreciated silver of the world; at p. 93, he errs about opium, excise and stamps, &c. As he himself tends to Monometallism, we find that side naturally get the best of the discussion. But he explains the first principles of the question, deals with them in order and impartially; has important quotations on both sides; and in general gives us, within a hundred pages a great deal of important, if not new, information on a subject which still continues, after many years' discussion, to divide the opinions of clever statesmen and of specialists in financial matters.

WAY AND WILLIAMS; CHICAGO.

35. *From Cairo to the Soudan Frontier*, by H. D. TRAILL. This little and well-got-up book is "Telegraphese," bursting with universal and special knowledge, compressed in a leading article or two, then enlarged into a volume. Of its few grains of information, set into labyrinths of words, "Twirling to Paradise" describes the well-known dancing Dervishes of Cairo in all, except the dance itself, into which comparisons with Mabille, the Halleluja lasses and Millet's Angelus are dragged. "Some of these wild-eyed, neurotic, semi-imbecile creatures belong to a type which is familiar all over the world"; "their cervical column seems to have such a peculiar pliancy as to create the agreeable illusion that their heads which they wag from side to side with a looseness that puts to shame the fore and aft mutations of the porcelain mandarins are about to part company with their bodies." *Ab uno disce omnes.* One does not need to travel "From Cairo to the Soudan Frontier" in order to be able to give the above information, which is, perhaps, the gem of the book.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE regret that we are obliged to postpone the consideration of the following works to our next issue. They are: the very interesting Zululand story "*the Vigil*," by C. MONTAGUE (A. Constable and Co.); BAEDEKER'S admirable guide to *Austria-Hungary* which would not fall within our scope, were Bosnia and the Herzegovina not the only Oriental countries left in Europe, in which ancient customs still survive in their integrity and were the Austrian management of Muhammadans not a model to other Governments that have Mussalman subjects; T. A. GOLDING'S "*Federation and Empire*" (H. Henry and Co.), which does much towards a true knowledge of these important questions; and the 5th volume of Dr. SCHLICH'S monumental series called "*Manual of Forestry*" (Bradbury, Agnew and Co.) on the principle of the German scholar calling his 20th volume "Fragments of an Enquiry"; the curious "*discussions on the Gipsies, John Bunyan and Mrs. Carlyle*," by J. SIMSON (E. O. Jenkins' Son, New York); the funny "*Chronicles of an Eminent Fossil*,' by W. DUTTON BURRARD (T. Fisher Unwin); an admirable *Catalogue raisonné* (Part V.) of the *Sanscrit Manuscripts* in the library of the India Office (printed by order) and containing specially valuable entries under "Medicine, Astronomy and Mathematics"; the voluminous and extremely well-compiled *Report of the Tenth International Geographical Congress* which was held with such success in London in 1895 (John Murray, London); another of the Guild Text-Books: "*The Presbyterian Churches*, by the Rev. J. N. OGILVIE (A. C. Black, London); *Siberian Echoes*, by THEODORE CORRIE; *Studies in Judaism*, by S. SCHECHTER (Adam and Charles Black, London), a most important work, as is also *Queen Móo and the Egyptian Sphynx* (Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1896) in which Dr. A. Le Plongeon M.D. seeks to refute Dr. Brinton.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt also of: 1. *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—2. *Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meridien, Conn., U.S.A.);—3. *Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome: A. Beffani);—4. *La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—5. *The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—6. *Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—7. *Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—8. The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—9. *Public Opinion*, (London);—10. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—11. *Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—12. *The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—13. *The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—14. *Comptes Rendus de la Société de Géographie*, (Paris);—15. *The Moslem World* (New York);—16. *Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—17. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—18. *The Strand Magazine*;—19. *The Art Bible*, Pt. 11;—20. *Round London*;—21. *The Strand Musical Magazine*;—22. *Woman's Life*;—23. *The Navy and Army illustrated*;—the last 6 from Geo. Newnes and Co., London.

We have received from Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, the following works which we propose to review in our next number: "*Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des Vedischen Yama*," by *J. Ehni*; *Gurupūjākaumudi*, a collection of Monograms on Oriental subjects, by different Orientalists; "*Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen*," by Dr. W. Grube, and *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's*.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—The overland trade of India, from April to Decr. 1895 amounts to Rs. 55,000,000, an increase of 2½ million Rs. on the previous year and of 10 million Rs. on the year 1893. The Cash balance at the Treasuries on Feb. 29, 1896 was Rs. 147,012,000.

A great fire occurred in the Bombay Army and Navy Stores with damage amounting to Rs. 1,200,000.

The Indian Medical Services of the three Presidencies have been amalgamated into one service from the first of April, the present officers retaining their rank, pay, etc., but all being under the direct administrative control of the Government of India.

On the 31st March last there were in round numbers 19,000 miles of railway open for traffic in India which had cost some 237 crores of rupees. In 1894 their gross earnings were Rs. 255,088,564, the working expenses were Rs. 119,839,200, while the nett earnings, amounting to Rs. 135,249,364 showed an increase of Rs. 7,921,955 as compared with the receipts of the previous year. The statistical return on the Capital Expenditure was 5·69 per cent. against 5·46 per cent. the previous year. The passengers carried were 145,727,097, an increase of 10,206,650 bringing an income of Rs. 75,758,285. The aggregate tonnage of goods, live stock, and material carried was 32,643,764 tons earning Rs. 162,481,742.

For doubling the East Bangalore State Railway from Ranaghat to Poradaba the sum of Rs. 2,733,000 has been granted.

It was officially announced on March 9 that the *Council Drafts* for 1896-7 would be £16,500,000 (for 1895-6 it was to have been £17,000,000); but in 1895-6 more than £17,000,000 were sold; hence in 1896-7 it should be less than £16,500,000. The Budget however announces that the sum will be £18,300,000 thereby causing a drop of $\frac{3}{16}$ of a penny in exchange rates at Calcutta.

The Kotri-Rohri Ry. was finished at the end of March, but the entire length from Kotri to Sukkur will not be open to the public before the end of the year. The whole line is well outside the flood radius of the Indus.

For 1894-5 the volume of Indian trade amounted to £797,260,000 against £923,820,000 in 1893-4 and £909,540,000 in 1890-1; a decline chiefly in silver and gold.

In April a water famine was threatened in Bengal and the outlook was serious—all the more so that cholera raged in the District. Later rains however have replenished the wells and reduced the epidemic. The surplus of this Province was Rs. 5,550,000, and of the Central Provinces Rs. 177,000.

The call for subscriptions to the New Indian Government 2½% loan for £2,400,000 was answered by tenders for over £6,000,000. The highest was £104 1s. 6d.—the average being £103 0s. 6d.—one authority says £103 6s. 0d.

From Madras comes the tidings that the Periyar waterworks scheme is a failure, owing to a serious leakage somewhere in the great reservoir.

Already large owners are filing suits against the Madras Government for not supplying water for irrigation.

In the N.W. Provinces Rs. 203,000 had been expended on relief works, and Rs. 30,000 have been given gratuitously to those in need, but these are mere drops to the sums that have since been required. Over 130,000 persons have been employed on these works and their number is daily growing.

The Chitrál Expedition had cost during the year 173½ lakhs—but for this outlay the military expenditure would have been 79 lakhs below the estimates. Any reduction of the estimates for the ensuing year was strongly deprecated. More British officers for the native regiments were needed.

Serious differences have arisen between Thibet and Nepal. The Thibetans, it is alleged, removed the boundary pillars erected by the English and Chinese Commissioners to the great irritation of the Goorkhas. The murder of some Goorkhas followed. In consequence, an ultimatum has been sent to Lhasa, the Nepalese Government being determined not only to obtain redress for past misdemeanours but also a guarantee for good conduct in the future.

In the Dutch East Indies a native attack on Tjot Goe was repulsed without loss on the Dutch side. Toekoe Djohan, the native chief, asserts that Dutch officials offended his people. He has surrounded Oleh-leh with 2,000 natives. The conflict between the Dutch and the Achinese in Sumatra is looked upon in Holland as a weighty matter.

The first consignment of mulberry silk from Kashmir has been sold in London this year. It surpasses the silk of Bengal, and with a few improvements in reeling etc. is said to be likely to compete closely with the best Italian article.

Sir Edwin Arnold in his book "East and West" still asserts his plea for the restoration of the "Buddha-Gya" or Temple of the Tree, at Gaya, as a Buddhist College. The Law Courts have disposed of the claims of Messrs. Dharmpala and Co. to any interference with the Hindu Mahant, whose guardianship of the Buddhist shrine has been shown to be all that can be desired.

A memorial has just been submitted to the Secretary of State for India by the Indian Parliamentary Committee praying for a further revision of the duties on cotton goods.

A dreadful account is given by one of the London Papers of the S.S. Clive which recently brought troops and invalids from India, showing great carelessness on the part of the responsible authorities.

Last year's Indian Salt Revenue reached the sum of Rs. 83,121,000 duty upon 34,590,000 mounds. Of these Bengal paid Rs. 26,037,000; Northern India, Rs. 17,335,000; Madras, Rs. 20,686,000; Bombay, Rs. 16,944,000; Sind, Rs. 655,000; Burma, Rs. 1,464,000.

Owing to the Tungani disturbances, no Chinese black tea is arriving in Urumtsi, and the price has risen to nine rupees a brick (about 5 lbs.). Kangra tea consequently is in great demand and is selling at 1 rupee per lb.

On May 10th the Roman Catholics of Madras consecrated a magnificent new Cathedral at St. Thomé.

The work on the East Coast Railway is making good progress; the party is now only 10 miles from Cuttack, and the earthwork is being proceeded with on the Intri Pieri Section.

The Bombay Parsees have made a grateful demonstration in memory of the late Shah. A large meeting was held in the Hall of Mr. Wadiaji's fire-temple, under the auspices of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Society, Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Bart. presiding. The Shah had repealed the jujia poll-tax which pressed heavily on the Parsees, and removed many minor burdens, whilst to their co-religionists in Persia His Imperial Highness had caused justice to be administered with an even hand

The spring harvest in the Punjab has been an average one in the irrigated districts, but elsewhere it is far from good. Prices of food-grain continue high all through the province.

The production of coal in India last year was 3,055,500 tons, whilst in 1894 2,810,652 tons, and in 1893 1,284,221 tons.

The exports of coffee from Brit. India (1894-5) amounted to 281,297 cwt. of the value of Rx. 2,122,373, the highest value reached for 10 years. Of rice the total export was in 1894-5, 33,722,000 cwt. (husked) of the value of Rx. 13,692,095—of which $\frac{2}{3}$ came from Burmah. The exports of wheat have been steadily declining since 1891-2. In 1891-2 they were 30,303,425 cwt.; 1892-3, 14,973,453 cwt.; 1893-4, 12,156,551 cwt.; 1894-5, 6,887,791 cwt. The enormous shipment in 1891-2 was caused by the failure of Russian and European crops generally. *Per contrâ* the export of Tea to the United Kingdom has increased to the loss of Chinese growers—indeed in 1895 India sent to our shores three lbs. of tea to every lb. shipped from China.

The United Kingdom takes a smaller share of India's cotton produce year by year.

The S.S. Bullmouth, the first of a fleet of Tank Steamers, recently arrived in Bombay Harbour with a full cargo of Kerosene oil consigned to the Bulk Oil Installation Co.—its cargo amounted to 1,400,000 gallons of Russian oil from Batoum. Much of this is intended to be conveyed up-country.

The Chinchona plantations of Madras are affording a better yield than for many years—on some estates double that of former returns. This is largely due to trenching, etc.

The KARACHI harbour has had its deep-water space increased by dredging, etc., to the extent of 6,700,000 cubic feet. At the entrance there is now a navigable channel of not less than 24½ feet at low water springs. The entrance has also been broadened some 136 feet.

UPPER BURMAH puts in her claim to be a coal-producer, the precious mineral being close to the surface.

The trade of Burmah for the year ending March 31st, 1896, shows an increase of imports by sea of 25 per cent.—viz. 866 lakhs in the year 1894-5 and 1091 lakhs in year 1895-6. The exports also slightly increased. A conference of officials has been called in the behalf of the taungya culti-

vators, sufferers by the reservation of the cutch-tree. The taungya system has been practised for centuries, albeit it is destructive to trees. Papers relating to the Indian Tariff and Cotton Duties Acts, passed by the Council of India, have just been issued.

A riot occurred on May 25 at Tittaghur which might but for prompt intervention have been serious in its results. The Mahomedan workers at the Standard Jute Mill wished to sacrifice a cow for the Bakrid festival in full view of the Hindu workers at the Tittaghur Paper Mill. Fifteen persons were injured in the mêlée. A detachment of the 8th Madras infantry was stationed at the mill to prevent a recurrence of the disturbance.

For more than a week in the month of May the peak of Kinchinjunga was visible from Darjeeling.

A scheme is under consideration in India to alter the rules for the election of members in the Bengal Legislative Council by district Boards.

THE NATIVE STATES.—The Travancore Government has sanctioned liberal grants in aid to private medical establishments, which are under the care of competent medical men.

Major Ragunathsingh, the brother-in-law of the Maharajah of Cashmere, who has just been created a Rajah, has been installed in his own territory in the Kangra valley.

The Hon. Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar C.I.E. has been appointed Dewan of Baroda on a salary of Rs. 4,000 p.m.

The Maharajah of Jeypore by reason, it is to be presumed, of the high appreciation expressed by the Indian Government of the services rendered by his Transport Corps during the Chitrál campaign, has determined to increase it by 100 carts and 200 ponies. Until recently Europeans were not allowed to acquire land in the dominions of the Nizam of Haidarabad. Through the influence of Mr. Plowden, the British Resident, this has now been altered and it is anticipated that British factories supported by British capital will soon spring up in that territory.

AFGHANISTAN. — The extension of the Russian Railway to Kushk exposes Herat to a *coup de main* on the one side, whilst that from Charjui to Kerki opens out Afghan Turkistan to Russian invasion. It has already been shown in this Review that thence to Kabul is an easy road. This move on the part of Russia has been avowedly taken in order to counteract the effect of the annexation of Kafiristan, against the Northern portion of which a campaign is still in progress. The treatment of the surviving Kafirs, both deported and left in their homes, has become more lenient in consequence rather of the farsightedness of the Amir, who wishes to enlist them as a faithful bodyguard, than of the representations made by philanthropic bodies in this country. The defence of India is now more than ever connected with the attitude of the Amir.

CEYLON.—An experiment is about to be made in rearing sheep in Ceylon. The Colonial Government has offered a lease of 2,000 acres of land, on which the attempt may be made with 1,000 mixed sheep.

Orange cultivation is also to be tried—50 acres being allotted to the experiment.

The impression that there is danger of an over-production of coffee

appears to be vain. In 15 to 18 years the export of coffee from Ceylon fell from 1,100,000 cwt. to 50,000 cwt., that of South India from 450,000 cwt. to 240,000, and that of the West Indies from 150,000 to 80,000, and although Brazilian productions have largely increased prices continue high.

Some native Buddhist gentlemen of Panadura, in Ceylon, are about to establish a Seminary for Buddhist priests, to teach them European languages, and send them over to Europe as missionaries to preach the Creed of Buddha.

As regards the recent contention between Mr. Justice Clarence, late of the Ceylon Supreme Court, and Sir Bruce Burnside, touching the value of trial by jury in Ceylon, an article in this issue by Mr. Justice Berwick may throw some light on "British rule" in the island.

The export of tea from Ceylon in 1873 was just 23 lbs., while the official estimate of the export for 1896 is 102,000,000 lbs.

The appointment of Postmaster-General and Director-General of Telegraphs in Ceylon has been given to Mr. Charles E. W. Pennycuick, chairman of the Municipal Council and Mayor of Colombo.

Mr. Joseph Grenier has been appointed Additional District Judge in Colombo.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The Governor of Hong Kong reports that 75 fresh cases of bubonic plague occurred in the Colony during the week ending April 26.

Upon his return to Hong Kong from a holiday in Europe the Hon. T. H. Whitehead was welcomed warmly by the chief inhabitants of the Colony which is agitating for freer municipal government.

Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., is the new Resident-General of the Protected Malay States, and administers its affairs from the Straits Settlements when he assumes his new duties.

In view of the increase of work it is probable that a fourth Judge may soon be appointed for the Straits Settlements.

The Postmaster-General of the Straits Settlements, in his last report, urgently advocates reform in the department to bring it to the highest state of efficiency, by constituting its clerical staff a separate service and by increasing the pay of the officials.

An old official of the Straits Service—Mr. F. O. Hendocks, chief clerk of the Public Works Department at Singapore, is retiring after 30 years of active service.

The amount to be paid by the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong this year as their military contribution is fixed as follows: Straits Settlements, 685,000 dols.; Hong Kong, 388,000 dols.

JAPAN.—On the first day of February Japan registers 571,607 silk-spindles in 51 mills, employing 10,140 males, and 32,122 females, and turning out 1,552,200 *Kwammé* (between 8 lbs. and 9 lbs.).

The Medical Director-General (Surgeon-General Ishigun) has issued an official statement upon the sickness and casualties of troops on active service from June 6, 1894, to December 31, 1895. Total losses: In Korea, 22,329; in China, 88,729; in Formosa and the Pescadores, 53,984—165,042. Fatal cases in all, 10,713.

Parliament having received the Government Balance-sheet for 1893, found the revenue to be well in excess of the expenditure:

Revenue	...	...	113,769,380 yen.
Expenditure	...	...	84,581,871 yen.

The Budget finally approved by Parliament shows a revenue under the headings of ordinary and extraordinary, of the sum of 197,197,712,102 yen, and an expenditure of 193,425,716,515 yen. Straw-braid was exported last year to the amount of 1½ million yen.

In January of the present year the output from the nine Japanese paper-mills was 3,265,647 lbs. The total value of matting exports from Japan to the States was in 1895, 3,461,369 yen.

During the next 10 years the new military system of Japan is calculated to give an increase to the Reserve of more than half a million men. The present total strength is practically 3½ million men.

The increase in quantity of exported silk to Europe and the States from Yokohama is about 6 %, but in value 15 % on the totals of the previous year. When the season closes in June, 1896, the sum total of the year's production is expected to reach the enormous quantity of 69,000 piculs. Japanese dealers ask a high price for these goods, and therefore stocks are heavy—a depressing prospect to the producer, and indeed all around.

A curious though interesting statement for which Dr. Miyalle is responsible, is that ladies in the West weigh on an average 130 lbs., while ladies in Japan average only 108⅓ lbs.

Sets of gold cups have been presented by the Emperor to the Privy Councillors and some dozen distinguished Peers and officers for their special services in the late war.

The Parcel-Post is being rapidly developed; 700 new offices are to be opened in July and the same number in October.

The annual output of watches has reached the total of 240,000.

Wholesale arrests of foreign compradores in the camphor districts of Formosa have been made, but, as far as appears, only those Chinese who totally disregarded the camphor regulation were seized. These did not choose to supply the Japanese authorities with their title to carry on the trade, and thus fell under a ban.

From those who ought to know, there comes the assurance that the bases of an understanding have been arranged between Russia and Japan with regard to the Corean question.

The department of Agriculture is bent on improving the breed of horses for military purposes. Early in the 16th century Italians and Portuguese imported Arab horses. The Vice-Minister would still import Arabs, and English horses—and those from Australia and New Zealand.

The Japan Society of London has published the first volume of two, containing the translation of the Nihongi, or the Chronicles of Japan from Prehistoric Times to A.D. 697. Japan, named not without some prophetic foresight "The Great Britain of the East," is out-Heroding Herod in markets by prescriptive right our own. She can turn out bicycles with a profit at £8, clocks for 2/6, matches at 8½ the gross. Not content with pandering to our

own love of novelty at home Japan bids fair to oust us from our Eastern markets as well.

The second instalment of China's indemnity was paid on May 8th at the Bank of England to the representative of the Japanese Minister.

At about the same date (May 12) a treaty of commerce and navigation between Germany and Japan together with a Consular Convention, was laid on the table of the Imperial Diet in Berlin.

The ninth session of the Japanese Parlt. closed on the 28th March—extending over a period of 92 days or 2 days more than the regulation term. Eighty-eight law Bills passed both Houses, 35 Govt. financial bills were passed, 20 measures proposed in the Upper House, and 3 Bills and 25 Memorials conceived by the Lower House.

A remarkable evidence of the incroaches of Western modes and civilization is the fact of the cycle-trade in Japan. In Tokyo alone there are thousands of cyclists, and many of them ride their own home-made machines.

A fearful earthquake accompanied by a tidal wave has occurred in the Northern Province. Almost the whole of the town of Kamaishi has been destroyed and 1,000 lives are said to have been lost in the earthquake. 10,000 more are said to have perished in the tidal wave. No less than 150 shocks are said to have taken place during the seismic disturbance which lasted 20 hours.

The Japanese Revenue in 1895-6 was £9,750,000, and in 1896-7 is estimated at £15,000,000, the expenditure being respectively £9,600,000 and £16,460,000. For the establishment of an Iron Foundry 1 million dollars has been voted. The total cost of the war up to the end of the last financial year was 225 million dollars: the national debt is £56,415,141, which it is intended to redeem in 38 years.

KOREA.—All Japanese holding office in the Korean Government resigned some weeks ago.

The loan which Korea was negotiating with Russia for $8,000,000 was to be secured by the Province Ham-gyeng—Korea stood in need of men as well as money—troops to guard the King, instructors and advisers, both civil and military.

As a result of the war taxes were increased 50%, all necessaries of life have advanced 30% to 50% and wages have increased in the same proportion. With the independence of Korea, Japan has been ousted by Russia from the position she held. At least 100,000 Russian soldiers find themselves almost within striking distance of Japan.

The Railway from Chemulpo to Seoul is to be constructed by the Americans.

CHINA.—Under pressure brought to bear upon them by the French, the Chinese authorities have given orders for the construction of a railway northwards from Lung-chan. Thereby the French propose to neutralize the advantages expected to be obtained by the English from the opening of the West River—by directing traffic towards Tongking. An Imperial Edict was issued extending Customs Post Office Department and establishing Imperial National Post Service under Sir Robert Hart, as Customs and Post-Inspector-General.

Report states that the Prefect of Wu-chan has ceased to obstruct the direct trade of Canton.

The Provincial Judge Hu has been appointed Director-General to construct 80 miles of Railway from Tientsin to Pekin, estimated cost Tls. 2,400,000 to be supplied by the Board of Revenue.

The Customs returns for 1895 give Nett Imports, 171,696,715 Taels; Exports, 143,293,211 Taels. Total trade of 314,989,926 Taels. Of this total of foreign trade of nearly 315 millions the British Empire is set down for over 215 millions, Japan 32 millions, Continent of Europe (Russia excepted) 29 millions, U. States 20½ millions, Russian Empire 17 millions.

The Imports of Opium were in 1886, 67,801 pls.; 1888, 82,612 pls.; 1889, 76,052 pls.; 1891, 77,445 pls.; 1892, 70,782 pls.; 1893, 68,108 pls.; 1894, 63,125 pls.; 1895, 51,306 pls. Steadily declining from 1891.

The total amount of shipping entered and cleared was 31,133 vessels of nearly 25,000,000 tons in 1890, 37,132 vessels of nearly 30,000,000 in 1895. Of this quantity 28,500,000 tons were S.S. British vessels numbered 19,579 with 20,500,000 tons; Chinese (besides junks), 6,822 with 5,000,000 tons; German, 2,684 of 2,500,000. The gross receipts for the year were 21,389,000 Hk. Tls.; in 1894, 22,523,605 Tls. In the value of exports there was an actual nett gain of Tls. 9,000,000 caused doubtless by the low price of silver in which the goods are bought that are sold for gold.

In treasure there was a nett export of gold to the value of Hk. Tls. 6,624,000 and a nett import of Tls. 36,685,000. The demand has increased for Western cotton fabrics, machinery too is finding a larger market. The chief export is silk. The Pasteur system of detecting and eradicating disease in the silkworm initiated by Sir Robert Hart has acted successfully as far as concerns Canton. The export trade in skins and nankeens is growing apace.

The Islám element in China is making itself distinctly felt. The Chinese Mussalmans are decidedly more temperate, brave, thrifty and independent than the other Chinese. There is a prediction in China that the next ruling dynasty will be Muhammadan. Li Hung Chang is shortly expected in London after his ovations in Moscow and Berlin. His Imperial Master is said to be the most learned sovereign of his dynasty. At the age of 20 he had already completed all the prescribed studies. It will not be long before China has a railway 1,150 miles long from Hankow to Canton. The capital of the Peking-Hankow section—650 miles = 30 million taels—has been subscribed.

The Celestial Empire is awakening to the need of employing foreign mechanics and machinery. The considerable coal-fields to the north and west of Pekin which have been worked hitherto on primitive plans are to be subjected to the engineers' skill. The positive element is being rapidly developed in the Chinese character. Under purely independent control they have formed companies for the erection of cotton-spinning and weaving mills, and for the manufacture of matches. For the cotton mills the subscribed capital is to be £160,000 or 1 million taels.

SIAM.—The King visited Java and Singapore and was absent from Bangkok for two months.

The French are making a road between Chentabun and Battambong, and are laying telegraph lines and building barracks at Chentabun and Paknam. Chow Fa Chakraphonyse, and Phra Ong Peng, the two sons of the King of Siam are coming to Europe for their education.

PERSIA.—Not long before his death, the late Shah sanctioned a grant of 200,000 francs for the relief of the famine-stricken—an act of charity that was greatly needed and much valued. H. I. Highness was shot in the mosque of Shah Abdul Azim, near Teheran, on Friday May 1st and died immediately. The assassin is Mirza Mahomed Reza of Kerman, and was, it is said, an ardent follower of the notorious Jemal-el-din. The late Shah's son Muzaffar-ed-din, Shah, at the age of 45 years, ascended the Persian throne, retaining the old Prime Minister or Sadr Azam, one of his father's most enlightened servants, in his high post.

On June 12th Mahomed Ali Mirza Etezad es Sultaneh was declared Vali ahd—or heir-apparent; he is 24 years of age.

The condition of KERMAN and PERSIAN BALUCHISTAN is promising. The harvests of 1894 and 1895 have been excellent, the cultivation of opium has largely increased, the shawl and carpet industries have doubled their output in recent years.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The indemnities to the British, French, and Russian consuls who were injured at Jeddah were paid at Constantinople on April 20th.

The financial disorders of the country are increasing. A few weeks ago the Purveyor of Meat, whose account the Treasury had not discharged, was unable to supply the troops.

Floods of alarming proportions have occurred in the neighbourhood of Bagdad at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, where the town of Karnak stands. 30,000 cattle are said to have perished, and a nomad tribe of Arabs to the number of 600 souls was swept away by the flood.

The term of military service in Turkey has been reduced from 4 years to 3.

The DRUSE rising in the HAURAN, of which we gave the earliest as also a full account, in our April number, has, as anticipated, so far ended in a loss of 500 men in the last engagement for the Turkish troops near Damascus, where Druse chiefs had been treacherously imprisoned by the authorities. Hitherto the Druses have been fighting the Arab tribes, as well as the Muhammadan and Christian peasantry, though in the Lebanon these followers of "the old man of the mountain" the so-called "Assassins" profess to be quasi-Muhammadans. Now, it would appear as if all were making common cause against the Turks.

EGYPT.—The average annual value of the Cotton crop is about £10,000,000. The interference of the Grand Cadi's Court with the property and person of Princess Hassan, the Khedive's aunt, has been annulled.

During the last 10 years the average imports into Egypt have been about £8,000,000 of which £3,000,000 were from Great Britain. Of the exports from Egypt amounting to about 12 millions Great Britain took 7½. It can scarcely be said that the British manufacturer retains his hold upon

the Egyptian markets in the matter of metals and machinery, whilst in some other goods he has lost much ground.

The Keuch-Assouan Railway is expected to be finished in about 12 months' time, when through communication will have been established between Alexandria and Assouan.

The Board of Trade press on the attention of British subjects engaging in trade with Egypt the need of promptly securing registration of their trade-marks in Alexandria.

On June 12th the Nile had risen four inches.

SOUDAN.—The report of Lord Cromer, supported by such works as those of Major Wingate and Slatin Pasha of the Intelligence Department, made it quite clear that the power of the Khalîfa was on the wane and so the expedition, which has already had the brilliant success of the battle of Firkeh where 1000 Dervishes have been killed, has been entered on. The Egyptians naturally expect that we should restore to them Khartoum, for the loss of which they blame British interference. So far the objective of the campaign seems to be only Dongola. 4000 Indian troops have already reached Suakim, but the Government of India is not very cheerful in paying for them, as it will thereby lose the small balance on which it congratulated itself in the last Budget.

A high authority in the CONGO Free State affirms that no country has made such rapid progress as the Congo State under Leopold II.

Another witness asserts that this mushroom-state is a fraud, that its boasted civilization is murder and plunder, and that the boasted enfranchisement of the slave is merely the introduction of a system of cruel servitude, surpassing that of the slave-drivers of the Southern United States of America.

TRANSVAAL.—The members of the Reform Committee were on April 8 committed for trial on a charge of high treason. A former judge of the Orange Free State, Mr. Gorgorowski, was secured to preside over it.

Four were condemned to death, sixty to two years' imprisonment, three years' banishment and a fine of £2000. Needless to say the death penalty was not enforced, while the other punishments were remitted to a fine, except in the case of those who would not swear to abstain from political action in the future—these were exiled.

President Krüger's claim of £3,000,000 indemnity was reduced to £1,500,000. The Reform leaders were released on payment of £25,000 each, except Colonel Rhodes, who is banished.

Gold-mining employed in 1895, 61,650 people of whom 7,523 were whites. Throughout the Republic 4,003,333 tons of quartz were milled. The grand total of value of gold from all sources in the Republic stands at £8,569,555.

The Agents of the Netherlands and Transvaal Governments are making great efforts to capture the Orange Free State Railway system and have offered to join in a guarantee as to a loan, for from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000.

Dr. Moloney having made an exploration into CENTRAL AFRICA visited Northern and Southern Angoniland west of Lake Nyasa, and found the

country rich in minerals and fit for European occupation, being from 3000 to 4000 feet in altitude. Agricultural possibilities are good, and the conditions are favourable for raising coffee.

A British force was on March 31 attacked by two thousand Ilorins in the Yoruba Country in WEST AFRICA who were repulsed without a single loss.

In SOUTH AFRICA the Matabele rising gave cause for concern. Prompt measures, however, were taken at home and on the spot. Some native allies behaved splendidly in the campaign. There is a great difficulty in bringing the rebels to battle, and such horses and mules as Sir F. Carrington has are too weak for stress of service. The Cape Colony has offered to assist the Imperial Government in putting down the rebellion.

The extension of the MATABELE revolt to their former enemies and subjects, the MASHONAS, again revives still farther the general question of "the negro difficulty" referred to in our April Summary and Col. Elsdale's "Problem of the Races in South Africa." So far, Buluwayo has more than held its own; several impis have been defeated by *battues* rather than battles; but new risings have taken place near Salisbury among "friendlies" where least expected. President Kruger is urging that Mr. C. Rhodes, Mr. Beit and Dr. Rutherford Alcock should be immediately put on their trial. A true Bill has been found against Dr. Jameson and associates.

Whilst Tokoe Oemar is still holding out, and the Dutch peace-at-any-price party now agree with the Jingoes to coerce or to destroy him, a strong policy having succeeded last year in subduing the island of Lombok, the Dutch are not without ambitions as regards the Transvaal. Dr. R. N. Cust has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the down-trodden black races in an article for which we unfortunately have no room in this issue, and Mr. Van Duyl has sent us an episode of Rhodesian history as regards the Mashonas and the Matabeles which is not to its credit. A German settler also has informed us of other proceedings which fully explain the present rising of the Mashonas, whilst they throw a side-light on the manner in which the former Matabele War was provoked. Lobengula never made, it appears, any concession of land to the white man.

The position of Cape Colony and Natal is in a general and in a financial sense satisfactory. At the Cape the Revenue for 1894-5 was £5,390,170 an increase over 1893-4 of £68,818. Cape Railways earned interest upon invested capital at the rate of £7 9s. 10d. per cent., and the total of their nett returns is an increase of more than 40% over the previous year.

In Natal the actual revenue for 1894-5 was £1,169,780, and the expenditure £1,148,093: in the income an increase of £42,975 and in the outgoings a decrease of £179,136. For the current year ending June 30th a surplus is expected of £180,000.

A terrible calamity has befallen the s.s. Drummond Castle from Delagoa Bay, Natal and the Cape. About midnight of the 16th of June this fine "Castle" Liner became a total wreck off Ushant, three lives only saved out of all on board—some 250 souls.

The French protectorate of MADAGASCAR has been followed by its "assimilation," which, worse than "annexation," implies that an Oriental

acquisition shall be treated as part of France, thus repeating the blunder which renders the French administration of Algiers so odious to Muhammadans. This "assimilation" has certainly not stopped the murder of whites, for half a dozen engineers and missionaries have since been killed.

In TUNIS where the natives govern their own internal affairs the feeling towards the French Protectors is a far better one than in Algiers, though, in the interior, there are still outbursts of fanaticism. At Sfax, Dr. C. L. Leach, a Missionary, his wife and infant son were murdered on the 7th May, and now the notorious Anti-Semite, the Marquis de Morès, has been killed by the escort, it is said, which he took to protect himself and his rich convoy from the Tuareks, in connexion with whom he hoped to found a Franco-Muhammadan Empire in Africa and to drive the English out of Egypt.

MOROCCO.—Influential Moors set themselves to try to reconcile the Sultan and his brother Mule Muhammed.

The British Minister, Sir A. Nicolson, had several audiences of the Sultan, and was cordially received.

CANADA.—There is a great increase in the mineral products of the Dominion—viz., $1,700,000—the returns amount to $22,500,000—and broadly this advance has been maintained.

Whilst domestic business has been quiet, trade with Great Britain has been very satisfactory. The Board of Trade returns for February show an expansion in our exports to Canada of about 22 per cent. and in our imports of 468 per cent. !

The manufacture of wood pulp promises well. The schools question is greatly to the fore in the Senate. A canal is on the point of being begun at St. Andrew's Rapids in the Red River, a grant having been made by the Dominion Government.

A subsidy has been granted for the direct line of steamships between Canada and France.

A million dollars is computed to be the cost of the heavy floods of April in the Eastern Townships.

Canadians are taking up very warmly the Federation of Empire scheme.

Crofter fishing colonies are to be established in Canada for which a fund has long been provided.

In 1889 a Red Indian Chief, Shanksh, from the West Coast of British Columbia, gave a missionary 100 dollars in gold to be presented to the Queen. It took six years for the money to reach Ottawa, and now at length after 7 years Shanksh's gift has been acknowledged by an engraving of Her Majesty and two Scotch rugs.

The elections are still pending whilst we go to press.

Lieutenant-General George Digby Barker, C.B., has been appointed to the Governorship of the BERMUDAS. In 1890 he was appointed to the command of the troops in Hong Kong. In 1857 he took part in the Persian Expedition—he was also in the Indian Mutiny.

AUSTRALIA.—Total imports from the whole of Australia were, in 1895, £50,653,760, an increase of £2,000,000. Total exports were £63,638,256, an increase of £1,333,300.

The Banking returns for the March quarter of the seven Colonies show

in the total deposits an increase of £2,797,592; in advances a decrease of £2,911,487.

Direct cable communication between Canada and Australia is being persistently executed.

What may result from the association of the Chambers of Commerce the future alone will tell. The Congress has met and separated without taking any steps such as the Colonial Secretary in his lofty ambition might have desired. A large number of our Colonists in all parts of the world desire doubtless some closer tie of union—it is partly a sentiment, partly a need.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The recent drought is reckoned to have caused a loss of 10,000,000 sheep, of 303,000 cattle and of 20,000 horses. In like manner the same cause has swept away the rabbits by millions.

Sir Henry Parkes, several times Premier of New South Wales, extraordinary Statute-maker, and one of the most drastic forces of this favoured Colony, died on April 27, aged 81. When "Federated Australia" was last discussed, Sir H. Parkes threw himself into the movement with greater hopes of its success than ever before—indeed it was his last great effort. £500 a year has been voted to the statesman's family.

In 1894-5, 316 acres of turnips raised 1,613 tons; 192 acres of onions raised 400 tons; 35 acres of m. wurzels raised 257 tons; 89 acres of chicory raised 3,578 cwt. Beet-growing thrives well. A good beet should not give less than 12·5 of sugar; the analytical Chemist of the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. found that beet realized 15·66, 16·08, 17·89, 19·51, 19·90, 20·13, 20·33, 20·56, 22·11, 22·22, and 24·75—quantities declared by experts to be unprecedented. The yield of gold during the quarter was 50,161 oz. In the early years of the Colony's settlement lands were alienated "en bloc"—there is now a desire to re-acquire where possible some portion of these. The Minister of Lands has placed a Bill on the table in the Legislative Assembly empowering the Government to acquire alienated lands for the purpose of closer settlement—purchases to be limited to an expenditure of £30,000 a year.

In NEW ZEALAND, there is a great revival in the gold-mining industry—the Auckland District chiefly.

VICTORIA.—Instances of judicial corruption are attested in Victoria: in consequence the Board of Adjudicature recommended the appointment of Justices to be henceforth by boards free from political patronage or bias.

	In 1894	In 1895
Export of butter was ...	16,973,975 lb.	... 21,965,832 lb.
,, cheese was ...	759,585 lb.	... 1,006,925 lb.
,, rabbits was ...	11,700 carcases	... 488,110 carcases.
,, lamb and mutton was	409 carcases	... 46,571 carcases.

Lord Brassey has paid a visit to Bendigo, one of the richest gold-fields in the world. During its brief existence it has produced gold to the value of £65,000,000 and there is no sign of its falling-off.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—There is quite a phenomenal development of gold-mining. At the heart of Coolgardie a well has been sprung some 170 feet deep yielding 4,000 gallons a day.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN revenue to the end of March quarter was £696,306 —an increase of £31,169. The Revenue for QUEENSLAND for nine months ending March 1896 was £2,757,000 an increase of £193,000: the expenditure was £2,258,000, an increase of £113,000. This Colony's yield of gold for the quarter ending March 31 was 147,216 oz.

Obituary.—Wi Maihi Rangikahiki, Maori chief of Ngaterangiwewehi, aged 90;—Lady Isabel Burton, widow of the explorer, Sir Richard Burton; —Genl. Runbir Singh, 3d son of Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal;—Col. Campbell Clark, 104th Bengal Fusiliers, (2d Sikh, Burma and Mutiny wars);—Hira Pou, Maori chief among the Ngapuhi tribe;—Sir John C. Schultz, K.C.M.G., of Manitoba, Lt. Gov. for many years;—H. H. the widow Maharani of Bettiah, leaving the state without heirs direct or adopted;—Khan Buhadur Framji Ardashir, of Ahmadnagar;—Col. C. Mck. Hall (Umbeyla, Afghan and Waziri campaigns);—the Tswaka of Kiang tung;—Major Genl. A. C. K. Lock, (Crimea and New Zealand wars);—Sir Henry Parker, G.C.M.G., long the leading figure in N. S. Wales Politics;—Prince Mirza Sir Jehan Kudur, K.C.I.E.;—The Veteran Bishop Edmund Garnier of Malacca;—Dy. Inspector Genl. of Hospitals of Fleets, J. Flanagan, R.N., who served in the "Shannon" Naval Brigade, during the Mutiny; Genl. Kalpokovsky who did much service in securing Russia power in Central Asia;—Col. Mason, C.B., Afghan and Egyptian wars, and numerous frontier expeditions, 1888-1895;—Sir P. A. Buckley, K.C.M.G., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand;—The Maharani of Vizianagram;—Queen Pa of Raratonga, who reigned over 40 years;—Giong di Silva Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate, Colombo;—Nawab Diler-ul-Mulk, the well-known Abdul-Hak, regarding whom a long letter appeared in our last issue, a Mussulman of good family and of great gifts and force of character, died in London. He it was who formed the Deccan Mining Company with a capital of £1,000,000 sterling capital in order to develop the mineral wealth of Hyderabad;—Khan Bahadar Sayad Ahmad Khan, C.I.E., late of the India Foreign Dept.;—General Stephen Francis Macmullen, late Bengal Cavalry (battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat); Major-General John Salisbury Trevor, C.S.I., late Royal Engineers, Bombay, late offg. Secretary to Govt. of India, Railway Branch;—The Hon. Donald A. Macdonald, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario;—Major-General Sir James Brown, K.C.S.I., C.B., R.E., Governor-General's Agent and Chief Commissioner of British Baluchistan;—General A. Cooper, Madras Staff Corps;—Sir Thomas Galbraith Logan, K.C.B. (Sutlej campaign and Sevastopol);—Hon. John Beverley Robinson (Ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario);—Major Joseph Langton (of the 2nd Battalion Border Regt.);—The Dowager Empress, probably the real mother of the Emperor of China, not the famous adopted mother, Tsi-Thsi, who still influences that Empire;—Lt. Col. J. Powrie Foote, served in New Zealand during General Chute's Campaign of 1868;—Colonel Hugh Lotham, Bengal R.A., served during the Indian Mutiny;—Derwish Pasha, senior Marshal of Turkey, the defender of Batum, 80 years old.

23rd June, 1896.

THE LATE REV. J. P. V. D'EREMAO, D.D.

IT is with profound regret that we announce the death of Dr. J. P. V. d'Eremao, the able Sub-Editor of this Review, that took place on Saturday, the 6th ultimo, after a short illness, but a long indisposition. The Rev. Joseph Patrick Val d'Eremao, D.D., formerly Principal of St. Mary's College, Murree, was born at Sirdhana, in the N. W. P. of India, on the 18th January, 1841, and was, therefore, a little over 55 years of age when he died. He was the grandson of a lieutenant in the service of the East India Company, and the son of a commandant in the employ of the King of Delhi, near which city the family still possesses a small estate. Dr. d'Eremao knew Hindustani particularly well, and was long Roman Catholic chaplain to our forces in India; but there, as elsewhere, he was ever on the best of terms with Protestant, Jewish, Muhammadan and Hindu ministers of religion, and he was particularly popular among British officers. His politics were "imperial," and his religious convictions, on the whole, liberal. He, however, never obtruded his opinions on any one, and certainly the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* was never used for their expression, though several of his theological writings, like the "Serpent in Eden," obtained the encomium of such men as Mr. Gladstone. He preferred linguistic and ethnographical research to all other studies, and was a most accomplished translator from the Classical languages and from the Latin vernaculars of Europe, and he was also proficient in Hebrew and Persian. His versatility was extraordinary. We propose to publish a list of his writings, both published and ready for the press, and, in the meantime, his many friends must content themselves with the following extract from the *Surrey Advertiser* of the 13th June, 1896:

On Saturday last, at the Oriental University Institute, Woking, the death took place of the Rev. Joseph Patrick Val D'Eremao, D.D. The deceased, who came to the Oriental Institute in 1891, was a man of remarkably fine physique. A few months since he underwent a slight surgical operation, and latterly he has at times complained that he was not quite as well as before. On Wednesday last he said Mass for Corpus Christi at St. Joseph's Church, at Guildford, and during the service he was taken ill. He insisted upon finishing Mass, after which he was conveyed to the Institute at Woking. Dr. F. F. Moore was called in to attend him. Death, however, took place on Saturday afternoon, the immediate cause being syncope, following an attack of congestion of the liver. The rev. gentleman was a man of great learning. For many years he travelled extensively in various parts of the world. His knowledge of the manners and customs of most Oriental countries was very profound. He resided at Basingstoke for some time. During his residence at the Woking Institute he made many friends, and all who became acquainted with him were drawn to him by his attractive personality. The deceased was the author of "Hail Mary," "Practical Instruction for Meditation," "The Keys of Peter," "The Serpent in Eden," and "Selected Feast Day Hymns," literally translated in the original metre and rhythm from the missal and breviary. He also contributed various articles on Eastern life to different magazines, and since his residence at the Institute has sub-edited the "Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review." The funeral, which was of a quiet and simple nature, took place on Wednesday afternoon at the secluded Sutton Park Roman Catholic Church, near Guildford. The body was enclosed in a polished coffin with brass fittings, the plate on the lid bearing the inscription, "Joseph Patrick Val D'Eremao, D.D., died 6th June, 1896, aged 55 years, 4 months, and 20 days; R.I.P." The coffin, which was covered with beautiful wreaths, was first taken into the church, where the first portion of the service was performed by the Rev. Father Wilderspin. Amongst those present were Dr. and Mrs. Leitner, the Rev. Father Fowler, Captain and Mrs. Ivory, Mr. J. B. Wright, Miss Alleyne, Mr. and Miss Prior, and one or two others from Portsmouth, Aldershot and Woking. The concluding portion of the service was read at the graveside, and three of deceased's works were laid on the coffin. Among the wreaths were several from the Institute at Woking, one from Captain J. Harcourt Ivory, and from other friends.

THE IMPERIAL

AND

Asiatic Quarterly Review,

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1896.

THE SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL FROM EXECUTIVE POWER IN INDIA.

By Sir Charles A. Elliott, K.C.S.I.

The combination of Judicial and Executive powers in the hands of the District Magistrate in India has long been attacked in certain quarters, and has of late been pushed into the forefront and become rather a burning question. The abolition of this system is a leading plank in the platform of the National Congress Party. Their views have been not unfavourably noticed by Lords Cross and Kimberley, the latter of whom is reported to have said that the chief reason for not accepting the change proposed is that it would entail great additional expense. It formed the leading subject in Mr. Bhownaggree's speech in the Indian Budget Debate of August 13: and it supplied material for an address read by Mr. Manomohan Ghose before the East India Association, and published in the January number of this Review under the question-begging title of "The necessity of maintaining the independence of the Judiciary in India." I shall attempt to show that the existing system has great merits and advantages, that it in no way trenches on the judicial independence of the Subordinate Magistrates, that there are weighty arguments against its modification besides those which arise from financial considerations, and that no valid proof has been adduced of any evil arising from it.

In the first place then I would point out that the keynote

to our success in Indian Administration has been the adoption of the Oriental view that all power should be collected into the hands of a single official, so that the people of the District should be able to look up to one man in whom the various branches of authority are centred and who is the visible representative of Government. The English idea of distributing power to a series of officials or bodies, to Petty Sessions and Quarter Sessions, Vestries and Boards and Councils, is very far from the Indian ideal which more resembles the Continental system than ours, since the District Magistrate corresponds more closely to the Préfet of a French Department than to any official in England. The tendency to differentiate and to subdivide exists in India as elsewhere, and is supported by the usual argument that the man who has only one work to do will do it better than the man who has several, but it has always been checked by the rulers who best understood the wants of the country. The Police Department, the Engineer Department, the Forest Department, the Education Department, the Sanitation Department, have all, as they grew up, tried to shake themselves free of the District Magistrate, but have been replaced in their proper position by such Lieutenant Governors as Sir G. Campbell in Bengal and Sir John Strachey in the North West Provinces,—not so as to cripple the power of the experts in each Department, but so as to collect all the threads of government in the District Magistrate's hands, enabling him thus to use the knowledge of all for the purposes of each. In Judicial matters the more responsible duties of Sessions Trials, and the technical work of Civil Justice have been placed in the hands of the Judge; but there still remains under the District Magistrate's orders the body of Subordinate Magistrates who dispose of the simple criminal cases and commit the graver to the Sessions, and the reasons which have been stated above apply with great force to the retention of their subordination. I cannot do better than quote here an extract from Sir John Strachey's

India* which bears upon the subject, and I quote it with the greater readiness because Sir John's authority is quoted by Mr. Manomohan Ghose on the opposite side:

"We often hear demands for the more complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions in India, but they are demands based on the assumption that because this is good for England it is good for India also. There could be no greater error. The first necessity of good administration in India is that it should be strong, and it cannot be strong without the concentration of authority. In the every day internal administration there is no office so important as that of the Magistrate and Collector. He is one of the mainstays of our dominion, and few steps could be taken in India which would be more mischievous and dangerous than to deprive him of those powers which alone enable him to maintain his position as the local representative of Government."

The Congress Party, and Mr. Manomohan Ghose with them, have always preferred to use general and *ad captandum* phrases, like "the maintenance of Judicial independence" rather than to specify what it precisely is that they aim at. It is necessary therefore to explain that I understand them to object to two items in the District Magistrate's position; one is that he, being the Executive Head of the District, with direct control of the Police, has the power of trying cases himself: the other, that the Subordinate Magistrates who try the great majority of cases, are directly under him, receive orders from him, and look to him for such reports on their conduct and capacity as may expedite their promotion.

With regard to the first item, the District Magistrate does as a matter of fact try so few cases that no very serious evil would ensue if he did not possess the power. There are many Districts in Bengal in which he does not try 12 cases in a year. Still there are some classes of offences, such as those committed by Europeans, which, under the law, a Native Subordinate Magistrate cannot try, and there are political "causes célèbres" in which a Native might be suspected of bias or of weakness. On account of these it is well that he should retain this power: and it is occasionally useful that he should take up an important and

* Ch. xx., p. 287, second edition.

difficult case to set an example to his subordinates of the proper way of dealing with it. Even if these reasons did not exist, I should strongly oppose the abandonment of this power in deference to the argument that it is likely to be misused. The opponents of the system draw the picture of an officer who, because he has to some extent supervised and guided the Police operations which end in the arrest of an accused person, becomes so biased that he is unable to weigh aright the evidence which is produced on the trial. No doubt such persons may exist, but I do not believe that the picture is true to average human nature. There is no real distinction in kind between the action taken before and after the trial. The Police Officer is exercising a sort of judicial capacity when he decides whose story he shall believe and which of two clues he shall follow up; the Magistrate exercises a similar capacity when he believes or disbelieves the witnesses who appear before him on the Bench. To say that weak evidence will seem strong to him because he heard it before the trial, or that he cannot appreciate the force of new evidence because he did not hear it before, is unwarranted; to say that he will be so possessed by the passion of the hunter as to be incapable of listening fairly to any evidence in favour of the hunted, is a hypothesis unjustified by general experience or by knowledge of any but the worst sides of human nature.

The more important item of the District Magistrate's power consists in his control over the Subordinate Magistrates, and it is this which is attacked on the plea that he uses or may use this control to affect their "judicial independence." Of course I fully agree that any such interference would be unjustifiable, but I maintain that such cases, if they have occurred, have been most exceptional, and that there is too much good sense and honorable feeling among the District Magistrates to allow any danger of the sort to exist. It is universally accepted that though a Magistrate has power to refer particular trials to particular

officers, he has no right whatever to interfere with their Judicial disposal of the case when so referred but must leave it absolutely to their discretion. But it is obvious to those who know the facts that there are many ways in which control may be exercised and be required without touching Judicial independence at all. The Subordinate Magistrates in Bengal comprise a large body of about 300 men, who begin their service very young, and continue in it, rising from grade to grade by merit and seniority, throughout their life. For the younger members it is most important to receive guidance and counsel at the Magistrate's hands to preserve them from the many faults into which they are liable to fall; and even the Seniors may often benefit by such advice.

The faults to which I refer are such as these—want of sense of proportion in sentences; inclination to procrastinate and to postpone cases; want of care in ascertaining at the first outset what a complainant wants and what evidence he professes to be able to produce; a tendency to override or to let oneself be overriden by the local bar; prolixity in judgments; and so forth. It was with a view to such matters that I ordered every District Magistrate in Bengal to send for and read over six cases *decided* by each of his Subordinates monthly, in order to notice and warn them against irregularities and the growth of bad habits. That any one should say to a Subordinate "I consider this man guilty and you must decide him to be so," would be monstrous, but though interference with judicial independence is talked of, no one has asserted that interference of this kind takes place. On the other hand it would be dangerous to place young and inexperienced men in positions of authority if there were no check over them but the possible reversal of their orders some months afterwards by the Appellate Court, and it is the greatest possible benefit to them to receive advice from a Senior and friendly official in such matters as those I have referred to. What alternative is suggested by those who oppose

the system? They hold that the only control should be that of the Judge who hears the case in appeal. But only one case in a hundred may come up in appeal, and then the mischief may be done and the bad habit formed and hard to eradicate. In this as in other cases, prevention is better than cure.

These Subordinate Magistrates have also Executive and Revenue work to perform. In every District there is, besides Magisterial work, a variety of other duties, such as the charge of the Treasury, of the Record Room, of the process-serving establishment, of Excise, of registration, of income tax, the collection of the Land Revenue and Local Cesses, Settlement, and so forth. The practice is either to give to each Subordinate some Magisterial work as well as some one or more of these charges,—or to confine one or two (where possible) to criminal work, and give the Revenue and other duties to the rest. The latter alternative has been put forward by Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt as the solution of the problem before us, but it is only possible in Districts where there are 4 or more Subordinates: obviously it cannot be adopted where the number is three, and in the case of two it is unlikely that the two classes of work would be so exactly equal that one class could be given wholly to one man and one to another. At any rate it can be done in the case of less than half the Districts in Bengal, and during the last two years the point has been much discussed as to which of the two modes of distribution is preferable. The best officers were found to be divided in opinion. On the one side, it is advantageous that there should be two Courts always sitting, so that the Police and the parties should know where to go to, and should not have to follow the Magistrate about when he is on tour. On the other hand, the monotony of trying nothing but criminal cases is wearisome, and officers prefer a more varied class of work; judicial business ebbs and flows, one day there is a flood of cases for trial and another day a dearth, so that unless vacant hours can be filled up with

miscellaneous and Revenue work, the time of the Magisterial officers is not fully employed; those who are set aside for Revenue business find that when their turn comes to take up criminal work they have grown rusty in the technicalities of the Procedure Code. In India we want good all-round men, not experts in technical minutiæ nor *homines unius libri*. On these grounds many of the best District Magistrates oppose the system of making a sharp separation between those who carry on judicial work and those who do not, and on the whole I agree with them in thinking that it is not conducive to the highest Administrative efficiency.

However this may be, the kind of separation of work which I have discussed here would not satisfy the opponents of the existing system. They require not only that certain Deputy Magistrates should be set apart exclusively to try criminal cases, but that they should be permanently set apart and should form a distinct body or branch of the Service, ceasing to be subordinate to the District Magistrate and being placed under the Judge and the High Court. Those who urge this change have lost sight of the paramount importance of inspection, as a stimulus to the correct performance of duty. The Judge is not a peripatetic officer and the District Magistrate is: the Judge is tied to the Bench and the District Magistrate is not: the Judge is constantly employed in the hearing of Sessions' trials, civil cases, and appeals, and has not the leisure to inspect. With the Magistrate inspection is the breath of his nostrils and the success of the system of concentrating power in his hands is chiefly due to this, that he does not do the work himself but sees that others do it. However excellent the Native officials are, they have a general tendency to grow careless and slovenly in the minor and routine branches of work, and the only remedy for this is the knowledge that they are liable to be inspected and that the eye of a superior is on them. If the Judge were substituted for the District Magistrate there would be an end of that training of the

junior subordinates and that steady supervision of the seniors which I have described as one of the chief duties of the Magistrate, and we should substitute for them only the liability to be corrected in appeal by the Judge and the High Court. I feel sure that this would be a severe blow to the efficiency of the Subordinate Magistrates, and to the confidence which the people feel in the administration of justice.

It will be seen that I base my support of the existing system, not on a vague term like prestige, but on two definite propositions: first that the District Magistrate who is the eye and ear of Government, should hold in his hands all the threads of the different branches of the Administration, and should have the officials in all those branches under his general control: second that the Subordinate Magistrates derive great benefit from the advice and guidance of an experienced senior when they are young, and from the inspection of a peripatetic officer whether they are young or old, and that the substitution of the control of the Judge for that of the District Magistrate would defeat these ends. The financial argument has been put so much in evidence by others that it is not necessary for me to dwell much upon it; it is enough to say here that in all but the largest Districts it would necessitate a considerable increase of the existing staff of Subordinate Magistrates and their establishments, and it would lead to a great expansion in the number of District Judges.

In dealing with the views of those who advocate change of system, we must put aside all vague and general talk about the distinction between judicial and executive authority, such as Mr. Bhownaggree for instance indulged in during the debate of August 13, since this principle in the abstract has been accepted in the case of the Judges who are purely judicial officers, and in the Police Act of 1861; and we must tie our opponents strictly down to the two points which I have indicated, the District Magistrate's power to try cases himself, and his control over the Subor-

dinate Magistrates. A great deal that has been said is irrelevant to these points, and what is relevant confines itself to such remarks as this of Mr. Bhownaggree, that "preconceived notions in regard to their judicial functions are attributed to the Subordinate Magistrates by the public," and to specific statements regarding the misuse of their powers by District Magistrates on certain specified occasions. Some of these statements are contained in the paper by Mr. Manomohan Ghose which I mentioned in the beginning of this article, and a larger number (20 in all) are described at length in a Memorandum (dated 15 July, 1896) drawn up by him and printed in Calcutta, but not, so far as I am aware, published there or in England. It was circulated, I am told, to those Members of Parliament who were thought likely to agree in its views, but not to all; but it was referred to by Mr. Bhownaggree in his speech of August 13, as an authoritative document, so that it is not, apparently, unfair to treat it as public property and to criticise it in this place.

I propose to deal first with the cases related in the Article in this Review,* and afterwards with the additional ones set out in the Memorandum. The Article contains a good deal of vague assertion, such as "the people say we cannot get justice," an assertion which can neither be proved nor disproved, but which is opposed to the experience of almost every careful and unprejudiced observer who has visited or resided in India. Besides declamation of this kind there are three stories related which purport to represent instances of actual injustice and evil caused by the combination of judicial and executive powers in the hands of the District Magistrate.

The first of these is the story of a Deputy Magistrate who was trying a case and who said to Mr. Manomohan Ghose that he must do so and so because he had received instructions to that effect from the District Magistrate. Here everything turns on what the order was, and this is precisely what we are not told. If it interfered in any way

* January, 1896.

with the Deputy Magistrate's judicial discretion, as for instance if it directed him to convict when he did not think the accused guilty, then it was indefensible, and Mr. Manomohan Ghose would have scored a real point if he could have asserted this. But if the order related only to a matter of procedure, as for instance if it directed a postponement of the case till fresh evidence known to be on its way, could be produced, or even if it related to the penalty to be inflicted in the event of conviction, pointing out that certain classes of offences had become frequent and needed to be put down by severe punishment or the reverse, then it cannot be asserted that anyone suffered injustice. Mr. Manomohan Ghose has chosen to keep us in the dark as to the only point which can show whether the case is or is not relevant to the issue.

The second case is given as a "glaring instance of the system" which came under the writer's observation.

"A man complained to a Deputy Magistrate that he had been severely thrashed by the District Magistrate. The marks of the thrashing upon his person he showed to the Deputy Magistrate, and asked for redress. The Deputy Magistrate was much disturbed on finding that the complaint was against his own superior officer, and without putting a single question he wrote on the complaint, 'The case is manifestly false. I dismiss it, and I call upon the complainant to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for bringing a false charge.' In the meantime the man appealed to the Judge of the District against the order dismissing his complaint. The rumour reached the accused District Magistrate who happened to be in the interior, and as any Englishman of honour would do, he immediately wrote a letter to the District Judge saying that he did strike the man under great provocation, thus admitting the whole case. . . . The only practical inference to be drawn is that subordinates are in great fear of their superiors, upon whom their future prospects depend."

I was Lieutenant-Governor at the time, and had personal knowledge of the case; and the practical inference which I should draw is that the people at any rate do not think that the Subordinates are in great fear of their Superiors, or this man would not have filed a petition in a Subordinate's Court incriminating his Superior. The fact is that the case, instead of illustrating a rule, was a highly exceptional one. The circumstances which made it excep-

tional were well known to Mr. Manomohan Ghose, who was Counsel to the assaulted person, but he does not mention them here. They were that the Deputy Magistrate had broken down a short time before from overwork and exposure, and was certified by the Civil Surgeon to be suffering from cerebral derangement. He was allowed to take leave for nearly three months, and on his return was posted to this District, and had only just arrived there, this being the first, or almost the first, case brought before him. The Chief Secretary to Government, after severely condemning his procedure, wrote officially as follows :

"The whole action taken by the Deputy Magistrate on this occasion is in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion inexplicable except on the hypothesis that his mind has not yet regained its equilibrium, and that he is still unfit to discharge properly the duties of a Deputy Magistrate. His Honour desires therefore that he may at once be relieved of his duties and called on to take further leave for such period as may afford him a fuller opportunity of recovering his health."

It was to this cause, and not to the discreditable motive imputed to him by the writer of the Article, that his misconduct should be attributed ; and it was hardly ingenuous on Mr. Manomohan Ghose's part, to conceal a matter so essential to the right understanding of the case.

He returns however to the same instance in his Memorandum (case No. 20) and there he does allude casually to the plea that the Deputy Magistrate had been suffering from a disease of the brain, though without admitting that that fact relieves him from responsibility for his acts, for he ends by saying : "His misconduct went wholly unpunished and the obvious result of the action of the Bengal Government was to make other Deputy Magistrates feel that if placed in similar circumstances they must not assert their independence." How the refusal to punish a man for an act committed when suffering from a disordered brain can have created such an impression, Mr. Manomohan Ghose alone can explain. The conduct of the official was stigmatised in strong language, and he was ordered to take leave and not to rejoin till he was recovered and fit for work;

but when a short time afterwards a vacancy occurred which he stood first on the seniority list to fill, and which would ordinarily go to the next senior, except in a case of marked demerit, I did not think it right to pass him over and punish him for an act for which I did not hold him responsible. He had held a high and unblemished character, with this one exception, and he consequently was not subjected to the indignity of supersession by a junior.

But even if the circumstances which I have stated as palliating and explaining the misconduct had not existed, the case as stated by Mr. Manomohan Ghose is not an instance of injustice committed through the interference of the District Magistrate with the judicial independence of his subordinates. The logical process in that gentleman's mind appears to be as follows:—(1) the Deputy Magistrate committed a serious act of injustice: (2) he must have done this through fear of offending his superior, the District Magistrate: (3) therefore he ought no longer to be subordinate to the District Magistrate but instead to be placed under the Judge. Suppose this were done and that a complainant had been assaulted by the Judge, then the Deputy Magistrate would, ex-hypothesi, have been equally afraid of offending the Judge, and how would Justice be the gainer?

The third case is mentioned both in the article and in the Memorandum (where it is No. 9) but there is a material difference in the telling of the two stories. According to the article, a District Magistrate asked a rich Zemindar for a subscription to a public object, and offended at his refusal, determined to punish him by reviving an old charge against him which had been dropped; but he offered by letter to quash the prosecution if the Zemindar would pay the subscription. This looks an ugly story, though it will be noticed that the Magistrate's oppressive conduct had nothing to do with his Judicial powers, but with his executive authority as Head of the Police, and even if all Judicial powers and control of Subordinate Magistrates

were taken away, a tyrannous District Magistrate could still exercise the same kind of oppression. But in the Memorandum, Mr. Manomohan Ghose's tale differs materially. Here it appears that the Zemindar had a land dispute with certain Mahommedans between whom and his men several cases had been instituted. It was these cases (or one of them) that were revived, and "about this time certain overtures were made by the District Magistrate to the effect that if the Zemindar would sell the property, the prosecution would be withdrawn." The offer was not, as stated in the Article, contingent on the payment of the subscription, but on the sale of the property to the other claimants, by which arrangement the dispute would be settled and the peace of the country restored. The withdrawal of a prosecution contingent on the payment of a subscription would have been a scandal; its withdrawal contingent on the removal of the subject of quarrel was highly reasonable, and shows that the prosecution was not instituted for a malicious purpose but to secure the peace: if that object were attained, it would be dropped. The Magistrate here appears to be totally free from blame: I can hardly say as much of the inaccurate and disingenuous charge brought by Mr. Manomohan Ghose in his article.

I turn now to the instances given in the Memorandum, but as I am doubtful whether that paper has been in the strict sense published, it seems better to deal more briefly with them, and only to say enough to indicate how far they do or do not bear out the object with which they have been compiled. They are twenty in number and I have already dealt with two of them. These instances range between 1874 and 1894: ten belong to the seventies, six to the eighties, and four occurred during the five years that I was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. They do not therefore indicate a great abundance of subjects for complaint, and though Mr. Manomohan Ghose says he has not included nearly all the cases he could bring forward, and has omitted all petty cases of nearly daily occurrence, it seems fair to

suppose that he has brought forward all the more important ones that could be adduced in support of his contention.

No. 1. A District Magistrate ordered a certain man to be arrested and prosecuted, and began to try the case himself. The judge held that no reasonable ground for a prosecution existed. The District Magistrate was degraded by the Lieutenant-Governor and debarred from ever again having executive charge of a District. This occurred in 1876. It was a very bad case, but the officer was evidently an exceptionally bad Magistrate, for so severe a punishment is almost without precedent.

No. 2. A District Magistrate ordered certain persons to be prosecuted and after the trial had begun before one Subordinate Magistrate he transferred it to the file of another. The suggestion is made that he did this because he believed that the first Subordinate would acquit, but no grounds for this suspicion are given. The men were convicted but the conviction was annulled by the High Court, who held that the Magistrate had no legal power to transfer the case. This instance fails to prove anything except a technical irregularity on the part of the magistrate.

No. 3. A District Magistrate wrote to a Subordinate that the accused in a certain case ought to be punished with the maximum penalty the law allows. I have already said that when some classes of cases become exceedingly rife, such an instruction may be expedient.

No. 4. In a dispute concerning the boundaries of a fishery, a District Magistrate conceiving that there was danger of a breach of the peace took the steps provided by law to prevent it. The High Court annulled the order on the ground that the Magistrate had not acted on any sworn evidence but on his own information. This instance is altogether irrelevant to the issue before us; no injustice is shown to have ensued.

No. 5. The gravamen in this case appears to be that the District Magistrate, having ordered the trial of a case before a Deputy Magistrate interfered with his procedure by instructing him not to summon a certain Raja into Court but

to go to his house to take his evidence, and again directed him as to the order in which the witnesses should be examined. The Deputy Magistrate also went to consult the Magistrate at his house, before dismissing the case. It does not appear that there was any impropriety in the instructions given by the Magistrate, which may have been very necessary, if the Deputy was young and inexperienced; and it is not alleged that any injustice was done to anyone. This story therefore does not seem relevant to the issue.

Nos. 6 and 7. In these two instances the District Magistrate made over certain cases for trial to Subordinate Magistrates with second-class powers, from whose decisions in ordinary course appeals would lie to himself. The High Court held that as he had taken an active part in the prosecution it was not fitting that he should hear the cases in appeal. It does not appear that he wished to hear them; on the contrary the High Court wrote that he himself naturally felt that it would not be seemly. I do not understand the object with which these two instances have been included in the Memorandum.

No. 8. At a time when indigo disputes were very common, a District Magistrate considered that one of his Subordinates was passing unduly lenient sentences on accused persons, and "laid down certain instructions for his future guidance." The nature of these instructions is not stated, but after receiving them the Subordinate inflicted severe penalties, and quoted the Magistrate's instructions in defence of his severity. For the reasons given already it seems probable that the District Magistrate did nothing beyond what was expedient and for the public good.

No. 10. A District Magistrate, having learned from his subordinates that some persons were committing acts which endangered the safety of a public embankment, went to the spot and ordered the arrest of two persons who were, he considered, committing such an act, and holding a summary trial himself convicted and sentenced them. The High Court upset the conviction and held that as he had not

acted on information laid before him generally, but was himself the prosecutor, he ought not to have used his powers of summary procedure in the trial. Here the Magistrate was indiscreet and hasty, but he acted for the protection of the public, and his conduct involved no interference with the judicial independence of anyone. The story does not seem to me to support the indictment.

No. 11. In a case of supposed murder the Subordinate Magistrate discharged the accused, and by the District Magistrate's order two witnesses were prosecuted for perjury and convicted, but the conviction was upset in appeal. This story discloses nothing to the discredit of the District Magistrate and I do not see why it has been included.

No. 12. In a land-dispute in which an Indigo factory was involved, a Subordinate Magistrate convicted one person of being a member of an unlawful assembly, and ordered the Indigo Planter to be replaced in possession of the land. The District Magistrate went to the spot in person to enforce this order, with a body of the Police, and arrested some men of the other party for resisting the order; he also ordered the arrest of the Claimant himself who lived at some distance, and when brought before himself he refused to admit him to bail, though the offence charged was a bailable one, on the ground that if at large he would get up a riot. The claimant was acquitted by the Sessions Court, and the High Court condemned the "irregularity and serious indiscretion" of the District Magistrate. The justice of these remarks must be conceded, but in his defence it may be urged that he was endeavouring to prevent (as he believed) a serious breach of the peace, and in such circumstances a little technical irregularity may be overlooked.

No. 13. The Krishnagarh Students' case is told at great length, in which the District Magistrate ordered the prosecution of some college boys for making a disturbance at a festival. The Lieutenant-Governor condemned his conduct in no measured terms, but the fault he found with him was

not high-handedness or interference with the judicial independence of subordinates, but want of judgment and discretion, and failure to exercise any real control over the case. The story is therefore hardly relevant to the question at issue.

No. 14 is a very similar case. Here too the District Magistrate was severely censured by the Lieutenant-Governor for his passive acquiescence in the abuse of official power by others, for foolishly sanctioning the issue of a summons which ought never to have been issued, and for failure in his duty as the chief controlling and executive authority in the District. These defects in a Magistrate are very serious, but they have nothing to do with the assertion that judicial power is misused by District Magistrates, in order to carry out the views they hold as executive officers.

No. 15. The Magistrate disapproved of the management of a religious festival, and directed the Police to prevent people from attending it. This interference brought on a disturbance and produced a harassing series of criminal cases, all of which ended in acquittals either before the Court of first instance, or the Judge in appeal. The Lieutenant-Governor strongly censured the indiscreet and improper proceedings of the local officials, including the District Magistrate which "involved a grave misuse of judicial authority." I do not understand that this phrase was meant to apply to the District Magistrate himself. The Lieutenant-Governor sums up the misfeasance of the District Magistrate thus: "instead of at once putting a stop to the prosecution, and staying the arbitrary proceedings of his subordinate, he allowed the case to proceed, passed the weak and injudicious order to the Deputy Magistrate about proceeding under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, arbitrarily dismissed the Government Pleader and suspended the Sub-Inspector of Schools almost avowedly for the part they had taken in support of the rival Mela, sanctioned what he ought clearly to have seen was

an unjustifiable prosecution by the Deputy Magistrate under Section 193, Indian Penal Code, and so through his mismanagement and remissness caused what before was a trivial and unjustifiable exhibition of feeling to grow into a grave public scandal." This censure is grave and weighty, but it does not impute any misuse of judicial power, nor does it charge the Magistrate with any misconduct which he could not commit if the views of those who support the separation of his judicial from his executive functions were carried into effect.

No. 16. In a dispute about the right to a tank, the District Magistrate sanctioned a prosecution which in the end came to nothing, the High Court remarking, "we do not think this prosecution was rightly instituted." A suggestion is made that the Subdivisional officer would not have carried on the prosecution had he not thought he was fulfilling the Magistrate's wishes, but for this no foundation is adduced.

No. 17. A land dispute had been pending for some time between two rival Zemindars, neither of whom would give way. The Subdivisional officer seeing that the dispute would lead them into great outlay and might end in a breach of the peace, called in the two rivals and locked them up in his room till they settled their quarrel amicably; and when after a few hours they came to terms, he reduced their agreement to writing, and jocosely told them that if either went back from his agreement he would have to pay a sum of money to the Dufferin Fund. Unfortunately one of them did repudiate the agreement, and the High Court held that it could not be maintained as it was signed under compulsion, and censured the Subdivisional officer. I held that he certainly had acted in an extra-legal rather than a legal manner, dealing more as a Schoolmaster with two boys or a father with two sons than as a Magistrate—putting a half-humorous compulsion upon them for their own good, and that his motives were wholly laudable. Mr. Manomohan Ghose's story is inaccurate in representing

that the officer took the side of one disputant and put compulsion only on the other; but his main error lies in quoting this case at all as an instance of irregular conduct by a District Magistrate. The officer concerned was a Subdivisional or Subordinate Magistrate, and the District Magistrate had no concern with the affair.

No. 18. A drunken Zemindar came into collision with the cart of a District Magistrate who was on tour, assaulted the cartman and afterwards went into a woman's house and made a disturbance there. The Magistrate took up the case with much acrimony, and personally supervised and pushed on the prosecution of the Zemindar who in the end admitted the assault and was sentenced to a moderate fine. The offence was really little more than a drunken freak, and the Magistrate showed great animosity and want of temper and dignity, but nothing illegal was done by him and no misuse of judicial power is alleged.

No. 19 was a rather similar case. A Raja stopped up a drain in order to build a wall for a palace he was constructing, and though he promised to divert the drain and prevent the water from flooding a part of the town he took no steps to perform his promise. The District Magistrate, taking a very exaggerated view of the damage done, ordered the Raja to be prosecuted, and in the Court of a Subordinate Magistrate the Raja was treated with unnecessary discourtesy, and being convicted of "mischief" was sentenced to pay a fine. In appeal the Judge acquitted him of "mischief" but held that he had committed a public nuisance. The affair was especially unfortunate as the Raja had been a great public benefactor of the town. In dealing with it as Lieutenant-Governor I severely blamed the indiscretion of the Magistrate but said that I had convinced myself that, however mistaken, he had acted in good faith and for the protection of the public. The case is hardly relevant to the question at issue, for no judicial powers had been used by the District Magistrate, though he certainly pushed the theory of his right to control the

procedure of his Subordinate Magistrate to an excessive length.

I have now gone through the 21 instances brought forward to prove the evil of the union of judicial and executive functions in the hands of the District Magistrate, and I summarise them as follows :

One case in which the District Magistrate ordered a prosecution and tried the case himself. (No. 1.)

One case in which he committed a technical irregularity which caused no injustice. (No. 2.)

Two cases in which he gave instructions to subordinates as to the extent of penalty to be inflicted in certain classes of offences. (Nos. 3, 8.) .

Two cases in which he gave instructions to subordinates as to procedure. (No. 5 and the case reported in the Article.)

Two cases in which he committed the irregularity of proceeding on his own information, not on sworn evidence. The latter also showed indiscretion as to prosecution. (Nos. 4, 10.)

One case in which he showed indiscretion in ordering a prosecution which should not have been ordered. (No. 16.)

Four cases in which he showed indiscretion both in ordering and conducting a prosecution. (Nos. 12, 15, 18, 19.)

Two cases in which he showed indiscretion in ordering a prosecution, and great want of control over his subordinates. (Nos. 13, 14.)

Four cases in which nothing improper is shown to have existed in his conduct. (Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11.)

Two cases which relate only to the conduct of subordinates, not to the action of the District Magistrate. (Nos. 17 and 20.)

Surely this is a very small outcome of the voiding of Mr. Manomohan Ghose's budget of "horrid examples" collected by him during his practice in 21 years. One case

and only one, the first on the list, would have been prevented if the District Magistrate were deprived of judicial powers. Five cases, the next following on the list, would have been prevented if he had no power of transferring trials from one court to another, or of giving instructions to subordinate Magistrates, but there is nothing to show that the instructions were not excellent and that their prevention would not have been pure loss to the administration of justice. The other nine cases (rejecting the six which are wholly irrelevant) involve the personal equation of the Magistrates concerned. As long as men are men, we shall have in a large body of Government servants, however excellent, some who are hot-headed, or wanting in temper and discretion, or unwise and slothful, or over-eager to attain a good end by irregular or over-bearing means. But we cannot fail to remark how few the instances are which assiduous research has been able to produce out of a long series of years, and how severely such cases as deserved it have been dealt with by the High Court or the Lieutenant-Governor. Above all, we cannot fail to remark that in all these cases, except one, the acceptance of the reform urged upon us would have failed to remedy the injustice which was done or seems to have been done: the misconduct occurred not in the performance of the Magistrate's judicial functions, but of his powers as Executive Head of the Police, of ordering prosecution and arrest, and these powers it is not proposed to take from him.

To sum up, I venture to submit that the attack has wholly failed, and that nothing has been brought forward to weaken the force of the arguments I have adduced for the retention of the District Magistrate in his position as the pivot of the Administration and the controlling Head of the Subordinate Magistrates in the District.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

By General Sir H. N. D. Prendergast, K.C.B., V.C.

Some excitement has been produced by the evidence given before Lord Welby's Commission, a Royal Commission on the Military and Civil Expenditure of India appointed with a view to causing such expenditure to be justly apportioned between the Treasuries of England and India. Lord Wolseley who was examined as an expert from the War Office said that India should pay every penny of the military cost which this country would not have incurred but for India; that the large number of recruits enlisted for India was a very serious inconvenience to our military organization and that it added greatly to the expense and difficulty of obtaining good recruits for England and the Colonies, for, if England had not to provide troops for India, 16,000 recruits, instead of between 30,000 and 40,000, yearly would be ample for her requirements and the standard would be higher. He considered that the whole English Army that is maintained in England was a reserve to be sent to India whenever she required it, for which reserve India paid nothing; he thought that the recruits for India would be a great trouble in case of an emergency such as an internal riot or invasion. In the former case they would be useless, and in the latter, they would be in a great measure in the way, for they could only be utilised in depôts and forts. These young soldiers of less than 18 months' service would not be any addition to the fighting force. In reply to the question whether the Indian Army is not a reserve force for our emergencies Lord Wolseley stated that

"We should not like to put our Indian troops in front of European soldiers. I should not like to fight France or Germany or any other Army with Indian troops."

The War Office advocate says that as England gives so much to India and receives so little in return, this country should not be burdened with any of the military cost of India.

It is certainly more difficult to obtain 30,000 good soldiers than to enlist 16,000. The total number recruited in 1894 was 33,441. If men of less than 1½ years' standing are useless in case of emergency, then apparently one-third of its number should be deducted from the force of 107,810 of the regular rank and file that are available for service in the field in England.

In case of reinforcements being required for India, and England being at peace in all other parts of the world, the British Army in England might be accounted a reserve for India. As a matter of fact troops from England were poured into India to quell the Indian Mutiny and took part in the war of 1857 and 1858. Similarly, when no danger threatened India, Indian troops have been available, in cases of emergency, in Europe and Africa, as, for instance, for the Indian Expedition to Malta and Cyprus, in 1878-1879, for the expeditions to Egypt and the Soudan in 1882 and 1885, when they were present at the battles of Tel-el-Kebir, Hashun, Tofick and other engagements. An Indian Contingent is at present employed at Suakim. It would, however, seem from a despatch to the Secretary of State for India No. 172 "Military," dated the 2nd November 1892, published in the "Further Papers respecting proposed changes in the Indian Army System 1893," that the Government of India is by no means confident of the fitness of a great part of the Indian Army for service against an European foe. This is shown in the following extract from a document signed by Lord Lansdowne as Viceroy, Lord Roberts, as Commander-in-Chief, General Brackenbury and the other members of Council.

"It must be recognized that, with the advance of a great military power towards the frontiers of India, the duty of the Government of India is to be able to confront that power with the best material at its disposal, however much we may hope that the disaster of war may be averted. To this end we have so to organize the Army as to enable us to place in the field all the troops which are composed of the best fighting material. The advantage which it may be to the Armies of Madras and Bombay or to the Hindustani troops to be employed on, or beyond, the frontier must give way to the greater advantages, accruing to the Empire at large, from

the employment of the best fighting material in the first line. No amount of service in the dreaded and rigorous climate of Baluchistan will make the soldier of the Deccan fit for service in that climate or *to fight against the enemy he may have to encounter*, while, similarly, we could not ask a commander to employ the troops of Hindustan or the South of India in such a region in any large numbers, when hardier and better fighting material is at our disposal. The sepoy recruited from Southern India has been proved over and over again to be unfit for the physical and climatic conditions of campaigning in Upper Burma."

In case of a war or the probability of war with Russia the Northern Army Corps would be required on, or beyond, the frontier and, according to the statement of the Government of India, the three remaining Corps are not fit to fight Russians in Asia. Surely then no surprise need be felt when the Commander-in-Chief states that

"we should not like to put our Indian troops in front of European soldiers. I should not like to fight France or Germany or any other Army with Indian troops" in Europe.

Yet the very vastness of the Indian Empire is a proof that the Indian Army has done its duty thoroughly in many campaigns.

Opinions differ about the respective value of native troops recruited in different parts of India. Lord Napier, when Commander-in-Chief in India, said that he was ashamed of the prejudice which he had felt before he became intimately acquainted as its Commander-in-Chief with the BOMBAY Army, against the troops that were not of his own Presidency. Sir Neville Chamberlain wrote in 1878:

"The sepoy, whether of Bengal, Madras or Bombay, is just what his British officers make of him: and Sir Neville Chamberlain has now seen enough of this Native Army to feel assured that the Presidency can produce plenty of good efficient soldiers, provided they be sought for, and when obtained, be properly trained and well commanded. What the sepoys of the Coast Army did in times past, their successors, if judiciously selected, may be expected to do in the future."

The difficulty of recruiting was greater in 1893 than in former years as wages had risen and frequent tours of foreign service had made the profession of arms distasteful to many in the MADRAS Presidency.

History teaches us that in Sir Archibald Campbell's

expedition to Burma only one Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry took part while seven Regiments of Native Infantry, one Regiment of Pioneers, besides Golandazes and gun-lascars, from Madras were employed from the beginning and many more Battalions were sent as reinforcements, and six additional Regiments were raised in Madras for the war. From that time (1824-25) to this, Madras Troops have garrisoned Burma for 70 years without a murmur. In the 2nd Burma war, in 1852-1853, the Madras Infantry again took a prominent part. In the 3rd Burmese War in 1885, besides 4 Regiments of Madras Infantry in Lower Burma, 4 Battalions of Madras Infantry and one of Pioneers and three Companies of Sappers were engaged in the operations that led to the fall of Mandalay and the deposition of King Theebaw, while only two Regiments of Bengal Infantry and a Company of Bengal Sappers were present. So MADRAS can fairly claim its share of credit for the annexation of Burma. Madras also supplied and paid for the whole garrison of Burma for many years. General Morrison's campaign in Arracan did not prove the Hindustani troops to be more fit for the physical and climatic conditions of campaigning in Burma than the men from Southern India.

When comparing the physical fitness of the Madras Sepoy with that of the PUNJABI for service in Burma it is necessary to remember that the service of the Punjabi is on far more favourable terms as regards pay and leave of absence. However comparisons are odious and it is unnecessary to institute them here. All these armies have done splendid service. If in this paper more mention is made of Madras than of Bengal and Bombay, it is because I am an officer of the Madras Army, but it has been my good fortune to be attached in the field to Bombay forces in Persia, Central India, and Abyssinia, and I have always regarded the Bombay Army with the warmest affection and admiration. Similarly, I can bear testimony, from my own personal experience, to the excellent service rendered by

the Hindustani Regiments which formed part of the Burma Expeditionary Force in 1885-86.

I had the honour to command for some years the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners—a Madras Corps that has been distinguished in 37 campaigns and expeditions. I may mention that it is not a class-Regiment. A candidate for enlistment was never asked questions about his caste or creed, but he had to show what he could do; the object was to get skilled workmen into the ranks. Their *esprit de corps* was such that a man, if asked to what caste he belonged, would reply *Sapper*-caste; men on leave would walk almost incredible distances to rejoin their Company on hearing that it was ordered on service and volunteers to take a vacant place in the Company for service were always numerous. I remember a piteous scene at Secunderabad. A boy 8 or 10 years of age was forcibly dragged out of a railway carriage; the poor little fellow was the orphan of a Sapper; his company was about to embark for service, and he was inconsolable at being separated from his Company which he wished to accompany to the wars and at being torn from his friends who had supported him since his father's death; standing beside him, weeping bitterly, was a Sapper who had seen four campaigns with the Company but, having met with an accident at work a day or two before, had been declared medically unfit to take the field. He seemed broken-hearted as he took the child of the Company to his home.

Without referring to ancient history it may be interesting to read the opinion of some living Generals of this Madras Corps.

"My experience of the Madras Sappers during the last campaign in the Soudan confirms the impression I received during the campaign in Northern China in 1860 as to the invaluable qualities of the men of this corps, whether displayed in hard work or in hard fighting."

Lt.-Genrl. Sir G. Graham, 30th May, 1885.

We may now be nearly certain that, whenever India is called upon to put an Army in the field, the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners will form part of that Army. Wher-

ever the Madras Sappers have been employed they have added to their reputation and have done credit to their Presidency.

General Sir F. Roberts, in his speech to the Sappers at Bangalore, spoke as follows :

"The best Native Soldiers, taking them all round, whom I ever served with in India were the Madras Sappers. Their coolness under fire, indifference to danger, their discipline and their pride of Regiment marked them on all occasions as first rate soldiers."

General Viscount Wolseley.
"Fortnightly Review," August, 1888.

The Sappers were specially commended for their war services by Lord Cornwallis, Lord Harris, the Duke of Wellington, Generals Doveton and Hislop, Lord Gough, Sir Charles Napier, Sir John Cheap, Sir James Outram, Sir Hugh Rose, Lord Clyde, Sir Hope Grant, Lord Napier and many other Generals. If they have acquired such fame, surely there must be some men in Southern India that are fit to take part in *any* operations of war.

Many years have elapsed since the Indian Army encountered the forces of France, Spain and Holland in the East, and long may it be before they meet an European foe! But, mindful of their success in former years in Persia, in China, in Abyssinia and in Burma; considering the admirable spirit that animated the Indian Expeditionary Force that was brought to Malta and Cyprus in 1878-79 with the expectation of field-service in Europe, and the discipline, the powers of marching, manœuvring and shooting of the Indian Army; remembering that they have withstood like Britons the fierce onslaught of the tribesmen in the Sitana campaign, of the Gházi in Afghanistan and of the Dervish in Egypt, why should we not have confidence in our native troops? We can never forget how they worked and fought and suffered at Delhi and Lucknow; how they marched and fought in the torrid plains of Central India; we have only lately applauded their splendid heroism in the frozen passes of Hunza-Nagar and Chitral. Let the Regiments be strengthened by a greater comple-

ment of British officers, let the Sepoys be so regarded and so treated that they may be imbued with patriotism and feel that British and Natives alike are the trusted soldiers of the Queen-Empress; let decentralization be really carried out; let more power be given to the Lieut.-Generals commanding Corps d'armées. The traditions of the Madras and Bombay Armies are more ancient than, and as sacred as, those of the Punjab. No attempts should be made to assimilate in every particular troops of different races and that have been raised on different systems. The advantages of divergences were illustrated at the time of the mutiny. The Bengal Army in 1857 was over-centralised and ill-disciplined; it mutinied and melted away and insurrection arose in the Presidency, whereas in the Madras Army where the system of keeping their families with the sepoys was in operation, discipline was good. The result was that the Madras Army was untainted by mutiny. It not only held Madras, Hyderabad and British Burma, but it also sent a Division into Central India which fought under Whitlock. Two Regiments of Cavalry and three Battalions of Infantry were placed under the orders of Sir Colin Campbell, and fought in Bengal and Oudh. Companies of Sappers covered themselves with glory at Lucknow and in Central India, whilst the Hyderabad Contingent was set free for service in the field and was highly distinguished in Central India. To adopt the pedantic phrase in the despatch quoted above

"The value of the Madras Army as an independent body, separate from the Bengal Army, was recognized as a factor in the maintenance of internal order."

Since then, the Indian Army has been reorganized; great changes were necessarily made in Bengal; what was called the irregular system was introduced; because such alterations were unavoidable in Bengal, they were also applied to Madras; the number of Officers to each Regiment was reduced to one third of the number that was considered by the Commander-in-Chief to be required, the number of

Regiments has been reduced to less than one half of the old strength, yet the Madras Army has had to supply by far the greater part of the Indian troops for foreign service, and this was prominently brought to notice by Lord Napier of Magdala when he objected to the disbandment of Madras Regiments. Different races have different requirements; soldiers of all nations cannot be made to conform to an uniform pattern; if the Indian Army is wanted to be fit to go anywhere and to do anything, due attention should be paid to the feelings of its officers and men.

The paucity of British Officers with Native Regiments must be a source of weakness. In Burma, where the Regiments necessarily furnished detachments, the lack of Officers was much felt. One occasion occurs to me when the two Officers of a strong Detachment of Native Infantry were shot down at the commencement of an affair and it so happened that no Officer present with the Line Detachment, with which they were acting, could speak any language known to the native Officers. I am perfectly certain that, if there had been more British Officers available, the troubles after the occupation of Burma would have been in a great measure obviated or curtailed.

After the Sikh war there were many able Officers with Regiments who could assist in the administration of the country. In Burma, however, there were no spare Officers; there were not enough to lead the men in action, hardly enough, at times, to carry on ordinary regimental duties. Many Officers are of opinion that, if decentralisation were carried out, Lieutenant-Generals and their Staff would get through less business but more work. If the Ordnance and Commissariat Departments pursued in peace time the system that is adopted on service, the Officers would be more efficient; they would write less and have time to do their work and establishments might be considerably reduced —a transport Officer, for instance, may be far better employed inspecting animals, gear, vehicles, stables and workshops than in spoiling paper in an office. The eye of the

efficient Officer would do more to obviate corruption and waste than all the paper checks that can be invented.

The remark by a well-known writer that, literally speaking, "There is no such country as India and there are no such people as Indians" would seem to be justified by the paradoxes constantly presented to us in our relations with that vast Continent and its inhabitants.

Natives of India are faithful to Government; they speak much of "the Sirkár," but little of the "Kaisar" or Empress; in Parliament they are represented, not by a Hindu or a Mussulman or even by a Buddhist or a Sikh, but by a Parsee; in the newspaper press they are represented, or led, by the Bengali Baboo and the half-caste Vakeel. The war cry of "Dîn," "Dîn," or "the Faith" "the Faith," that one hears in moments of excitement, strikes one as singularly grotesque when followers of the Prophet, shoulder to shoulder perhaps with Rajputs and Brahmins and led by British Christian Officers, advance to attack an enemy, but the word, if not appropriate, is certainly inspiriting. The reformed troops of certain Native Princes are well termed "Imperial Service Troops." Would it not be well that the idea of our Sepoys being only mercenary troops be obliterated and that the Army of India, composed of soldiers of Greater Britain, who are as much volunteers as the men of our line Regiments, be termed the "IMPERIAL INDIAN ARMY"?

THE JURISDICTIONS OF THE INDIAN PRINCES AND OF THE PARAMOUNT POWER.

By An Old Political.

That the Crown of England has jurisdiction in lands outside the Queen's dominions is a well-known preamble of divers Acts of Parliament which are in accord with the doctrines found in the decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Superior Courts of England applying law and equity. It has been said judicially that this kind of jurisdiction is meant to control the behaviour of persons. Some of the oldest examples of it are personal, as for instance in the Levant where the trading communities of Christians, living in factories under the shelter of Mahommedan princes, gained in early times a right to be judged in suits among themselves by a Magistrate of the factory, holding powers from his own Prince and bound by allegiance to him. The privilege was soon extended to servants of the factory and to persons of any other Christian nation, who put themselves under its shield and took their colour from it. The same causes led to the same results in India. Where, as Lord Stowell points out, a settlement is made by Christians from Europe among people of a very different faith, the foreigners remaining immiscible like strangers and sojourners, a special tribunal is desirable. Those who dwell in the factory being used to taking orders from the chief man there, readily go to him when disputes arise among themselves, and accept his decisions. The territorial sovereign, whether Sultan of Turkey or Great Mogul in India, at first allows the practice: and then sanctions it, chiefly from reasons of convenience, being advised that it is well to let the strangers settle their own quarrels, before someone who understands their ways and customs, and who as head of the factory is more or less responsible to the prince of the country. The next step is easily taken whereby the factory and its ships are treated as a precinct, a space

of ground, where everybody, except refugees and mere visitors, is bound by the rules of the factory and punishable by its tribunal. This is an advance further than was generally allowed by the more jealous powers of Europe to the companies of foreign traders, Lombards, Flemings or Hanse townsmen who sometimes got from the King a charter of privileges more or less like those of the trading guilds under the law of the country. The Oriental monarch believed his firman to be revocable, like the charters in Europe. But in the end, after wars and treaties, and as a result of mingled favour, prudence and force, the Western strangers are firmly established over all the East, including the ports of China. What we see to-day is greatly due to another and outside agency. The European power insisted on the distant factory obeying its behests. It listened to appeals from oppressive orders, and from judgments not justified by the principles of the mother country. So we find the English Crown two centuries ago sending a professional Judge to Bombay as it does now to Cyprus and Zanzibar. The Chief of the factory was at last superseded, for the very same reason to which he owed his judicial office. The English strangers wanted someone conversant with the laws under which they were born and under which alone they would rest quiet. Courts were soon erected under powers given for that purpose by Parliament to the Crown. These powers extended over persons beyond the frontiers. It had been held by the Court of King's Bench in one case at least that an Englishman under its jurisdiction must be tried by it, even though it might be, as pleaded by him, that he had been unlawfully arrested and brought before it out of France. We find no trace of any inquiry into the local jurisdiction of the Courts of Native Princes in India over Europeans committing crimes in their territories, over Christians, British subjects in matters of divorce and nullity of marriage. Parliament determined that for the relief of British persons the High Courts should deal with all these matters. Governors were also made liable to those Courts

for treason and felony: and the extra-territorial jurisdiction over all public servants guilty of corrupt practices was conferred on the King's Bench and on a Court which can be empanelled out of Members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, together with some of the Judges.

In the meantime the principle that a person, not a subject of the Crown, takes his colour from the factory which protects him was being established. Servants of the Crown or the East India Company being justiciable by the British Government, were soon held to be beyond any other local jurisdiction. Then the Government of India sought the same immunity for its soldiery, a matter we believe easily conceded by the Native States, as the military law provides for the highly suitable tribunal of Courts-Martial, in peace as in war-time, and no matter where the offence takes place. It became long ago our policy to keep permanent camps near the Native Capitals: sometimes by request of the Native Ally to protect him against the armies of a hostile Raja or Sultan: sometimes as a means of securing the carrying out of a treaty at the end of a war: sometimes, we gave the territorial Prince a *quid pro quo* when he gave over a site of use for strategical purposes to the British Army, now concerned with all parts of India. It suited the convenience of both parties to the treaty or convention that all cases, civil and criminal, between soldiers of the British or Indian Army, should be heard and determined by Military Courts, namely, Courts-Martial or the Superintendent of Bazaars, an officer under military orders. The cases of camp-followers were analogous: and so also to a large extent those of the traders that settled in the Bazaar near the Quarter-Master's office. But then the Indian Legislature followed the precedents of Parliament and created the Courts of the Cantonment Magistrates without any reservation of classes from the jurisdiction. For some years, perhaps decades, no remonstrances were made by the Native Princes; but at last when lands and houses had gained a great value, questions arose as to whether the

Prince had surrendered his right to decide causes relating to the soil of the Cantonment; and sometimes he claimed as against the British Magistrate that his own subjects merely passing through or attending the market in the camp, ought to be handed over to him if charged with offences. We believe these questions were settled in the last resort by the Government of India, as they arose; and by reference to the words used in the treaty with the Prince, interpreted, where as often happens, they are vague, by the practices or usages in which the parties had acquiesced. One legal draftsman once tried to cut the Gordian knot by a suggestion that the Cantonment Magistrate had the same plenary powers as a Provost Marshal of an army in a foreign land in time of war. But as already said the Government of India has followed the diplomacy of European states in giving weight to the treaty in force with the Native Prince concerned, and to later arrangements, claims and decisions thereupon.

In 1872 that Government followed the precedents made long before by Imperial Parliament and passed an Act which besides making the Queen's subjects outside her dominions responsible to her laws and Courts enabled the Government to regulate such jurisdictions as it actually possessed. This Act and a later one of the same kind did not attempt to define them: their chief object was to supply *leges fori*, to say what laws the Courts established by the Indian Government in Native States should administer and to appoint British officials to do the work of appeal and control which in British India is done by the Courts of Districts and of Sessions and by Judicial Commissioners and High Courts. For these purposes Orders in Council are made by the Governor-General, with as much care and precision of language as those whereby the Queen, by the advice of the Secretary of State, defines the Courts for Zanzibar, Uganda and Cyprus. While the African Orders in Council impose on the High Court of Bombay the duty of hearing appeals from Equatorial

Africa, those made by the Viceroy usually require some Resident or other high official in the diplomatic service to perform similar functions. It is the Government of India too which creates the Courts exercising the Queen's jurisdiction in such places as Muscat, the shores of the Persian Gulf and the wild region of Somaliland. When a new railway passes through the territory of any Indian Prince, he almost invariably cedes by a written convention a jurisdiction to the Government of India which is plenary as regards the land used as a railway and not merely personal over designated classes. Disputes seldom arise over these modern arrangements which are set forth in plain words, avoiding the vague ambiguity of the treaties made in the earlier decades of this century. The same ambiguity appears in many of the older conditions about extradition as where the British Government and the Native Chief mutually agree to "deliver up offenders." Naturally questions arise whether such language, easily applicable to persons who commit serious crimes, can rightly be extended to persons who fail to pay rates and taxes, to petty smugglers and to those charged with only *mala prohibita*. Many a Raja has cherished the right of affording an asylum or refuge, like the sanctuaries of Europe; and all States have a keen dislike to surrender any of their own subjects to a foreign power. The discontent of a Native Prince is a serious matter, as their loyalty to the British Crown was found to be a strong support of order in the time of the Mutiny, when in some places the ordinary magistracy had lost all power. What then ought to be done when the jealousy of the Chief is raised, when some pushing District Magistrate, eager for good police administration, thoughtless of general foreign policy, clamours for applying the ancient treaty to a new or doubtful case? In theory, there ought to be an international arbitration. In practice, the good offices of the Political Agent avail between the Magistrate and the Chief. He is a sword used to cutting both ways. He gets some of his own importance from the

Chief, and is often ready to frame arguments for him, at the risk of being silenced as an *advocatus diaboli.* In final resort the Indian Government decides the point, trying to be impartial, although fully aware that our position as Paramount Power shakes the judicial balance, and brings into one scale suggestions about prestige and use of power to secure the good of the greatest number. The decision is sometimes sent to other Magistrates and other Political Agents, perhaps in a different Province and working under quite other treaties and practices. Where uniformity is desired, there is always a danger of the facts and circumstances being ignored, for reasons of expediency, especially where the effect of the order issued in general terms is to prejudice claims and to refuse trial of them. While one result is a certain amount of alarm and discontent in the minds of the most powerful class in India, the system is not as a matter of fact very much resented. The Native Princes are themselves used to dealing with many contentions without using purely judicial means. They know too that in many great matters, e.g., the selection of officers for the highest places in the Army, the Navy, the Bench, and the Embassies no judicial hearing of claimants is possible, that in fact much must be trusted to the prerogative, that confidential reports cannot be dispensed with. It may be added that Imperial Parliament has provided for the Indian Government a means of applying the great rules of equity and evidence as nearly as may be. We mean the requirement that some of the members of the Council shall be persons of real judicial or forensic experience. Besides this, there is in practice an appeal to the Secretary of State in Council; and sometimes the serious attention of Parliament may be drawn to a really serious case, such as the deposition of a Raja or the refusal to allow the passing of the royal rights to an adopted son. The present writer believes however that two great acts of state, of which the chief credit is due to Lord Salisbury, have done most to quiet the anxieties of the Chiefs in their peculiar

position of parties to diplomatic inquiries, who cannot demand judicial trials. The one was the decision that the Kingdom of Mysore should not be annexed on failure of heirs, however long it had been actually administered by British Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners. The other was the refusal to treat the attempt of Mulhar Rao Gaekwar of Baroda to poison the Resident as a reason for attainting all the Gaekwar race and for forfeiting the State to Her Majesty. It is now generally known to the princely families that the policy of annexation, whether on failure of direct heirs or on proof of high crimes and misdemeanours has been abandoned long ago. Secure in the rights most valued, the Chiefs taken altogether sit fairly comfortable on their *gadies* feeling some indifference to small changes; like as a lord of a manor, sure that his freeholds and copyholds are firmly guarded by the law, minds little if some old franchise, some flower of regalia, the choice of heriot, the right to waif, crumbles away under the changing hands of Time.

Something more than this has happened in several parts of India where apparently every franchise connected with palatine offices and rights has been taken away, the only signs of regalia remaining to the Chiefs being a dignity, a style, and perhaps an immunity from process issued under the municipal law of British India. This interesting change is discussed by Sir H. S. Maine in an official minute about the Chiefs of Kathiawad, printed in his Life. It would seem that three of these Chiefs retain the sovereign right of coining money. Four or five have a complete jurisdiction over all persons except certain classes over whom the British Government wields the sword of its own Courts. Another set of Chiefs have a jurisdiction which may be roughly described as that of the County Court and the Quarter Sessions; every cause which would go to the High Court or the Assizes in England goes in these States as a matter of course to the British Government Court. Below these, we find a numerous class of lords, whose jurisdiction, once as various as that of the Island

King in Man or of a Highland Lord of Regalia, has wholly disappeared and vanished like the Courts of the Archdeacons. The Lord of a Manor with his Court Leet and Court Baron and Customary Court has preserved a higher position. The whole of the justice of these lordships is directly dispensed by officers acting for the British Government, Political Agents. Sir H. S. Maine treated some of these facts as proof that sovereignty over a country admits of division between two persons or two States, the prerogatives of coining, making war, providing for justice, pardon etc. being capable of assignment. The Privy Council in a celebrated and leading case from Bhownagar went so far as to opine that some of these lordships had thus gradually become territory of the Crown. In several recent works by officers high in the Indian Political service, an endeavour is made to attack this opinion, the argument being that if these territories were British, the High Courts would have jurisdiction over them, whereas the judicial control over the local Political Agency Courts is exercised by the Government which makes its own inquests as a Court of Star Chamber and also hears parties like a Judicial Committee. But this view of the matter seems to be different from that of Sir H. S. Maine, and opposed to the dicta of the Lords of the Privy Council who decided the reported case from Bhownagar. The apologists of the present practice do not deny that in some of these countries-palatine the justice dispensed is not that of the Native State or Lord but of the British Government's officers: a fact strongly relied on by the Lord Chief Justice in the recent Jameson Raid case as an index of the Queen's sovereignty. As in Burma, Assam and the Central Provinces, the highest Court of Appeal and Control is a Judicial Commissioner appointed by the Viceroy and not a High Court with Judges appointed by the Queen, it is difficult to see that the legal question is altered by the mere fact that some cases come before the Government sitting like a Judicial Commissioner or Committee. These able writers

move on a different plane when they appeal to expediency in favour of the Government retaining the judicial function. This may be reasonable as regards out of the way or peculiar regions like the Niger or Somali Land: but if expediency points to Viceroys and Governors holding superior Courts to decide common pleas and criminal cases, the High Courts might be reduced, especially if it is true that in India a manorial lord in litigation with the Government likes to have the judgment given by the Government rather than by an indifferent Judge, if it is true that the parties prefer the abolished Chancery procedure of written pleadings to the oral trials in open Court which obtain in British India.

In this short article we have tried to set forth a few of the larger questions that have gathered round a jurisdiction little understood, acquired in various ways by the Prerogative, chiefly by treaty, convention, acquiescence and usage, but varying not only in the different continents and places, from Constantinople to Shanghai, from Cyprus and Uganda to Samoa and Madras, but even in tracts close to each other where, as in India or West Africa, many petty Chiefs have entered into engagements. We have left untouched those great Acts of State, such as the deposal of Princes, and the forfeiture of Kingdoms, these being matters of the policy and events of the day and only feebly connected with any jurisprudence.

THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES AND IMPERIAL COMMERCIAL FEDERATION.

By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

The recent deplorable dissensions between India and Lancashire on the Indian Cotton Duties—dissensions of which we have not yet heard the end, dissensions which have been reopened over the Suakin military charges, dissensions which are producing, *omnium consensu*, an unparalleled amount of discontent throughout India—show that the fiscal and financial relations between the mother-country and India are almost at the point of deadlock. Those relations are, obviously and admittedly, such as to cause the gravest anxiety to the Secretary of State for India.

Lord George Hamilton, in defending the policy of the Government, wisely laid the utmost stress on the enormous dangers, tending in the direction of Separatism, of open conflicts between the material interests of various parts of the Empire. Mr. Arthur Balfour, in the powerful and sympathetic speech with which he concluded the debate on the Indian Cotton Duties, elaborated the same point; and it is, I believe, matter of common notoriety that those arguments largely, perhaps mainly, influenced the division that ensued.

Both Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Balfour have repeatedly maintained that the policy of the Government in the matter of the Cotton Duties has been to hold the balance with strict impartiality between India and Lancashire. It is unnecessary at this time, after the prolonged and embittered discussion that has taken place, to enter once more into the merits of the question. What every well-wisher of India, and every patriotic Briton, wishes is, that some permanent arrangement may now be arrived at, by which these conflicts of interest may be avoided.

There is abundant evidence that the present state of things is well-nigh intolerable, so far as India is concerned. The system, or no-system, is simply one of "drift." Everything is left to the chapter of accident, until at last, when angry passions have been aroused and much mischief done, the Secretary of State for India has imposed on him the task, always disagreeable and onerous, and sometimes well-nigh impracticable, of deciding between raging factions whilst avoiding Parliamentary disaster.

For, in fairness to the Secretary of State, it should never be forgotten that, although his power in the last resort is practically a despotic one—especially now that the reduction in the numbers of his Council has greatly diminished their influence as a check on their master—his despotism is always subject to the veto of the House of Commons.

It is quite impossible for India to forget that, whilst her voice is unheard in the House of Commons, and only very feebly and timidly raised in the India Office, there is no more formidable political organization than the Lancashire Parliamentary Party. And the inquiries of Lord Welby's Committee—which have simply brought out, in the light of London, facts already common property in India—seem to have proved beyond dispute that when the British Treasury and the British War Office are agreed, it is a mere farce for the India Office to pretend to disagree.

Other grounds might be stated for the contention that the existing state of things is in itself pernicious, and grossly unfair to the unrepresented millions of India; but I think these are sufficient. We Englishmen are accustomed to talk proudly of our Indian Empire as a great "trust," and feel that we have a right to be proud of the fair and honourable way in which we have, on the whole, administered it as such—that is, in the interests first of all of India. Recent events have shown that the existing system—which is maintained simply by our will, expressed in the constitutional way by the House of Commons—is, in the points of which I am writing, unfair to India. And that

consideration is sufficient to force us anxiously to seek reform.

Lord Cross appears to have thought he had arrived at a satisfactory *modus vivendi*, when he laid down the rule—eminently favourable to India—that doubtful charges should not be imposed on Indian revenues except with the consent of the Indian Government. That was a plain and simple rule, capable of being easily extended to all those relations, which I have ventured to group under the headings of "fiscal" and "financial," between England and India. And in the special circumstances of the case, such a rule would probably be accepted in India as a fair settlement. But is it workable? I think a moment's consideration of the circumstances of the Cotton Duties quarrel must show that no such rule can work in practice. Suppose the Government of India insisted *à outrance* on its right to tax Indian imports of Lancashire goods. We all know the point that was made of this burning question throughout the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and the neighbouring counties during the last election. We all remember how bitterly the Opposition talked and wrote about Lord George Hamilton's famous letter to the electors of Accrington. In face of all this, and in face of the overwhelming power of the manufacturing vote in the House of Commons, it would be mere hypocrisy to pretend that any Secretary of State could dare to carry out such a rule as that suggested, and allow protective duties to be imposed in India at the bidding of the Government of India, at the cost of the pockets of the Lancashire manufacturers. On the face of it, it is obvious that, if Parliament were sitting, any such attempt would be speedily followed by the resignation of the Minister and the reversal of his policy.

Yet, every one of our great self-governing Colonies possesses the power to protect its nascent industries—a power that even Mill and the straitest-laced of the ultra-free-trade school have admitted to be only just and necessary. Every one of our Colonies uses that power freely;

and it is a mere commonplace to say that Parliament would never dream of interfering—for it is admitted that, if we were to interfere, we should be repeating Lord North's colossal blunder, and should run the risk of destroying our Colonial Empire.

What, then, becomes of our boasts about our administering India as a "trust"? Surely, our national honour demands an immediate reform of such an iniquitous system.

Now, it is clear that the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions for an Imperial Commercial Federation, and the inclusion of India therein, would at once, and for ever, put an end to all those suspicions and possibilities of unfairness.

It may be assumed, I suppose, that India would be admitted to the British Zollverein in the same way, and on the same terms, as those suggested by Mr. Chamberlain for the great self-governing Colonies—that is to say, on give-and-take terms to be settled by previous negotiations between the British and Indian Governments. In those negotiations, it would not be forgotten that India is infinitely more populous than all the rest of the Empire put together; and therefore has to offer, in the vast Free-Trade Federation of the future, infinitely the biggest and most progressive market in the world. It will not be forgotten that the Secretary of State for India is already responsible for the Indian State and Railway obligations. It will not be forgotten that the vastly diversified climates and soils of India ought to enable her to produce every natural product that Britain wants, as cheaply and as well as America; while her huge thrifty and laborious population ought to enable her to supply us with all those things we now love to have marked "made in Germany." While under Mr. Chamberlain's scheme there would be absolute Free Trade between the Home-country, India, and the Colonies, each Government would retain entire independence in regard to its fiscal arrangements—subject only to that primary condition, which would equally condition them all.

Here, then, is offered an ideal settlement of the Indian grievance. There would no longer be any room for suspicions of Indian interests being subordinated to Party or Parliamentary exigencies. For the only disability imposed on India by the new constitution—that which forbids her to tax the productions of the Home-country or the Colonies—would be imposed equally on every other member of the Federation, including the Home-country, not by fitful Parliamentary action but by the constitution itself. In other fiscal matters she would be independent—as independent as any other member of the Federation. If the power to tax foreign imports should prove inadequate for revenue purposes—as would probably be the case in India, where the great bulk of the external trade is with Britain or British possessions—a make-weight might fairly be offered her in an Imperial guarantee for the Indian State and Railway obligations. That guarantee would practically cost nothing whatever, now or ever; whilst it would slightly lessen the burden of the interest-charges, to such an extent as to make up for any possible loss of revenue from taxes on British imports. And such a guarantee would be a fitting accompaniment to the establishment of an Imperial Federation.

The only alternative reform that has been suggested, as likely to afford India the redress she requires, is the setting up of some Supreme Tribunal, independent alike of the British and the Indian Governments, to arbitrate between England and India when their interests clash. I do not presume to say that it passes the wit of man to devise such a Tribunal; but when we remember that Parliament is, and must always be, absolutely the Supreme Tribunal in the Empire—superior in the last resort even to this Tribunal of arbitration—and when we remember that India is not represented in Parliament, while every British interest is therein directly and powerfully represented—it is obvious that the devising of a Tribunal, that should be free from even the suspicion of Parliamentary and Party pressure, must be enormous.

On the other hand, when once the Imperial Commercial Federation has been established, all difficulties and all suspicions must disappear. Mr. Chamberlain has shown that such a Federation is greatly to be desired for Britain and for the Colonies. It would unite the Empire. It would probably resuscitate our agricultural industry, it would certainly benefit our trade. And so for India. It would develop her resources, it would retain her vast population as the greatest market of the future for our manufactured goods; and at the same time it would remove, definitely and for ever, a very real and deeply-resented inequality.

THE AMIR'S PÆAN, THE MITÁI VALLEY AND THE KAFIRS.

By a Missionary.

The official Afghan Pæan on the inglorious conquest of Kafiristan, not yet fully completed, though its shocking incidents are carefully kept from public knowledge, has now been published in a somewhat defective English translation from the original Persian in an up-country Indian newspaper. It is addressed to the Muhammadans throughout the world as a victory of the true faith over infidelity, achieved by one who has emulated the exploits of Alexander the Great, the possessor of the two continents. This one, it is needless to say, is our Ally of Afghanistan, who has, in consequence, assumed the title of "Light of the World and Ghazi" or the successful Raider of unbelievers. He is called "the King" in the Pæan, who has humiliated the "daulat," or "nation" of Russia and Borussia (a mere alliteration) wrongly rendered as "wealth" in the English translation, in which also his preliminary invitation to the Kafirs to embrace Islám and obey the orders of the King is rendered as "the orders of thinking." Still the translation gives a fair, if dull, idea of a conquest which has, practically, exterminated a race, *as a nation*, that had strong claims on educated and Christian Europe and especially on England. The present popular version, although issued by authority, does not seem to contain the grateful reference to the Durand Treaty of the original Report, also couched in a poetical form, to which allusion was made in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of April last in an article on "Kafiristan and the Khalifa question." Still in the main it is the same and it gives an account of treachery and atrocities thinly disguised to any reader "between the lines" by the Court-Homer of the expedition. The Pæan further shows in its enunciation of names of places and offices in Kafiristan that the destruction of its historic landmarks, some going

back to the time of the Greek invasion of Alexander, is already complete. The honor of the conquest is ascribed to the *diplomacy* of the Afghan Commander-in-Chief who first lulled the Kafirs into a sense of false security by promising them the free exercise of their religion, then surprised and destroyed one village after the other, when the winter had made flight or inter-tribal combination impossible. In several places the Kafirs preferred setting fire to the villages and perishing in the flames, according to a traditional usage, rather than become Muhammadans. [This was first made known by a statement of the Amir to his female physician and published in the "Times."] A hunt for, and massacre of, Kafir men, women and children is then narrated in the Pæan and in order to be on the safe side for the future all the able-bodied men, likely to give trouble at any time, who surrendered were killed as also the High Priest, Wuta, who had come on a visit with his leading followers. A general disarmament then took place; the remnant of women and males then "voluntarily" embraced Islám and hosts of Mullahs were distributed all over the country to teach the neophytes their new faith. It is said that Kafiristan is now a realm of bliss from which praise and prayer ascends and if the Kafirs have lost their independence they have gained Paradise instead and are now engaged in honest labor on the Afghan military roads throughout their country.

The effect on the Pathans of this glorious accession to Islám has been very great and, even in India, it is whispered among Muhammadans that the turn of other Kafirs or "infidels" will come next. The prestige of the Amir has vastly increased; it is pointed out that the large annual subsidy given to him is really a tribute paid by one infidel nation, England, for protection from a Muhammadan power, against another infidel nation, Russia, for, were it otherwise, Englishmen, not in the employ of the Amir, would be allowed to travel in Afghanistan, or England, at least, would have an European Agent in that country. Yet it is only

natural that the Amir, or King, if not Emperor of a country, which is now more closed against Europeans than it ever was and which no Missionary dare enter, should desire to have an agent in England and enter into direct diplomatic relations with a "Power" or "Weakness" that pays him so much money, instead of continuing to permit a subordinate Government, like that of India, to be their channel. The question of the Mitái Valley has been put forward as a feeler. It had not really been reserved to the British side by the Durand Treaty and, even had this been the case, it would not matter, for the infinitely more important Bashgal Valley, which *was expressly* reserved by that vaguest and most ill-informed of documents, was dropped in hot haste when the Amir insisted on having it whilst we were in the midst of the anxieties of the Chitrál campaign on the 9th April, 1895. Nor will his letter to the Government of the 4th December following, when he was graciously pleased to ratify our surrender of the Bashgal Valley (already devastated by his troops in the previous November) ever be submitted in full to Parliament. Even the *Times* now admits that this transfer was an unauthorized mistake and the semi-official "Pioneer" regrets that after our "*generous*" abandonment of Kafiristan to the Amir, he should not show more gratitude in the matter of the Mitái Valley. But the Mitái Valley is inhabited by Muhammadans who more properly belong to the Amir than the Káfirs. Besides, the Durand Treaty was rather a general agreement to divide a contemplated spoil than a precise demarcation. "The original Map given to the Amir" referred to in its 4th clause will not bear the light of day nor is the Map attached to the Treaty itself ever likely to be produced undoctored. Had demarcation been the real object of the Durand Treaty, the *nearest* Indo-Afghan frontier, that from Landi Kotal to Kuner, would, of course, have been the first to be demarcated, but such a delimitation would have involved fighting the intervening turbulent Mohmands, who are too useful to the Amir in the event of a Jihád to

be given up, though his authority over them may be sentimental rather than real. Therefore it is not likely that the frontier in question will ever be demarcated. Nor can there be any doubt that, as *primus inter pares* among Muhammadan Chiefs, the Amir can, at any time, even on a question, say, of reconquering the portions of the Punjab formerly belonging to Kabul, carry with him Bajaur and Swat whatever the present Nawagai, Dîr and Ranizai Chiefs may say. All we can do, after our shameful abandonment of Kafiristan, is "to grin and bear it," for it has caused an irremediable loss to our prestige. Indeed, it is childish to invoke a slip-shod Treaty like the Durand Agreement of 1893 and its infinitely worse Supplement of 1895, on behalf of *any* dispute involving local knowledge. What can, for instance, be more ridiculous than to try to excuse the surrender of the Bashgal Valley by the rigmarole in the Supplementary Treaty regarding the "Lande Sin," a verbal quibble as pointed out in the *Times*. This "verbal quibble," however, is also only an ignorant afterthought, for it is the common Afghan name of the *Kabul river itself* and *not* that of an affluent from the Bashgal Valley. The whole argument, therefore, in the Supplementary Agreement is *àpropos des bottes* and so is the present dispute about the Mitái Valley. As little would our calling "Köln" "Cologne" justify the annexation of Baden, because its river, the Neckar, flows into the Rhine.

Worse, however, than even our Statesmen, none of whom know anything of the peoples and languages in point, has been the conduct of the Church Missionary Society in this matter of Kafiristan. The Bishop of Lahore has already protested against the sin of abandoning it to forcible conversion to Islám, but it is well that the subscribers to that Society should know that the fault is not that of its missionaries, but of its office-holders. Ever since 1863, the Kafirs have despatched messages to the Peshawar missionaries to send them teachers in the Christian religion, for they wished to find out who was Jesus, their own

national Deity, made man, being Gêsh, "the word of God." To this call, the Society have turned a deaf ear, in spite of such statements, as the following ones, in their *Intelligencer* and *Reports*.

"And these Kafirs, so marvellously preserved in their mountain fastnesses amidst the fierce ascendancy of Mohammedanism, around which, like an angry sea, it has fretted against the barriers of their home, and yet never has been able to force an entrance,—have they not been spared for an object? Hating Islamism, from which they have suffered ages of cruel wrong, they are favourably disposed towards Christianity, and earnestly desire instruction. What if it please God that, in these mountain-tops, the standard of Christianity should be raised, until from this, as from a centre, it moves forward to reconquer the lands over which the fanaticism of the Arabian prophet has so long tyrannized?"—*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, July 1865.

Then again, speaking of the welcome that the Kafirs gave to two Afghans converted to Christianity :

"Let it be remembered that the Siahposh regard the Afghans as their most relentless foes. They sometimes enter into a truce of friendship with the people of Badakshan and Chitrál, when they exchange weapons, and, until these are returned, they remain at peace; but with the more cruel and bigoted Afghans this is rarely done. Yet here are two Afghans—men who, had they remained Mohammedans, might have headed a predatory party into Kafiristan—at the peril of their lives venturing thither on a mission of mercy, desiring, after the example of their great Master, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.

"What a wondrous influence true Christianity exercises! How great its reconciling power! How true it is that in reconciling the sinner to God, it reconciles man to his fellow! The feet of these Afghans had once been swift to shed blood, but now how beautiful upon the mountains of Kafiristan will be the feet of them 'that bring good tidings, that publish peace!'

"Surely friends at home will not fail to help forward this deeply-interesting movement by their prayers."

Alas! the Pæan will show for what fate the Kafirs have been preserved. Christianity might have led to the disuse of their temples and idols, but it would not have destroyed their antiquities or brought away hundreds of camel-loads of their ancestral weapons nor would it have submerged their languages and poetic customs in the well-known monotony of Islám. One would be appalled at the neglect of its obvious duty by a Society, so liberally supported by the public, were one not confronted with the fact that the

butcheries even of fellow-Christians have evoked no protest whether from time-serving Pope, Archbishop or Patriarch. One word of manly objection from the Viceroy of India would have prevented the crime of Kafiristan, yet that word was not uttered, though he has the courage even to threaten the Amir about a *misère* like the Mitái Valley. Questions in Parliament, apologies by Secretaries of State, representations from leading learned and philanthropic Societies in Europe have all been in vain. In Kafiristan, as in Armenia, as elsewhere, wherever Islam does come in contact with another faith, there has been a Crescentade, that one word of appeal might have stopped, had such appeal obviously proceeded from genuine sympathy and not from the conflicting basenesses of blinding self-interest. England won easy victories when the world believed in her professions of philanthropy. Now that she too trusts to mere evidences of material strength, other Powers decline to follow her. Yet, if there *ever* was a time for a Crusade, it is *now*. The following Pæan "read between the lines" will show that every word uttered by the Anti-Slavery and other Societies regarding the Kafir atrocities is only too true, just as every word in the Viceroy's lame and contradictory apology for his non-intervention is disproved by the jubilant statements issued under the authority of the Amir himself.

VÆ VICTIS!

PÆAN OVER THE CONQUEST OF KAFIRISTAN.

[FATEH NAMA-I-KAFIRISTÁN.]

"Oh morning breeze, carry this good tidings to the King, nay to all the Muhammadans of every country and clime, that by the grace of God and the light of Muhammad's teaching, and the assistance of the King of high rank and the bravery and good management of the officers in command, and the great exertions and exploits of the victorious army, the country of Kafirs called Kamuz and Kastuz which, as regards strength was stronger than a wall of metal, and was never conquered by any of the great kings up to the present, has been now, together with the whole of the Kafirs' land, brought all at once under the subjection of the Muhammadan king who is equal to Alexander in power and to Darius in pomp. Now the Muhammadan

religion has got its footing there and the orders of a Muhammadan King are obeyed throughout the country, and *all its temples and idols are burnt to ashes.* The detail of all this would be long, so I prefer to give a brief description of it in poetry. The great Emperor, Abdur Rahman Khan, who holds as high a position as the sky, and administers justice, and is far-seeing and a patron of religion, and is as powerful a King as Jamshêd, and keeps his seat on the throne of Muhammadan ascendancy, and is a great supporter of the Muhammadan religion, and is a devoted servant of God, and the brightness of whose sword appears all over the world as that of the sun, and the stroke of whose sword is heart-rending to the nation of Russia and Borussia, and who is a victorious King devoted to the cause of religion and who promotes his religion, and is fond of justice, and has got the great men of the world in his service, and whose firmness is well known in the four corners of the world, has always been anxious to break down the Kafir tribe and the heretics; and he, therefore, ordered his first officer in command to clear the country of unbelievers, as one does a garden of its thorns.

"The officer in command, named Ghulam Haider, resident of Charakh, who is well known from Kabul to India for his bravery, and is unrivalled in the world for courage and strength, started accordingly with a strong army and marched towards the intended place with all readiness. He was then guided by the kindness of God and assisted in his determination by the great leader of the religion. His victorious banner having started from Asmar, reached Sau and stayed there for a few days as firmly as the pole-star. He then sent to the various tribes of the Kafirs messages consisting of invitations to the Muhammadan religion and to submit to the king, so that they may come under his rule and enjoy peace under his protection. Some of the reliable persons from among those tribes came before him. He gave them a very kind reception, and won their gratitude by bestowing great gifts on them. *Calling them by the name of "uncivilised dogs,"* he told them that they should not make any delay in embracing the Muhammadan religion, and that they would escape the sword or a dreadful life *if they be converted to the said religion willingly.* He added that, failing this, the victorious army which was there with him would, with the help of God, *exterminate all the infidels.* In reply to the above they spoke to the officer in command, that they had no objection to obeying the King's order; but they should be allowed some time, so that they might consult with their relations and the rest of the tribe on the subject. Those persons then left the presence of the Commanding Officer with his permission, on the promise of soon coming back. When the time fixed for their return elapsed, the infidels showed indifference to the fulfilment of their promise. Then the Commanding Officer left for Barkut, and went even beyond that place for the sake of his plan. He, in addition to being very brave, was very wise and intelligent, and owing to his farsightedness in the affairs of the world could see the result of a thing from its very beginning. He, accordingly, seeing that the place was far distant, and the mountains were very high, and the passes were very narrow and the passage in the mountains was very difficult, became desponding and thought that there was no

possibility for his army to succeed in the fight; for if the infidels would commence fighting in every corner of the hill, how would it be possible for his army to escape from that place? He, therefore, resorted to a device and sent for some infidels before him, one, two, three or four coming from each *kandi:* on the one hand he talked to them *the words of fear and peace*, and on the other put a party to the work of constructing a road. *For the sake of policy he exercised a wise discretion in leaving the infidels to their choice in the matter of embracing the religion of Muhammad*, but impressed upon their mind that he was determined to bring them under the subjection of the King's rule. To this the infidels replied that he might count upon them as under the King's subjection like his Hindu subjects, but *if he had in his mind any idea whatever of converting them to Muhammadanism they would set fire to their houses and run away.* They said that if he did not forcibly thrust the Muhammadan religion on them, they would have no hesitation in submitting to the subjection of the King; that they would agree to pay whatever *jazia* and tribute was levied on them, but there was no place to station troops in their country. They added that if he did not believe in their words, he could send with them, for the sake of trial, one or two men who would collect all information as to the resources and wealth of the country and they meanwhile would manage to keep their tribute in readiness. The Commanding Officer had many objects in sending an envoy, so he promptly took advantage of this opportunity in the furtherance of his cause. He, therefore, immediately sent with the infidels two intelligent men of good manners towards Kafiristan, one of whom was Haji Ahmad Jan, a physician, and himself came with his army to Barkut and stayed there in order to wait till it was winter and snowfall. When the envoys returned and related innumerable stories about the long and troublesome ways and the high and difficult mountains, and made the Commanding Officer understand that great troubles and difficulties would have to be faced before the object was gained, the Commanding Officer said that *for the time being he would to all appearance remain satisfied with the tribute paid by the infidels*, and would wait till the snow falling on the mountains would close against them the way of flight on every side. He then sent a letter to the King, communicating to him all these news and the secrets of his heart. The King, seeing that the opinion of his officer best suited the circumstances, invested him with full powers on his behalf. The infidels collected their tribute in a few days and produced it before the officer, and it amounted *to thousands.*

"The officer in command always treated their party very kindly and showed them sympathy and good feeling and always tried to remove infidelity from their minds by his advice and exhortations. But his advice did not produce any effect on them, and was lost just as the words of a preacher are lost on donkeys. The Commanding Officer asked them several times that all the reliable and trustworthy persons or the elders and great men of their tribe or *Maliks* of the *Kandis* should come together once or twice before him; but, with the exception of four or five persons, no reliable and great men came to him on one pretence or other. He, however, gave them every sort of guidance for three months, and bestowed

on them innumerable prizes and gifts; when he found that they were utterly evasive in their words and actions, he would not continue his patience any longer, and after holding a review of his army announced the order of fight to every one of the soldiers. He then called 100 brave and steady men, accustomed to the use of sword and gun, from towards Asmaru and Kuzdah. Meanwhile the religious leader of the infidels, who is called Wuta,* together with twenty men, came from Kafiristan and fell into the clutches of the King's army. The Commanding Officer, addressing the Wuta, said that as the infidels had shown nothing but malice and devilry, notwithstanding repeated advice from him from time to time, he was obliged to reduce them to a distressed condition. He consequently asked Wuta to send a man of his party to Kafiristan so that he might proclaim there the advent of the victorious army of the King. He accordingly sent away a man of the infidels' party and placed the others, together with the Wuta, under arrest. Eventually a few Kafirs of Khardish (a village in Kamiz) who had from the sincerity of their heart surrendered themselves to the King's army, embraced the religion of Muhammad, and repented their ignorance and infidelity. After they had been converted to Muhammadanism the Commanding Officer appointed them as guides to the victorious army of the King. He then ordered that about the time when prayers are said, before going to bed, veteran officers and light soldiers, equipping themselves with full arms, should make an attack like lions from right to left, that is, from all sides by the river. After giving these orders he himself, like a private, started on foot, because it was impossible to ride on horseback through that glen. When that brave officer started from the camp the night was dark, it being the beginning of Jumadi-ul-Sani (19 *November*, 1895). The mountains and hills which he had to pass on his way were very difficult, so he travelled from the evening to the noon of the next day. The tops of the hills were strewn with villages of the infidels, and there were houses *full of wealth* on all the corners thereof. No sooner had the infidels learned the advent of the King's army than *they set fire to their houses and took to flight.* The Muhammadan army pursued them as a fowler does his game, and put some of them to death with the sword; but most of them escaped the clutches of the army, and concealed themselves in mountains and caves. The King's army *tried manfully* as above with all their might for three days *to slaughter the infidels:* and consequently during that period the well-known villages of Baz Gul, Sorit, *Nusrat* Gul, Kamoba, Mir Desh, Wur Muru, Hamjuz and Pati Gul, submitted to the Commanding Officer, and the King's army *distributed among themselves a large amount of plunder* got from these places.

"On the fourth day the King's army went towards the city of Kam-Desh: whereupon the citizens set fire to their houses, and taking their families with them fled from there together with the inhabitants of Kastuz. Thus both these cities of Kafiristan, together with the villages, were conquered, and *their inhabitants were put to the sword, or ruined, and their property and wealth were plundered by the King's army. Many, both men*

* Should be "Uda" or "Oda"=a priest.—*Ed.*

and women, were killed by the guns of the King's army when flying from there. Those who fled in this way gathered at Munda Gul (the name of a village as well as a pass) and *stood firmly like a pig.* Many of the infidels of Kantuzi also came to their assistance, and all those collected there numbered about 6,000. The way leading to it by the river was very narrow like an isthmus, and there were two very difficult mountains on either side like forts. It was so situated that it was difficult even for an idea to have access to it, and imagination could not reach it. The infidels stationed there were flattering themselves with the idea that even if two lakhs of the King's army reached there, the hindrances above described, which were as strong as a wall made of metals, would not admit of access to that place. The Commanding Officer, who was unrivalled in bravery and wisdom, and whose equal in fight cannot be found, even in Rustam and Asfandiyar, managed so that his army might not be unfairly slighted by the enemy in this dangerous place. He invoked the assistance of God, and openly sent a detachment of his army on the front side to engage with the enemy, but arranged for another detachment to make an attack on them from another side by the foot of the mountain. The fight continued for two hours, and during that time *the gunners of the King sent volleys into the infidels as if raining fire on them.* In the third hour the King's army attacked the army of the infidels as hawks do the partridge, and completely defeated them. Large numbers were killed on the spot, and the rest took to flight, saying to each other, 'How can jackals who live on dead bodies, stand to fight with lions?' Munda Gul was also surrendered to the Commanding Officer, and that mountainous place became very attractive owing to the presence of the King's army there. Those infidels who were puffed up with pride, felt deeply abased because they thought themselves unconquerable. When their mischievous designs proved futile at Manda Gul, it became very hard for them, as no place was left to them to fly to, and so they were quite confused, distracted and miserable. Their infidelity tasted to them very bitter like a poison, and they came to know that faith was sweet as honey. Every tribe by itself asked the new converts,* who lived in the vicinity, to intervene on their behalf, and thus all of them communicated in the most abject manner their readiness to embrace the religion of Muhammad. They prayed for peace and impunity, and showed signs of deep regret. The Commanding Officer told the embassy that he was quite prepared to restore peace among the infidels, so whoever were firm in mind should come before him and *they would be required to do nothing else but to embrace the religion of Muhammad* and to agree to subjection to the King. Many of the infidels, being encouraged by these kind and considerate terms, felt inclined to surrender themselves to this respectable officer. First of all sixty persons of Pati Gull (a village) came to him with their wives and children and embraced Islam, *but before this came to pass the Wuta (religious leader of the infidels) and twenty men with him were killed in the midst of the Muhammadans of Katar.* Meanwhile a message came from the infidels of Kantuz, saying that they had no mind

* The Nimchas, or half-Kafirs.—*Ed.*

to remain refractory to the King, and did not require any chastisement, as they wished from their heart to be converts to Muhammadanism and subjects of the King without any further delay.

"They accordingly requested the officer to leave among them a class of learned Muhammadans who would impart to the people of their country the religious teachings, so that all the people there, whether man or woman, young or old, child or elderly, might embrace Muhammadanism, and might build mosques and *demolish temples and feel pride in having a road constructed in their country.* In reply to this the wise officer said that it was just possible for them to become prosperous and respectable in this way, and they really deserved praise if they were sincere in what they had said. But he added that *he could not believe them unless every grown up person, fit for work, came before him as hostage;* and then he could send teachers to their country. The embassy further requested the officer that he should not bring his army to their country for one week more, during which time the *Maliks* and other great men of all the villages would present themselves before him. The embassy returned accordingly to Kantuz, and the brave officer waited for them for one week. At this time the elders of the Kamuzi tribe came to the Commanding Officer and sought protection from him. He consequently forgave them the offences they had committed and fulfilled the desire of their heart, and directed them to return to their homes with their families and things and to settle there as good citizens. A few days passed and the whole Kamuzi and Kastuzi tribes, men and women, children and old persons all included, came to the officer, and *greatly repenting their infidelity embraced the Muhammadan religion, and having removed from their heads the hair which was the token of their infidelity, adorned* themselves with the crown of Muhammadanism. The infidels of Munda Gul also changed their infidelity for the religion of the Prophet, and *in the presence of the good officer broke into pieces with a heavy hammer all the four very famous idols of the infidels called Mani, Gesh, Mari and Umra, which were made of stone.* In accordance with the agreement which had been made formerly, forty reliable persons also came from Kantuz, and their minds were enlightened by the light of the Muhammadan religion. Thirty-four of them the Commanding Officer kept with him as hostages, and permitted the others to return to their country, and sent also the wise Haji Ahmad Ali Khan with them together with 250 brave and veteran soldiers of the Muhammadan army. There also travelled with them Sher Khan of the Khatak tribe and Maulvi Muhammad Hasan.

"When these firm-minded officers entered on the land of Kata Gul, also called Kantuz, they travelled from village to village, like merchants, for the purpose of promulgating religion as directed by the Commanding Officer. They accordingly taught religion to men and women, young and old, of the villages of Purstan, Chapi, Amla Gul, Shud Gul, Badmuk, Piruk, Bajnaja, Paira, Apsi, Basier, Barga Tol and Tapsi Kam. *They also set fire to all the temples and reduced them to ashes.* They went up to the tomb of Ahmad Diwana, which is situated at the foot of the Minjan Mountain towards Badakhshan. As Haji Ahmad Ali Khan rendered good services for the cause of his religion and nation, the Commanding Officer was

greatly pleased with him. In order to arrange the administration of Kantuz the Commanding Officer himself went up to that place. *Mosques were erected on the ruins of the temples and the Muhammadan religion flourished like a flower watered by rain in spring, and the religious men shouted out their calls for prayer as sweetly as nightingales sing in a garden.* When Kata Gul was brought under subjection, Payam (name of a village as well as a pass), Jamamish (name of a village and a tribe), Anisuzash (name of a tribe) and Parun (name of a pass) also surrendered themselves one after the other. *By the invaluable gift of religion everyone was filled with joy, and sang songs like a turtle-dove on a cypress tree standing by the side of a channel. The King's army took possession of all the guns, swords, arrows, bows, daggers, cannons procurable in the place, for he was of opinion that in the first place one must kill wasps and scorpions, but if he saves their life he must take out of them their sting.* The King thus got a further control over the above said tribes, and about the same time the tribes called Kuffar, Ama, Nashara, Arans, Wahi, Sunya, Kambir and Katar also submitted to the King's subjection, *for there the gift of religion was bestowed as freely as water from a sea.* When the affairs of Kafiristan were thus settled satisfactorily, 140 young men of respectable families were put to a school to be taught purity of life and to be educated otherwise. Learned men were allotted to live in different villages until other people learned from them how to lead a pure religious life, and *in order to uproot mischief altogether, some of the persons who had caused disturbances were put to death.* A road was constructed from Damua (a village situated on the bank of the Landi river) to the end of Kantuz to be used by pedestrians as well as equestrians. The road to Badakhshan will be ready shortly, and this should be counted as one of the favours and gifts of God. All these designs were first contemplated by the King, and were carried out by his worthy Commanding Officer. Kam, *i.e.*, Kamuz, Kushta, *i.e.*, Kastuz, Kata, *i.e.*, Kantuz, and Mama, *i.e.*, Munda Gul, which with their population number 10,000, including both men and women, came under the King's rule, were called Kafiri. Similarly another group of tribes, whose names I have not given here, were called Khalaq.* When all these infidels came under the King's subjection, Kafiristan was with the grace of God conquered completely. Then there remained only the mountains of Lamkan and Takab,† and in order to conquer them and enlighten them with the Muhammadan religion, an army was sent by the King from the west. When the Commander-in-Chief finished his work this side of the country, he *subdued the infidels of that side also with an iron hand.* Meanwhile tidings came from Lamkan that on that side of the country the villages of Janya, Nuya and Piyar as far as Askandu (also a village), and the villages of Mamu, Yakranis, Bandwal, Kuraj, Palla Gul and Nilah as far as Kullam (also a village) and the pass of Pushal Nilru and Shukar, which were situated in the vicinity of Panj Sher and *everything which belonged there to the infidels had been trampled down by the army of the Muhammadans* with the help of God and the countenance of the King.

* Kalash? All the names show signs of inaccuracy.—*Ed.*

† Better known as "Lughman and Tagao."—*Ed.*

Most of the people there were consumed in the fire of hell, and the rest escaped death by embracing the Muhammadan religion. Finally, when the infidels of Lamkan, Takab and Panj Sher came in the possession of the King, there remained no part of the Kafiri dominion unconquered. and thus the whole of the Kafiristan was conquered without the least shadow of doubt. In the consideration of all these good deeds may God continue our King in the enjoyment of long life and prosperity! Thanks to God that all the above-named tribes of the infidels became the King's subjects, and shared the invaluable gift of religion. None has waged such a religious war with infidels before this ever since the time of Muhammad and his four friends. As Haidar is remembered for his great religious war, our King also will be remembered for this battle fought in the cause of religion. As the King's object was to do good, his honourable exertions were crowned with success by the grace of God. As long as stars and moon rise high up in the sky, may God keep the Muhammadan religion firm. May God grant to the sons of the King fortune, prosperity, long life and high position. When I was thinking to commemorate the date of this victory, my intelligence told me not to have much anxiety about it, and immediately an inspiration crossing my mind I conceived an idea as invaluable as a pearl in a shell, and gave out the following verse of which the words being calculated upon by the *Abjad* system give the date of the victory at 1313 Hijri. The verse is, '*Fateh Mulk-i-Kafiran bada mubarik, ai amin.*'" [May the conquest of the State of the Kafirs be blessed, O thou trustworthy.]

THE CONSCIENCE OF COREA.

By E. H. Parker.

In an able article in the *Fortnightly Review* for June, a writer, who signs himself "W.," alludes to the "dog-like fidelity with which Corea begs nothing more than to be allowed to cling to her beaten and humiliated overlord." This singular attitude is undoubtedly true; and though there may now be Russian parties, Japanese parties, and even English parties in that distracted country, these are only a *fin de siècle* excrescence, and it is certainly a fact that the widest-spread substratum of popular feeling is an almost instinctive desire to nestle under the imperial wing of China. Despite the upheaving events of the last few decades, the same strong feeling may be predicted of Annam, Loochoo, Tibet;—in fact of nearly all countries which either are, or have been, under Chinese suzerainty. It seems at first sight difficult to reconcile this political fidelity with the frequency of bloody revolts and obstinate revolutions in Turkestan and elsewhere against Chinese direct rule. The real reason is that Chinese nominal overlordship leaves to vassal populations the maximum of liberty with the minimum of injury to the pocket. China has always been willing to grant the kernel of home-rule, including taxation, if only her imperial pride were fully gratified with the gilded shell of tribute and nominal subordination. No better instance of this regretful yearning for China could be adduced than the extraordinary remigration of the whole horde of Torgut Tartars from Russia to Chinese Mongolia in 1770: the Manchu-Chinese Emperor Kien-lung was never tired of bragging about this great political triumph. Another reason why China—at a distance—is held in profound respect by her vassal nations is because her splendid literature, equally readable in Corean, Japanese, Annamese, or Loochooan, appeals to the "barbarian" mind in the same way that degenerate Rome still exercises a semi-

religious fascination over the "barbarians" of Europe. Our Classics, the body of civil law, and even the Vatican, all combine to work upon the "outer" European mind, be it Russian, Teuton, or Celtic, in the same subtle way that the classics, poetry, body of law, and vague "orthodoxy" of China affect the imaginations of countries bordering upon that Empire. In a word, China, like Rome, is morally indestructible.

The purpose of this paper, however, is not to enter into a general historical disquisition in order to dispel the present primitive condition of Far-Eastern knowledge in England; but to take the one special point of Corea, and show how there are definite precedents and specific reasons for this extraordinary exhibition of fidelity. In the first place, we must cast a rapid glance over the history of Sino-Corean relations. Corea was practically civilized by the purely Chinese dynasty of Han in B.C. 200. This nascent civilization had to struggle against the rival Tartar Emperors of North China, who bullied or intrigued with Corea between A.D. 200 and 600. Corea was then positively, and for the first time, effectually conquered and held by the purely Chinese dynasty of T'ang. From A.D. 800 to 1200 she had once more to struggle, in her development on Chinese lines, with the rival Tartar dynasties of Cathay, the Golden Horde, and Kublai Khan, ruling in North China. For a third time she welcomed a purely Chinese dynasty in the shape of the Mings, founded by a Chinese priest: and when, towards the end of the 16th century, the generals of the Japanese "Napoleon," Hideyoshi, overran Corea, with the ultimate aim of conquering China, the Chinese dynasty of Ming, which was already tottering to its fall, generously came to Corea's rescue, and assisted her to turn the Japanese out, once for all. It was with the grateful recollection of this assistance fresh in mind that the Coreans assumed, nearly three centuries ago, precisely the same attitude towards the Chinese, and their conquerors the Manchus, that they now do towards the Manchus (who, by

a mutual process of ethnological endosmosis and exosmosis, have now become practically one with the Chinese) and their quasi-conquerors, the Japanese. To this moral feeling, strong enough in itself, is to be added the physical feeling of contempt and hatred for the Japanese, born in general of the hectoring attitude of Japan towards Corea from the earliest times, and specifically of Japan's bloody and useless butcheries under the upstart Hideyoshi. Besides, the physique of the average Corean is as magnificent as that of the average Japanese is the reverse.

In 1595 we discover the first mention of Coreans in connection with the rising power of the Manchu duke Nurhachi. China sent an envoy, accompanied by two Corean assistant-envoys, to discuss matters with Nurhachi, who received them very well. In 1619 we find Corean soldiers in paper armour (Corean paper is the toughest in the world) fighting on the Chinese side against the Manchus. The Chinese were defeated, and the Corean General, in surrendering, thus defined his master's position: "Our presence here is none of my choosing. But when the Japanese invaded Corea, my country was indebted to the Ming dynasty for assistance, and it is on that account that I have been ordered hither to requite the debt. But, if you Manchus offer us equally conciliatory terms, we are willing to recognize you. You ask me to go to your camp as a hostage. If I were to do so now, my army would be uncontrollable. But, if you like, I will send my second in command, and come myself to-morrow." This offer was accepted, and the General surrendered with 5,000 men. Then, as in 1894-5, there was a Battle of the Yalu, and a razing of the fortifications of Port Arthur. Mukden was chosen as a good central strategical capital in 1625, and the Manchu chieftain was satisfied for the time with the title of Khan.

In 1627 Nurhachi's son and successor decided to send an expedition against Corea. He said to his generals: "Corea has certainly given many grounds of offence; but, although she deserves punishment on her own account, it is chiefly

against the Chinese in the islands that I send you." The Manchus marched by way of An-ju and Pyöng-yang, crossed the Ta-t'ung River, and presented to Corea a written ultimatum, to be accepted within five days. The three chief grievances were: intriguing with China, harbouring rebellious Manchu tribes, and neglect of diplomatic courtesies. As the Corean King was still recalcitrant, the Manchus advanced through Hwang-ju to Pyöng-san.

The King then fled to Kang-hwa Island, close to the modern port of Chemulpho,—which, in Corean, really means "the ford":—after a few days' haggling, a white horse and a black bull were sacrificed in good old Tartar style over a new treaty, and the King's brother went back to Manchuria as a hostage. Arrived at the Manchu court, he and his suite were compelled to the indignity of wearing the Manchu robes presented to them. Meanwhile the Manchu troops continued to occupy Wiju, on the frontier, as a security for Corean good conduct. Corea had to send tribute, and was also called upon to furnish supplies of rice for the Manchus' Mongol allies. In 1630 tribute was sent twice.

In 1632 words arose about the unsatisfactory way in which tribute was sent. The Manchu Emperor—for such he had tentatively styled himself in his letters to China in 1630—addressed a very haughty and boastful despatch to Corea, threatening to send 100,000 Mongols to overrun the country if there was any more nonsense: he reminded the King that "though Corea had trimmed with the Golden Tartar and Mongol dynasties in turn, such behaviour would not be tolerated by the Manchus." The Manchus, being totally ignorant of boats, had directed Corea to "observe a friendly neutrality" whilst the Chinese were being driven from the islands, and to furnish a number of boats and boatmen in order to facilitate the Manchu attack. This the King flatly refused to do: he said to the Manchu ambassadors, who, Benedetti-like, dogged his steps: "China is as a parent to me. For over two centuries she

has treated Corea kindly, and it is unreasonable to ask us for active naval assistance in your attack upon our parent-country. If any other country were at war with you, and applied to us for naval assistance, how would *you* like it?" Notwithstanding this, Corea maintained a correct attitude so far as sending tribute to Manchuria was concerned.

During the next few years much correspondence was exchanged, and pretty stiff language had to be used, in order to keep Corean tribute up to the mark. In 1635 the Manchu Emperor condescended to consult the King upon his "indefeasible right" to officially assume the title of Emperor before all the world. The King, however, declined to receive the special envoys, and the Corean envoys at Mukden equally declined to prostrate themselves before, or render imperial honours to, the self-styled Emperor, who said: "The King of Corea evidently wants war, and thinks I shall take the first step in that direction by murdering his envoys. But I won't. Even whilst war is going on, it is an ignoble thing to murder defenceless envoys, who, after all, are only obeying their orders." He contented himself with sending them home with a warning: but the obstinate envoys deposited the Manchu letters at the first stage-town they reached, in consequence of which, when Corean letters came later on to Manchuria, they were returned unopened. In 1636 war was decided on. The Emperor conducted this second expedition in person. Seoul, the capital, was occupied and plundered; the royal family were captured, but the King himself managed to escape. The Manchu terms on this occasion were heavy, and were more precisely laid down. First of all, the Chinese calendar must be abandoned, as also all political intercourse with China; the Chinese patents of investiture must be given up; the King must come in person to receive investiture, and must leave his two eldest sons as hostages. Provision was made for frequent and onerous tribute missions, and Corea had to provide naval assistance against China when wanted. Corea was allowed to continue trade

with Japan, and was bound to facilitate the transport of missions (if any) between Manchuria and Japan. The King did homage to the Manchu Emperor on the banks of the Seoul River; was forgiven; and was granted a status at court above that of the Manchu princes, with the right to sit in the Emperor's presence.

For some years after this things went on quietly. Little disputes occasionally arose about hostages and tribute, and once or twice the King's "shifty" conduct called for censure. In 1641 assistance against China was called for, and as victory after victory favoured the Manchu arms, the King of Corea was officially asked "whether, under the circumstances, the Manchu Emperor was justified in accepting the imperial crown." The King's cautious reply was, in effect: "It is not for the likes o' me to say." Severe measures had to be taken to put a stop to clandestine trade (especially in ginseng, a medicine peculiar to the Manchu-Corea frontier) with China, and there were other trifling bickerings; but in such matters it will readily be understood that it is the wolf who gives the law to the lamb; and so, notwithstanding, things went on pretty smoothly until the Manchu Emperor's death in 1643.

The conquest of China proper was not effected until immediately after the death of Nurhachi's son: the chief agent was the latter's brother Torkun. The boy Emperor, grandson of Nurhachi, entered Peking in the autumn of 1644, and for some years his uncle Torkun was regent. During this period petty disputes with Corea touching renegades, deserters, hostile ministers, etc., were settled without much trouble, and tribute was sent regularly.

Li Tsung, King of Corea, died in 1649: his eldest son had predeceased him a few years before; but the Queen, in reporting the present circumstance, applied for the investiture of Li Hao, the next heir. The new King had very shortly to report bullying treatment on the part of Japan: he requested permission to fortify Tongnai (Fusan) and Seoul, that is, unless the Manchu-Chinese Emperor was

prepared to promise military aid to resist invasion. No reply is recorded. However, Tongnai *is* fortified, the present writer having in 1885 discussed these events with the Corean city governor there. Meanwhile Torkun, having lost his wife, married a Corean princess.

The above sketch shows how the present "dog-like fidelity" towards the Manchu dynasty arose. It did not begin until the Manchu power had fairly ousted that of the Chinese Mings; and the conservative Coreans clung doggedly to the Mings so long as there was a shred to hold by. From 1650 to 1880 it may be said that the relations between Manchu-China and Corea have remained perfectly harmonious. That, however, is another matter; the point here is to show how these relations began, and how the generous and considerate behaviour of the Manchus themselves earned the right to such dog-like fidelity. It may, however, be stated here that the Coreans are really a very faithful people when treated at all justly and kindly. In this respect they are not unlike the Russian mujiks, who (at all events until the emancipation) seemed to rather enjoy being cuffed occasionally, and indeed to require a certain amount of cuffing daily in order to "make them feel grateful."

It would have been interesting if Mr. Parker had added to his valuable historical notes on Corea a few observations upon the existing political situation in "the hermit kingdom," and something of a forecast of the working of a Joint Russo-Japanese Protectorate of Corea. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding Corea's newly-gained independence of China, she has never ceased to be under the administration of Sir Robert Hart so far as her foreign customs receipts are concerned. Another singular fact is that, contrary to what one would have thought amid so much intrigue, war, and rebellion, the foreign trade of Corea for 1894 was actually a "record" year, the total value having for the first time exceeded eleven million dollars. Alarmist stories are circulated from time to time regarding "Russian designs," but these have not yet culminated in anything seriously detrimental to British interests: indeed, there is every reason to believe that Russia is acting in a fair and conciliatory spirit, both with reference to Corea, and in connection with the Fergusson foreshore case at Chefoo, which is the Chinese port indicated by nature as the chief outlet for Corean traffic with China. There are also indications that British, if not Russian, statesmen are beginning to discover that the interests of both nations would be best consulted by, if possible, an amicable settlement, not only of Far Eastern questions, but also of all conflicts of interests which the now accelerated process of dissolution of the Turkish Empire and the march of events in Central Asia may speedily, but surely, bring to a head. —*Ed.*

THE MEDICAL NEEDS OF INDIA.*

By Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.

The cause of medical education, science, and sanitation has always engaged the hearty sympathy and co-operation of all educated people. If one thing more than another speaks to the enduring fame of British rule in India, it is the spirit in which England inaugurated its most beneficent work to foster Western medical science and sanitation in India for the good of the people, and to enable India, with its vast opportunities, to take part in the general advancement of the science and art of medicine. Colleges and Hospitals were founded "not for any governmental or executive wants," but "to provide opportunities of promoting the diffusion of knowledge and the increase of happiness throughout India." Such was the object of the State, and such the words in which it was declared by Sir Erskine Perry nearly fifty years ago. And recently, again, it was the noble desire to place within easy reach of their Indian sisters the blessings of advanced medical science that called into being the great movement for medical aid to women that bears Lady Dufferin's honoured name, and for devoted work in which cause the names of Lady Lansdowne, Lady Reay and Lady Harris are remembered with affection and esteem. Educated Indians are to be congratulated on the very practical manner in which they carry out the objects of female medical education in India in the interests of their countrywomen. Our Indian Universities are sending forth every year women medical graduates in increasing numbers, and it is by the utilization of *their* services—they being Indians themselves—that not only will the best objects of the female medical relief movement be realized, but the cause of female medical education will be generally advanced. And might I suggest to our benevolent friends who aid the institution of half trained medical women of religious missions, that they would find their money better employed in aiding the now growing institution of fully trained non-missionary medical women. For whatever the comforts of spiritual consolation, they can hardly make up for the shortcomings of defective knowledge of the science and art of medicine. It is fully trained Indian medical women that will supplant the ignorant and mischievous *dhais*—just as men medical graduates of the Universities have been supplanting the ignorant amongst the Vaids and Hakims. And, in passing, I may mention that the medical profession in India look to the Indian Government to help them with a workable medical Act to protect the public from the awful mischief done by quacks practising medicine, midwifery, and surgery, some of them during the hours they are disengaged from their avocations as petty tradesmen, or watch repairers, or jobbers in mills. With these few general observations, I shall now pass on to a consideration of certain pressing medical needs of India. These refer to the present position of the medical profession, medical education, and science and sanitation in India—and this position is the outcome of a

* For the discussion on this subject, see "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

system of civil medical administration, which, by reason of its not keeping pace with and adapting itself to the growing requirements of the civil medical department, has come to be an anachronism. In actual practice the system is prejudicial to the best interests of medical education and scientific work, and is moreover subversive of the declared policy and aims of Government in founding their civil medical institutions. According to this system the civil medical service has to be primarily military; and the military medical officers of the I.M.S., who serve in the civil medical department are considered as merely lent to the department till required for war purposes or promoted to high military administrative appointments. All available important appointments in the medical schools, civil hospitals, and science and sanitary departments are reserved for the location of these surplus military medical officers for whom there is no regimental work in times of peace. So that it practically comes to this, that whilst a military medical officer is fit and eligible for any appointment that may be found for him, a non-military medical man whatever his professional qualifications is permanently disqualified for and rigidly excluded from these appointments. Neither medical education nor medical science recognises such a basis for the selection of its votaries, and it is not to be wondered at that there has not been much professional advancement or scientific progress. The best products of Indian Universities in the Faculty of Medicine have no higher career offered to them than as assistant surgeons on Rs. 100 per month rising to 200 with a pension of Rs. 100 after 25 years' service. True it is, that a higher grade service called the Uncovenanted Medical Service, with some minor professorships, was created for the recognition and utilization of non-military members of the profession, especially the Indian graduates, but gradually have these appointments been drawn into the military reserve list; and in Bombay, for instance, only one such appointment is held by an uncovenanted officer, and that a military apothecary. No local medical graduate is deemed worthy of admission into this grade; whilst the arts and law, and engineering schools, which are not reserved for any particular service, military or civil, have furnished local graduates for the position of Professors, and High Court Judges and Executive Engineers. Such a result is a matter of more than purely professional concern, for anything that interferes with the growth of a scientific medical profession in a country is prejudicial to the interest of the country, its people and its Government. Let us now briefly examine the system at work in the departments of education, science and sanitation. A military medical officer who has received general medical education and special training in the requirements of field duties has to serve with a regiment for two years. He is then ready to be lent to the civil department—where a few months or years of work as civil and gaol surgeon forms the prelude to a professorship or chemical analysership or sanitary Commissionership. A military medical professor who is under the orders of his Surgeon-General—and these orders are absolute—may be called upon at 24 hours' notice to pass from one professorial chair to another. Not many months ago the Pathologist was ordered to take charge of the chemical analysis department. And a move has to be made from one chair to another as the Professor advances

in his military service or as the exigencies of the service may require. The College Calendars will show such moves as these for example—From Botany to Anatomy and thence to Hygiene, and thence to Medical Jurisprudence and Chemistry and thence to surgery: or, again, from Ophthalmology and Zoology (who is an ophthalmologist must be a Zoologist and *vice-versâ*) to Midwifery, and thence to Medicine and thence to Lunacy, with the result that, as was reported by the College Principal in 1889, "This practice undoubtedly led, in too many instances, to inefficient teaching." In the year preceding another College Principal wrote thus: "That a College so large should not have at least one teacher engaged in modern methods of demonstration of practical physiology, pathology and therapeutics may seem an anomaly, and yet be true," and added that "it is hardly to be expected that the body of medical officers in India (from whom alone the staff of professors is drawn) can always offer a wide enough field for selection." Till the year 1888 classes in practical physiology and histology were conducted in this manner. A few times in the year some half a dozen prepared specimens of tissues would be exhibited under the microscope, and as the students passed the microscope table one by one the names of the tissues exhibited would be called out for their information. It appeared that allowances used to be made at University examinations for this abnormal teaching of physiology and biology, for the appearance of an outsider as an examiner at the University led to a wholesale rejection of candidates, who were so ignorant of the structure and uses of the microscope, that specimens were identified with the mirrors turned down and the objectives resting in the microscope boxes! The examiner, of course, was roundly abused, but his action was upheld by the University and led to what was denounced as a revolution in the College. Orders were forthwith given to turn a large room into a practical physiology room, and the microscopes which were lying idle in the cupboards were brought out for the use of students. The old professor was replaced by another better qualified man, who subsequently did personal work in a London Physiological Laboratory and has now completely modernized the teaching of practical physiology and histology, which, I venture to say, will not suffer much in comparison with what obtains in the first class London schools. The same thing was done for pathology. The professor selected for it had not even put in his full period of compulsory military service. All this was done by a Governor who happened to be a strong man and a distinguished educationist—no other than the Rt. Honble. Lord Reay. This selection of juniors with good University careers led to discontent and lament in the ranks of the Military Service, for, many a senior who was looking forward to these so-called prizes of the military service was passed over in contravention of what were understood to be the rules and established usages of the Surgeon-General's department. To take another instance. Up to last year Zoology classes under the ophthalmologist—and whoever is an ophthalmologist must be a zoologist—were thus conducted. Some twenty lectures would be delivered from a pulpit mounted with bottled specimens from the museum. These over, a permit would be given to the class for admission to, and inspection of, the

Natural History Society Museum, and a single tour of the museum under the guidance of its keeper began and completed a course of practical instruction in zoology. On public attention having been drawn to this novel mode of instruction, something more is being done for practical zoology in the shape of demonstrations on a dissected frog by a volunteer tutor first instructed by the Professor! Will this state of things be tolerated in any public or private medical school here? In the science department the position and work of the chemical analyser has been thus described by Dr. Voelcker in his report to the Government of India. They have had "nothing more than the class instruction in chemistry and the test-tube experience of the ordinary medical student, and the result is that the man bungles on at first, doing the best he can, and if he be a man of ability in course of time he gets to know how to deal with the usual run of things submitted to him, and what he does not know he finds out from books." The importance and responsibility of these posts can be measured by the importance and responsibility of the departments which look to the Chemical Analyser for guidance in their work, viz., the Courts of justice, the Customs, and the Commissariat.

The Sanitary Commissioners, who, as the Government of India lament in their latest Resolution, thought more of spending their time on the hill stations than working on the plains, have produced reports which are no better than mere clerks' work, saying there was such and such an epidemic, that so many were affected by it, and so many died of it. And the result is that, as Mr. Hart, who condemns the whole system as radically wrong, puts it, "Measures of vital importance to the health of the community are either neglected or imperfectly carried out."

The Surgeon Generals are the responsible advisers and critics of Government on all matters connected with the science of medicine. And in keeping with the general tenor of the anomalous system, they attain their position by reason of seniority in the service. Now and again, it is true, we have had the good fortune to have had Surgeon-Generals who showed a deal of knowledge and prudence in passing on the opinions and advice of the departmental experts. But we have had others also who in performing what to scientific men would be an impossible feat, viz., to criticize and advise on all scientific matters, have had to draw largely on their imagination or some other faculty. It was said by one of them, that experimental physiology and pathology did not involve vivisection; and he was opposed to pharmacological work, for, amongst other reasons, it involved vivisection. Later pharmacological work was ordered to be abandoned, because, as was officially announced, such work was not possible in the heat of Western India! Bacteriological laboratories in Western India were also closed because of this heat, and new ones erected at the foot of the Himalayas. Recently however, the Government of India found from the work and experience of Mr. Hankin that it was possible after all to carry out Bacteriological work in the hottest plains in India and even in the hottest seasons of the year.

These illustrations and quotations are given merely to show the magnitude of the evils worked by the system, which makes the civil medical

department, requiring in its several branches special knowledge and training, a mere appanage, and provision for members, of a military service. These evils are cited not in any disparagement of the service, but in condemnation of the system, which claims the service itself as its first victim. It is matter as much for wonderment as congratulation that the military members of my profession have done as much as they have in the difficult and often trying positions in which they were placed, as loans in the civil department. Before pointing out the remedy, it may be useful to take a brief historical review of the origin and development of the existing system. As explained by General Mansfield, there being in the early beginnings no other available members of the profession than the members of the military service, the State had to draw on it for "its instruments on civil account," and he adds that the military medical men were utilized not only for the civil medical purposes of the State, but also in the Postal and Forest departments. The Postal and Forest departments were subsequently allowed to dispense with loans from the military medical service and select hands to suit their own diverse needs. But in the civil medical department, which gradually expanded so far as to require more hands than were required for regular military work and wants, this loaning from the military service was not only not dropped, but made compulsory, just at the time when it should have ceased. This was vehemently protested against, be it said to their lasting honour, by the military members of the profession to whom were confided the interests of medical education. Dr. (now Sir Guyer) Hunter minuted that "all Professors should be chosen for their scientific claims, and selected from either the Indian or British medical services, or from the open profession of medicine, and that the Professors should belong *ipso facto* to the educational department, and be under the control of the Director of Public Instruction." Dr. (now Sir George) Birdwood thus minuted on the order: "The authority of the Surgeon-General over the Grant Medical College had enervated the College, and injuriously affected the progress of scientific medicine in Western India." He held that it was utterly impossible to carry out this order in its integrity, for "it was soon found to be difficult to make Professors of certain arbitrarily-named military officers, as it was easy to order them to be made. . . . The professors of the College and hospital should be appointed on account of their academical qualifications alone, or fitness to hold the College chairs, being selected from whatever quarters, including the services as well as the open profession of medicine, and that "the Syndicate cannot allow this paramount question to be hampered by any impertinent and irrelevant questions of the interests of the military service of government in Grant Medical College by which its consideration by some of its members is seemingly conditioned and determined." They even went to the extent of advising the University to disaffiliate the Government Medical College, should Government not abrogate the obnoxious order. The Government promptly issued a Resolution to assure the Professors and the public that they did not mean to convert the College into an appanage of the military service, and that they would maintain the College as a purely educational institution. But all the same the scheduling of appointments and a close

service monopoly were carried out with all their mischievous consequences. Thus the I.M.S. monopoly and schedule really owed their origin to a mere arbitrary order, at the instance, very probably, of an enthusiastic military Surgeon-General which was vehemently protested against by high-minded and scientific members of his own service. And, indeed, this result was actually foreseen and denounced by the prophetic genius of Dr. Morehead the father of medical education in the Western Presidency, who in the year 1849 gave solemn expression to these weighty remarks :—"Who, I would ask, that has lived in this country, has not witnessed well-digested plans of public good, marred in their execution, simply because in the changes of Governments and the fluctuations of society, the grand principle on which they were based has been forgotten and overlooked, and its place usurped by secondary and subordinate purposes?" The institutions that were created expressly for the purpose of scientific work have been since utilized for the convenience of a military service to which the interests of medical education, science and the profession are subordinated—in complete contravention, as is clear, of the declared policy and aims and objects of Government in founding such institutions. The existing system does the Indian Government a glaring injustice, for it is hardly to be expected that an enlightened and righteous Government could deliberately work out and continue a policy or system of medical administration in which the supposed conveniences of a military service so manifestly override the interests of medical science, and education and sanitation. What must have been the intention of the Indian Government in adopting and advocating such a system, the evils and injustice of which they could scarcely have foreseen? It is for the sake of entertaining a so-called large Reserve of military medical officers of the Indian Army that the Government of India were advised, it appears, to schedule or reserve all available civil appointments for the detailing of these extra or reserve military officers. But the "reserve" argument will not bear a moment's examination. How can College Professors, Sanitary Commissioners, and Chemical Analysers act as army "reserves"? If they were to do so, does it not follow that each time the Government of India is engaged in military operations, the very existence of Colleges and laboratories and sanitary departments is liable to be determined? And what good, indeed, is a Chemist, or a Botanist, or a Zoologist, or an Ophthalmologist, or an Obstetrician on the battlefield? Can, then, any useful purpose be served by reserving these places for military men who are expected to be sent on war service? But are they such "reserves" at all? A Surgeon-General has recorded that the Reserve exists only on paper and not in reality; and the experience of the Chitral expedition showed it conclusively once again. In spite of a so-called reserve of some 380 men the Government had to go down South to obtain, and that with difficulty, a couple of men for a frontier expedition. Thus this civil reserve of military men in civil employ is as indefensible as it is illusory. A real and workable civil reserve has been already suggested by the Crawford and Cunningham Committee in their report on the reorganization of the military services. They urge the formation of a distinct civil medical service recruited from Indian and other medical graduates at

two-thirds the pay of military incumbents of the same posts, and recommend that these civil medical officers, though primarily entertained for civil medical purposes, be utilized for duties in regimental hospitals in their own or neighbouring stations; and judging from the excellence of the work done by civil assistant surgeons as volunteers in the Affghan Campaign, they further recommend that Government may rely on these civil medical officers as good material even for war purposes. Such a civil reserve is proper and intelligible enough.

It was time the illusory and unworkable reserve of military loans for fixed civil appointments was abandoned. It has been injurious to the interests not only of the civil, but also to those of the military, department, for just as military men are pitchforked into civil places without regard to the requirements of the same, so also are civilians pitchforked into administrative military posts, for, as Sir W. Muir said, "as well might the Physicians and Surgeons of our London Hospitals be put in charge of Aldershot or the Curragh Camps." Not only this, but this illusory and indefensible "reserve" has long delayed the necessary reform of the amalgamation of the two Military Services in India, in the interest of economy and efficiency, because of the objection to the retaining of civil posts for the I.M.S. which destroys the purely military character of the Service and militates against army efficiency and discipline. For the amalgamation to be effective and useful, the separation of the military and civil departments must be trenchant and complete. The remedy, and the only true and effective remedy of the evils in both the civil and military departments was suggested so long ago as 1862 by Lord Strathnairn, then Sir Hugh Rose, in these words: "It would be of most essential benefit to the Military and Civil interests if the Government were to create a distinct civil medical service for India, quite independent of the Army. The Professors and Lecturers in the different schools at each Presidency to belong to this (the Civil Medical) Service." If such was the necessity in 1862, how much more pressing must be the necessity now. Such has been the recommendation of almost all military authorities and many civilian officials of high standing, and surely the military authorities may be trusted to understand all about a necessary "reserve" and the mode of entertaining it. Lord Wolseley provides 40 p.c. of *military* reserve for officers in charge of native troops, and yet calculates a saving of nearly 20 lacs a year by the amalgamation of the two Military Medical Services in India, viz. the A.M.S. and the I.M.S. The civil department has nearly 380 military loans whilst the military regulars number only 268. Of the 380 some 260 comprise general civil charges such as Civil Surgeoncies, jail, and minor Hospital appointments. For these ordinary medical qualifications will in most cases suffice. In the interests of economy and in justice to civil medical graduates, it has been recommended to fill these appointments from the ranks of the local profession. This would, no doubt, raise the tone of the profession and the efficiency of medical aid in the districts, and contribute not a little to the general advancement of medical science. But, even if these medical needs be not heeded, and the reform they point to be delayed or altogether denied in the interests of phantom reserves, it

is very necessary that the present system should cease to exist in regard to the special appointments in the Educational, Science and Sanitary departments, which require special knowledge and training and should be filled by the best talent available, from whatever quarter. Medical officers of the army, both British and Indian, are by no means excluded from seeking careers in these departments. Only, as is the case with other military officers, who elect to serve in civil employ, they should cease to be military, and look for advancement in these special departments and not for promotion in the military service. In the matter of these special appointments the interests of the public are very closely affected, and they have a right to ask for the same freedom for selection to, and the same regard being shown to the requirements of, these special posts. Even the medical student has a right to ask that his interests during his pupilage, let alone his claims for admission to his College and Hospital after graduation, are looked after with the same concern as is shown in the case of Arts and Law students, for whom teachers are chosen not from any particular service or from any limited field, but from the open profession, and from the best talent available direct from the Universities. Medical Schools, and their Hospitals and the Sanitary and Science departments of the State have special claims on all advanced and righteous Governments, and these claims have only to be brought to the notice of the British Government to be granted in the same spirit of liberality and enlightenment in which these very institutions were founded and cared for in the early periods of their growth.

Dr. Bahadurji has sent us the following addition:

"The reform, viz. one military service and a civil medical service distinct from the army, involves no special difficulties in its adoption. The Indian army is but a wing of the British army, and there is no separate service or enlistment of officers commanding the Indian section of H.M.'s army. It stands to reason, therefore, that the separate enlistment of *medical* officers for service with Indian troops—viz. the I.M.S. should cease to exist. This will work out a most natural separation of the civil from the military medical service, for with the extinction of this unnecessary separate enlistment will disappear all difficulties against this separation so often urged on service considerations. A Royal Medical Service, as the whole British medical service may well be styled, with uniform conditions of pay and service for its members serving in India, whether in charge of European or Native troops, would not only meet all military wants, but do away with the increasing difficulties of the War Office on account of the unpopularity of the British Medical Service by reason of its members being not fairly treated while on duty in India, the injustice rightly complained against being, that they are not only paid much less than military medical officers in charge of Native troops—i.e. members of the I.M.S. but that these latter are pitchforked into high military grades and appointments after years of absence from military work. Indeed, the separate I.M.S. enlistment cannot cease too soon. The military service will be open, as hitherto, to all desiring a military career, and the civil medical appointments in India will be open to the profession in England and in India. It is only natural and to the advantage of the country and its Government, that when natives of the country have duly qualified themselves for scientific careers in the service of the Government and the country, they should be preferred to outsiders, in whose case the knowledge and experience gained by them in India is lost to the country on their retirement to their native land. Japan imported her European medical professors and scientists not so many years ago, and is already taking high rank in the scientific world by reason of high-class scientific work done by Japanese Professors in and around Japan. Is it creditable to England that after sixty years of Western medical education by British Professors and half a century of University examinations and degrees, India is not able to take rank with other civilized countries in matters medical and scientific? And can India ever expect to do so, so long as her Colleges and Civil Hospitals, and Science and Sanitary departments continue to exist, as now, primarily for the purpose of providing berths for the reserve military medical officers, and remain closed to all others, whatever their professional or scientific attainments and claims?"

THE DRUSE RISING IN THE HAURAN.

By Abdullah Shámi.

I. Number of Hauran Druses.

Dr. Bustani in his Encyclopædia, under the head "Druses," says that the Druses of Mount Hauran are between 20 and 25,000. According to this estimate, the number of fighting men should be less than 6,000, an obvious error. 6,000 warriors cannot defeat 70,000 disciplined soldiers as they did a generation ago in the case of the troops of Ibrahim Pasha, nor can they repeatedly revolt against a powerful government like that of Turkey. Again it is well known that these Druses have in their last year's rebellion which continued to April of this year, lost 3,000 of their best warriors—2,000 being killed on the battlefield, and 1,000 being exiled to Crete, Rhodes and Tripoli. Were Bustani's estimate correct, then those who are at present fighting against the government would number only 3,000, a statement which is absurd, as will be shown.

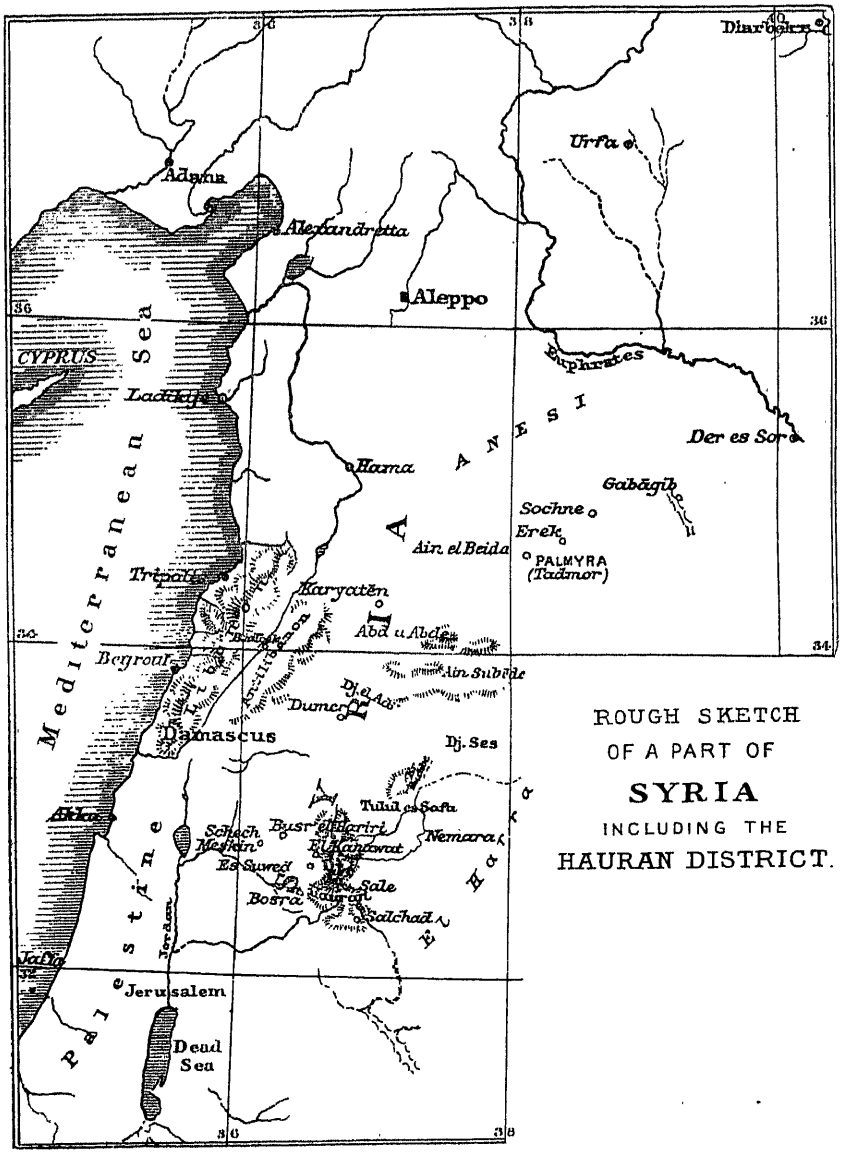
The newspapers, for one thing, are agreed that the Druses, now fighting against the government in the Hauran, number between 16 and 17,000, although some of them assert that over 3,000 volunteers had joined them from other districts. According to this estimate, which is more credible, their total number must have been between 40 and 45,000.

II. Their Characteristics.

The Druses are noted for their valour, intrepidity and subordination to their superiors. They are high-spirited, and will not bear oppression. A man will give his life rather than submit to ill treatment or abuse. They never fully succumbed to Turkey like other nations of Syria, but have always maintained a sort of independence. The Bedouins who, before the Turks established their dominion over Syria, used to impose upon the Fallaheen an annual contribution for protection, which they called "Kawi" (friendship), never dared to levy the same from the Druses. Though the Druses of the Hauran are surrounded by many tribes of which two alone are double their number, yet in all the many contests with them, the Druses ever gained the victory and took their enemies' cattle. As a rule, every Druse, however poor, must, before anything else, possess a weapon—a gun, a sword, or at least a dagger—which he carries about him, wherever he goes, even to his field. They are always prepared to defend themselves against the Arabs' assaults or to fight against any encroachment. Their love for one another and their union among themselves are proverbial. They are like one hand against all others, for they act in common against him that injures any one of them.

III. Their Country.

The Druses we are speaking of, live in a fertile mountain to the western border of the Hauran plain. To the south towards the desert there stands a defensive mountain named As-Saja (the Refuge) which is inhabited by a certain tribe named As-Safa. Several conflicts had taken place between



ROUGH SKETCH
OF A PART OF
SYRIA
INCLUDING THE
HAURAN DISTRICT.

the Druses and this tribe in which the former got the upper hand. Some thirty years ago, after a sanguinary contest, the Arabs were utterly defeated and their rivals took possession of the northern part of this mountain and built some villages therein. The ways leading up to this mountain from the populated places being narrow defiles, one man on the summit can often hold at bay superior numbers in the defiles. The Druses on Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Syria retired to this almost inaccessible mountain, and by the then help of the Arab As-Safa they soon put Ismail Pasha's general to flight and slaughtered his soldiers. In return, the Druses assert, that the Sultan of that time issued an order that they should for a whole century be exempted from tithe, and from military and other taxes.

IV. Their Conflicts with the Government.

The Druses have had several conflicts with the government in which they exhibited wonderful fortitude. Armed with ordinary guns, they would fight to the last against Henry-Martini rifles and the modern cannons of well trained soldiers, and whenever they were at peace with their Arab rivals, the As-Safa, they got the upper hand. In the three last conflicts in which they were half conquered, the aforesaid tribe had been cunningly won over by the government and held, with its cannons and men, the defiles leading to that "defensive" mountain, viz., Al-Saja, against the Druses, and thus the latter were compelled to surrender. The Druses, however, knowing what sort of government the local authorities were, hastened every time they were conquered to send in a bag of gold to the conquering general and another to the governor-general of Damascus with a petition to withdraw the troops from their country, and by this means they had always regained their independence. Many a governor in the Turkish empire sells the State for a bag of gold, and so do numerous other Turkish officials. Still fearing lest the Druses should return to rebellion, the government had erected some forts in the northern part of their country which it filled with soldiers and munitions.

V. Last Year's Conflict.

For two reasons the Druses in this conflict could not stand long before the government. First they were not all this time agreed upon insurrection; so a good part kept neutral. Secondly, by their encroachments on their immediate neighbours, they had placed themselves in a difficult position. The Circassian refugees, the Fallaheen of the Hauran, the Kurds near Damascus, and the Arabs now joined the regular troops and fought against them in revenge, whilst the tribe As-Safa blocked up the defiles of Al-Saja against them. Seeing all these united powers, the Druses after two or three desperate rushes put down their turbans on their necks and surrendered. Mahmood Pasha, however, who was the commander-in-chief, instead of arresting only the chiefs of the rebels, laid hands upon their leading men generally and sent them handcuffed to Damascus, whilst the conquering soldiers ravished the females and plundered the villages. One thousand Druses were locked in Damascus prisons—Shibli Al-Atrush, the principal chief being one of them, and were then banished to the places already referred to. The chief, however, was kept in Damascus with 24

Sheikhs. He was locked up in a special room and made a show to the people who would pay a mutalik (half-penny) to see him and spit on his beard. The abuses, the severe beatings, the ill-treatment generally—such as spitting on and pulling off the beard—which the arrested Druses had to endure from the soldiers as well as from the Moslems of Damascus are not fit for description. Barbarians, who know nothing of civilization, rarely treat their conquered enemies so brutally. And when in July Shibli-Al-Atrush, on his way to exile, passed through Beyrut, the Moslems, even the children, followed him to the harbour, showering abominable language, if not worse, upon him. Nay, the very soldiers who guarded him snatched his beard, spat in his face and struck him several times for no reason. At last he turned to the people and said, "You think that *I* have killed the soldiers. You are mistaken. It is your governors and generals who have killed them. The former have taken 70 thousand pounds from the Druses not to collect their rifles. If I go to Constantinople I shall prove dishonesty and unfaithfulness."

VI. The Present Conflict.

Everyone who has heard of the present revolt of the Druses, judges to himself that they must have grave reasons for it, for no mind admits that these few thousand people who through their previous rebellion have lost all their chiefs and over two thousand men in battle, as also one thousand in exile, all in less than three months, would again rebel for the mere love of bloodshed and the disturbance of peace. They must have been oppressed beyond measure, and wronged to an intolerable extent. Indeed, high-spirited people like these Druses cannot suffer their females to be ravished, their beards to be pulled, their faces to be spat upon, their houses to be plundered, their necks to be trodden on, and their bodies to be lashed. They cannot for a long time suffer abuse and abasement. Although they were stripped of their weapons and wealth, although they had lost their superiors, they have not lost self-respect and manhood, nor was their blood chilled by fear to such a degree as never again to grow warm. They cried, they murmured, they petitioned, they complained repeatedly; but they found no listening ear and no pitying heart. The Turks are so unwise to think that the more they press upon their subjects, the more they establish their dominion over them, and the more they wrong them, the more they take the courage off them and keep them down.

In addition to all this the Druses were not able to bear long the tyranny and unbecoming behaviour of the officials who would, if they could, strip them stark naked, and who treated them in a most despicable manner. They had bought the offices for money, and came to rob the Druses right out. The following list which I took from trustworthy sources shows what the offices are and for how much they were bought apiece—

Office or function for	£
Measuring and taxing the land	1,000
Counting and taxing the sheep and goats	600
Taxing the horses	800
Numbering the Druses	400
Taxing the estates	900

From this the reader may infer wherefore these offices were bought at such high amounts. A man will not buy an office that lasts only three or four months for £1,000 unless he is sure to gain thereby double that amount The taxes on cattle, for instance, instead of being 3 piastres net a head, rises to 5 and 6, as they demanded.

To make matters worse, the government wanted the poor wretches to pay in cash for the last three years' tithe. The gendarmerie of the Kurds and Circassians, who were commissioned to collect the money, assaulted Druse females, shot some persons and robbed some houses. A magistrate at Ahira forced a woman from her husband. Such unbearable deeds drove the Druses out of their wits and made them prefer death in the battle-field to a life full of degradation. They deemed death a relief from the misery they were under. They thought it nobler to be killed with their wives and children than to succumb gradually to a barbarous treatment.

They then conspired together to kill the gendarmes and officials and to renew the revolt, and when they agreed together, their luck would have it that the government which is noted for little wisdom, sent some officials to tax the cattle of the Arab As-Safa; their misbehaviour and covetousness excited the tribe against the government to the highest pitch. Seizing this opportunity the Druses sent emissaries to form a treaty, so that the Arabs should take charge of their wives during the proposed revolt. The Arabs took solemn oaths not to betray them—to take charge of their wives at any time that they might be sent to them. The same delegate also visited some Sheikhs of the Hauran who were at this juncture not over-pleased with the government on account of the heavy taxes the latter imposed upon them for the tithe of their land products. With them, the Druses made a covenant to be all as one hand against the government.

Having thus secured the confederation of their neighbours, the Druses watched a favourable opportunity to attack the three regiments occupying under the generalship of Mamdooh Pasha the castle and barracks at As-Suwida the capital of the mountain, but before that opportunity had presented itself, a grave event took place which hastened the revolt. An officer and 32 soldiers were sent to a town named Aruman to arrest a Druse accused of murder. On their arrival they alighted at the Sheikh's house and began to call him bad names. The Sheikh entreated them to be more considerate and to tell him what they came for. With curses they answered his question and they commanded him with threats to summon the accused, and in the meanwhile to prepare a meal for them. The Sheikh obeyed, and after they had eaten, he too sat down with some of his relatives, and, while he was eating, the officer, followed by four soldiers, burst in and demanded the accused. The Sheikh answered that the person had gone away, but that he, though not responsible for him, had sent some men to track him. Mad with rage, the officer poured a volley of abuse upon him and threatened him with death, if he would not fetch the alleged murderer in less than an hour. The Sheikh responded, "I have told you that I am not responsible for him; search for him yourself, but restrain your tongue from obscene abuse, as I can bear it no longer."

"What will you do if I do not restrain it?" cried out the officer. "Will you kill me as you used formerly to kill the soldiers?"

"I will," replied the Sheikh still sitting, "but, for Heaven's sake, do not make me a cause of another revolution."

"Indeed, you will kill me!" yelled the officer, "and bring about another revolntion?" Levelling his pistol at him, he fired and the Sheikh fell weltering in his blood.

Boiling over with anger, his relatives sprang upon the officer, but before they could touch him two of them were killed by the soldiers. Excited beyond themselves, the Druses of the town then rushed upon the officer and the four soldiers and cut them in pieces, then attacked the other 28 soldiers who had taken shelter in a certain house and killed them also. A magistrate in a town near Aruman hearing the report sent seven soldiers which were killed as soon as they came into the town.

When the report of this event reached As-Suwida, Mamdooh Pasha sent at once one and a half regiments with two cannons to kill all the Druses of Aruman, and kept one regiment and a half in the town. The Druses, however, divined his proceedings and sent some men to seek the help of the neighbouring villages, and in less than four hours, over one thousand men came to their help. Marching together some miles on the road to As-Suwida they reached a rocky place where they lay in ambush all the night, and when on the following morning at 7 o'clock the soldiers arrived at the place, the Druses rushed upon them from both sides and gave their daggers plenty of work. The conflict lasted about 7 hours, and the soldiers not having been able to use their cannons and guns fell victims to Druse fury. Seven hundred and fifty were killed and 150 were taken captives. The Druses whose loss was only 100 men took all the ammunition—the cannons and guns—and returned triumphally to Aruman.

When the news of the massacre of the despatched troops reached Kisra Pasha (the rival governor of As-Suwida) and Mamdooh Pasha, they were both much afraid and took refuge in the castle. They also soon heard of the treaties that the Druses had formed with the Fallaheen and Arab-As-Safa, and despatching all these news to the governor-general of Damascus, they requested of him to order a military expedition to their aid. In hopes to increase the number of the soldiers they had, the Pashas sent two Druses in official positions that they should persuade their people to release the captives, but the revolting Druses gave them a deaf ear, and desired the artillerymen to teach them how to load and fire cannons. As to the governor-general of Damascus he at once telegraphed to Constantinople the reports he received from the aforesaid Pashas, and requested a prompt answer as to whether he should send a military expedition against the Druses, to which he received a reply that he should at once do so and collect and order troops. In order to win the Arabs and Fallaheen to the government side an imperial order came that the former should be exempted this year from their annual taxes and the latter from the tithe of their products. This plan produced a good result for the government, for with the exception of the Arabs of As-Safa who remained friendly to the Druses, all the other tribes and the Fallaheen sided with the govern-

ment and are now making raids upon the rebels and robbing their cattle and household things.

Hearing the reports of these occurrences all the Druses of the province were moved with excitement. They congregated to Aruman from all directions and divided themselves into four parts—one to escort their wives and children to Al-Saja and to Arab As-Safa their ally to protect them from being kidnapped; one to feed and watch the cattle; one to watch the horses and carry the arms and furniture to Al-Saja, and one—being 2,000 cavalry and 500 infantry—to attack As-Suwida. Cutting all the telegraph wires and turning the water from the channel that runs to the castle, in which there is only one cistern which supplies a regiment for 15 days, the latter part marched to As-Suwida and besieged it from all sides. In case they should be conquered, and the soldiers take possession of their arms and provender, they burnt all the villages near As-Suwida together with the corn.

VII. In the meanwhile the exile of Shibli Al-Atrush took place and the aforesaid words that he spoke in Beyrut regarding the governor of Damascus were told to the governor of Beyrut who at once wired them to the Porte. Othman Pasha, the governor of Damascus, was summoned to Constantinople and Nasoohi bey, the governor of Beyrut, was sent to act as an agent to Damascus, and commissioned to act with Tahir Pasha, the Musheer, in discovering the reasons of the Druses' revolt and to admonish the latter to yield to the government, lest they should be destroyed altogether. The two Pashas discovered that the revolt of the Druses was caused through the tyranny and villainy of the officials and gendarmes and acted honestly in their reports. The Druses sent an answer to their excellencies that they have never meant to revolt against the government, but they were revolting against the villainous officials and gendarmes. To lay down their arms they put three conditions—first not to be enlisted in the military, secondly to have no dishonest officials or Kurds or Circassians sent to them, thirdly to have a certain tax fixed on each village instead of the tithe which the government sell by auction. The Pashas refused the demand and the fight began.

The Contest of July 7th (a letter from As-Suwida).

"As-Suwida was besieged for fourteen days during which the Druses therein removed with their wives, children and moveables to Al-Saja. On the fifteenth the scouts brought the tidings of the appearance of three regiments, being an expedition sent to rescue Mamdooh Pasha and the besieged soldiers. Sending five hundred infantry round the castle, two thousand horsemen prepared themselves for a vigorous attack. For half an hour the deafening reports of the guns continued incessantly, then a sudden silence followed. The Druses threw down their guns and rushed on the soldiers with their proper weapon (the sword). They attacked the artillery and scattered it. At this juncture, Mamdooh Pasha rushed out from the castle to join in with his men, but the Druses' infantry encountered them with strong hearts and killed the greater part. The 'expedition' soon took to flight—the Druses followed at their heels and slaughtered

them like sheep. Two thousand soldiers were killed, and one thousand covered with wounds, whilst only 300 Druses were killed and 400 wounded. Mamdooh Pasha was chased by some gallant Druses, but the soldiers protected his escape."

The following is the official report of the contest by Nasoohi bey:

"On July 7th a contest took place between the victorious soldiers and the rebellious Druses. Losses were sustained on both sides."

On the 15th some Hauranis reported that

"120 camels carrying the ammunition of the expedition were plundered by the Druses who fell upon the guards and killed them all. The camels were forced into compulsory service and their poor owners fell victims."

"On July 18th bloody conflicts took place for about nine hours, and the losses on both sides were great, but the soldiers eventually gained the victory and the Druses took to their heels. The losses fell chiefly on three regiments, those of Ackar, Jinnia and Ladikiah (Laodicea)."

A letter from Hauran states:

"Bloody combats have taken place on July 18th in which the Druses exhibited wonderful gallantry. They defied all danger and fell upon the artillery like ravenous wolves. They raced to seize death (*yadauru-l-maut*). The soldiers were ten regiments helped by 5 thousand Bedouins who stood behind them, whilst the Druses numbered 5 thousand. The guns and cannons of the former thundered fast and furious, but the latter who made a determined attack with the white weapon (the sword) did not dread them, and though hundreds of them received their death in the rush, the survivors remained undismayed. The horsemen rushed at the soldiers first and put them into disorder, and soon the footmen arrived, and the swords flashed all along the line of battle. Three regiments in the front, being those of Ackar, Jinnia and Ladikiah, were utterly destroyed. Whereupon the Arabs came on the scene with their spears and made a mighty attack in which hundreds of Druses were killed. Had it not been for the Arabs the Druses would have destroyed the soldiers and gained the victory. Losses on both sides were great, but mostly so on the government side."

The valour that the Druses exhibited in these conflicts is most extraordinary. They defied the modern guns and canons and rushed into deadly danger like voracious beasts at their prey. Some of their wives and young daughters stood behind them with jars of water and bags of bread and cheese, whilst the rest prepared the food. The total number of their warriors does not exceed 15 thousand, whilst the military "expedition" amounts to 32 regiments and every day it is swollen by some Bedouins and new soldiers. These poor Druses are divided into several companies; they have to fight against the government and the Arabs—several tribes—and to protect their properties from rapine. The Arabs and the Hauranis make raids in companies—four hundred to five hundred, and in different places, upon their cattle, but in general the few Druses that are on guard send them away disappointed. Besides, the stay-at-home Druses hide behind the rocks and shoot the raiders.

Conclusion.

Firstly, the Druses, brave as they evidently are, and though their country is difficult of access, cannot hold out long before the government, because they cannot make up for the loss they sustain in every combat, whereas the government can. In every combat they suffer a loss of some hundreds which they cannot replace, whilst every week a regiment or two are added to the regular soldiers in lieu of those that are killed. The Druses of other districts, are prevented under the threat of loss of life and property from joining their revolting brethren. The 15 thousand warriors on the 18th July in less than six months will dwindle to 10; indeed they have already diminished to 14 thousand for they do not only lose their killed but their wounded as well. The latter are either left on the battle-field, or are not attended to by any physician, as these Druses do not believe in medicine, and therefore they are without medical treatment.

Secondly, they cannot stand long before the enormous number of the Arab Bedouins that are now helping the government against them. Zatun Al-Faiz who is now acting in common with the government, rules over 80 thousand horsemen, and his men know all the routes and defiles of the Druse mountain as well as of Al-Saja. He has already 5 thousand with him and every week adds another thousand.

Thirdly, out of the 15 thousand warriors of the Hauran Druses, only 8 thousand are fighting against the soldiers and the Arabs, and these also are divided into four divisions, each division in a different direction. The rest are guarding the females and children and fighting against the raiders. Eight thousand warriors, though the bravest men in the world, cannot hold out long against 32 regiments and 80 thousand Bedouins.

An Imputation.

The Druses of Mt. Lebanon and a good many Christians in Syria impute the following story to Mamdooh Pasha and believe it to be the true cause of the Druse revolt. Doubting its correctness, I state it only at the end of this article. The story runs thus—The wife of Shibli-Al-Atrush went to Mamdooh Pasha with a parcel of gold which she desired to give to him in order to release her husband. Seeing her face the Pasha was fascinated with her beauty and asked her to become his wife. To this she replied that she must first go home and bring her ornaments and money. She went, but never returned to his Excellency. After a fortnight he sent her word, but she did not take any notice. He therefore sent an officer with 32 soldiers to bring her by force, and this is why they were killed and the combat began. Instead of punishing Mamdooh Pasha for such a dastardly act (if the story repeated everywhere be true) the government or rather the Sultan promoted him to be a Farik.

THE CONDITION OF MOROCCO.

By Ion Perdicaris.

So much of an alarmist nature still appears from time to time in the daily press, both in England and on the Continent, regarding the present condition of Morocco that it may again be desirable to pass in review the symptoms of general uneasiness which call forth such frequent comment together with certain more reassuring indications.

Whilst the prosperity of the country districts as well as that of the larger towns has seriously diminished since the death of the late Sultan, Mulai El Hassan, two years ago, still, the tribal disputes and local insurrections which have become such constant, though unfortunately by no means novel, features, are not directed so much against the Shereefian Government as against the provincial Kaids or military Governors.

Mulai El Hassan, himself, though he was probably not only the best Sultan known in the annals of Morocco but also superior in character to most of his subjects, was accustomed to estimate the poverty of the population as the best guarantee for their submission to his rule, whilst he was apparently contented to dispense with any effective increase of revenue that might result from a more generous or intelligent policy rather than expose his government to the risks, either in the shape of native revolt or foreign encroachments, likely to be involved by the attempt to develop the agricultural or commercial resources of the country.

The only fiscal experiment, therefore, upon which the late Sultan ventured was to double the number of local governors, by which simple device he hoped also to double his revenue, since the amounts paid by these governors to secure their appointment or subsequently extorted from them, constitute the chief source of imperial revenue, for,

of the "áshera" or tithes paid by the farmers on their crops, very little reaches the Shereefian exchequer—the same may be said of the duties collected at the ports, amounting to some £200,000 yearly. Mulai El Hassan, however, in putting up the official appointments of his government to auction was not absolutely indifferent to the qualifications of the candidate and, between two aspirants who offered nearly equal terms, selected the most capable, rather than the highest, bidder.

Since his death these considerations do not always appear to weigh, as the present Government removes the most tried and faithful servants in order to favour those who offer higher terms. Even a soldier of signal courage and repute like the governor of M'Zab, a rich province in the neighbourhood of Casablanca, (Dar el Baida,) was removed from his district and his Kasbah or fortress-residence given over to be pillaged by orders from the capital, although this Kaid had been one of the first to declare in favour of the present government at the time when Mulai el Hassan died on the journey from Morocco city to Rabab amidst general consternation and when many hesitated whether to support the young Mulai Abd-el-Aziz or to follow the standard of his elder brother Mulai Mohammed. The governor of M'Zab by his position and authority probably more than any other official, outside the court ring of Vizeers and their creatures, caused the doubtful tide of public allegiance to turn in favour of the boy Sultan and of the Vizeers who had staked their lives and fortunes in imposing the son of the Circassian favourite, Lalla Erkia, upon the throne, to the detriment of the other and more nobly born sons or brothers of the late Sultan. We, who were in the country at the time, know what panic and confusion reigned amongst the native population and especially the officials and with what haste and fear the companions of Abd-el-Aziz pressed on to Rabab abandoning the body of Mulai El Hassan which was brought in later by forced marches. No one who

witnessed these events doubts that it was touch and go with them all, not only in Morocco city, where the adherents of Mulai Mohammed rose in armed revolt, but also throughout the Empire; yet, one after another, we have seen many of the men, whose adhesion at this critical moment secured the succession to the present occupants, removed from their posts to satisfy the greed of court officials whose decisions seem governed solely by the desire of accumulating wealth, regardless of even immediate consequences, as in the case of the removal of the governor of M'Zab, and the sacking of whose Kasbah, where the goods of various merchants, protected by foreign flags, had been hastily conveyed for safety, is a case in point, and has led to the presentation of claims by the Legations at Tangiers, claims whose amount will far exceed any sum paid by those in whose favour this act of folly had been perpetrated. Such incidents do not give a favourable impression of the judgment of the Grand Vizir, Si Mohammed Ben Mousa or, as he is more generally called "Ba Hammed," in whose hands are concentrated the reins of power. The Sultan himself is still too young to exert any influence, even if he be not too inert ever to overcome the obstacles with which he would have to deal were he to attempt to exercise any serious control. Whatever be the cause Mulai Abd-el-Aziz is obviously but an automaton in the hands of those who direct his official acts or utterances and with them rests the absolute responsibility for all important decisions.

One of the first acts of the Grand Vizir on assuming office was the appointment of a board of eighteen notables by whom all administrative measures were to be discussed, a device which enabled Ba Hammed to withdraw from the control of those who had acted as the former Cabinet Ministers of Mulai-el-Hassan, such business as naturally pertained to the various Departments of State.

This measure was at first generally approved and the impression gained ground that an era of upright govern-

ment and disinterested councils was to succeed the more corrupt administration of the former régime, but it was not long before the board of notables melted imperceptibly away. Some of its members were sent on various missions to distant provinces whence they have not returned, whilst other employments were found for those who remained nearer the person of the young Sovereign, until no one was left to control or hamper the Grand Vizir who had, as it may be remembered, given a never-to-be-forgotten object-lesson to the more independent of his former fellow-ministers by the sudden arrest of the two Vizirs of the El Djamai family, whose sister had married the late Sultan and who, apart from this circumstance, were considered the most wealthy and powerful of the personages attached to the Shereefian Court. These had been seized without warning, dragged ignominiously from their residence, heavily ironed and stript of their property on a charge of peculation, and still languish in prison.

So long, however, as Ba Hammed maintained a standard of superior administrative rectitude and a moderate personal expenditure, this arbitrary and high-handed act provoked no protest. The Djamai had offended not only the other members of the Court Circle but also public opinion, in general, by their overbearing attitude.

Unfortunately, the Grand Vizir's record has not been quite so satisfactory of late. It is true that in his dealings with Europeans the old habits of procrastination have been cast aside. Ba Hammed's "no" means "no," and, what is still more astonishing, his "yes" actually means "yes," whilst the proverbial cunning of the Oriental when negotiation is carried on seems to have been replaced by the more straightforward methods of modern times. If, to these undoubted merits, Ba Hammed would only add that probity and disinterestedness with which he was credited at first where purely native interests are concerned we might look forward with confidence to a general amelioration of the state of the country and to the permanence of the Shereefian throne.

It is, however, observed that he is purchasing estates and building houses not only in Fez, Mequinez and Morocco city but he is also buying houses and land here in Tangier —a town not hitherto favoured by the more orthodox Mussulmans by whom it is generally designated, on account of its defilement by an infidel (or foreign) population as "Tangier, the dog." That a politician whose elevation is so perilous should dispose, like the acrobat, some convenient mattress or netting to break the force of his fall, in case his equilibrium fail him, ought not to surprise even hostile critics, but to provoke, instead of conciliating, the most influential native officials by showing them that no merits, no loyalty to the authority they themselves have aided him to establish, weighs against a higher bid for office, seems as though, in his haste to enrich himself, Ba Hammed is courting a danger that might otherwise be postponed indefinitely and that in this important respect he shows less political acumen than did Mulai El Hassan. True, Ba Hammed is not, himself, Sultan, and possibly he may feel that the day Abd-El-Aziz comes of age or displays the capacity to wield the full power that his position confers, the young Sultan may prefer to dispense with his present Grand Vizeer. It is, therefore, natural enough that Ba Hammed should invest money in European securities and prepare, at Tangier, an abode not too far removed from the Foreign Legations to some one of whom he may some day have to apply for personal protection against the rancours aroused by his present monopoly of the Shereefian power.

At the present moment, Abd-el-Aziz and his court are established at Morocco city, the Southern Capital of the Empire whence Ba Hammed can more easily dominate not only the rich province of Soos to the South West but also Tafilelt situated on the Sahara slope of the Atlas Mountains, a locality where it is believed that the Sultans store their treasure beyond the reach of the much-feared European, a locality which is moreover the cradle of the present Filali dynasty.

In Morocco, also, resides, or at all events resided until the other day, a dangerous political prisoner, the eldest son of the late Sultan, Mulai Mohammed, the cross-eyed, known to the English press as "the one-eyed decapitator." It will be remembered that in conjunction with the Rehamna tribe, to which his mother belonged, the adherents of this Prince besieged Morocco city in an attempt to release Mulai Mohammed himself who had, as we have repeated, been confined by the order of the Sultan himself when that monarch, probably feeling his own end approaching, was anxious to leave no means untried that might assure the succession to his younger son, the present Sultan Abd-el-Aziz. But the hopes of the disaffected still centre round the elder son and strange stories circulate in the bazars, stories of secret conferences between the two brothers, with dramatic, if apocryphal, recitals of the elder brother's reproaches and of his conjurations to the youthful Abd-el-Aziz to cleanse his father's court of those who have usurped the power of the throne!

Possibly, Abd-el-Aziz himself may enjoy as little real liberty or choice as to whom he sees in public or with whom he consorts in his moments of retirement as Mulai Mohammed.

Had the character of this Prince been less rude and violent, he might have swept Abd-el-Aziz from the throne and overpowered Ba Hammed together with all his supporters. Hence this element of constant danger will doubtless soon be removed. Indeed the departure of this troublesome prince for Tafilelt is already announced, though this may prove merely a euphuism for a still longer journey and one from which there will be no return.

Another legend, which vanishes on a closer view, besides that which depicts Ba Hammed as a disinterested though possibly over-stern patriot, is the rôle popularly assigned to the Circassian mother of Abd-el-Aziz of her beneficent influence upon his fortunes, together with her accomplishments as a linguist and as a musician. Alas, Lalla

Erkia neither speaks any European language nor plays upon the piano, and if she ever exercised any influence over her son or, thus, indirectly over the councils of state, she has now long been relegated to the usual position of even the most distinguished females of the Shereefian household, and is a purely negligeable quantity for all save her negro slaves and a few personal attendants of her own sex.

As to those surviving Vizirs or Ministers of the late Sultan whose innocuous presence is still tolerated by Ba Hammed, they, also, may be dismissed without comment until unforeseen circumstances once more bring them to the front. Amongst the more prominent personalities of this troubled period is an uncle of the late Sultan who long exercised the functions of Kadi of the High Court of Appeal at Fez, or Lord Chief Justice of the Empire, and who, more than any other personage of the Sultan's *entourage* was respected and esteemed both for his many just and humane decisions, as well as on account of the singular dignity and decorum of his bearing,—qualities which also distinguish other members of the family—but neither his many virtues nor his adhesion to the present Sultan have saved Mulai Ismain from the ill-will of those who are, perhaps, justly jealous of his well-deserved popularity throughout the Empire. More fortunate in this respect, two of Mulai-El-Hassan's brothers still occupy important official positions, of which the most influential is Mulai Arafa, now acting as Governor of Fez or rather as Viceroy for the Eastern provinces and who may be remembered as the Commander-in-Chief of the Shereefian forces sent to overawe the turbulent Riffians in the neighbourhood of Melilla at the time of the difficulties with Spain. Mulai-el-Amin, El Hassan's other brother, is now in the province of Soos.

So much for those who control the destinies of the Sultanate, a territory equal in extent to the area of Turkey in Europe. Morocco, the sick man of the West, is not

unlike the Ottoman Empire in more respects than one—not only is it an absolutely independent Mohammedan Power but it also has its massacres and atrocities, together with its restless and alien populations thirsting for independence. These populations are, it is true, with the exception of the various Jewish communities, who are located chiefly in the larger towns, all Muslimîn—but this unity of religious faith does not, unhappily render their condition so superior to that of the Raya populations of Turkey as would seem, at first sight, inevitable and, if the massacres are on a lesser scale than those from which the Armenians suffer and if the atrocities committed in the various provinces of the Sultanate pass generally unchronicled, the population of the country is not, on this account, less to be pitied, for their insecurity is more constant whilst there are no sources from which they may hope for redress or succour. From the gates of Mogador on the Atlantic to those of Tangier and of Tetuan, facing the Mediterranean, from the coast to the confines of the Sahara, it is the same story of burning villages and of their homeless inhabitants wandering afar in search of food and shelter, a story of constant pillage and bloodshed. In vain do the victims of these ever-recurring outrages appeal to the Government for protection or redress. The ruin begun by the lawless tribesmen from the hills is too often only aggravated by the extortions of the local governors, whilst of all the ills to which the country is exposed, the worst and most to be dreaded is the occupation of the district by a Mahalla or encampment of imperial troops, a starving and disorganised horde who have been known to seize by force the baggage and accoutrements of their own officers, thieves and plunderers in whose neighbourhood neither property nor women are safe, not even when the presence of the soldiery is due to some effort to protect a loyal or friendly district.

Islám may be, as a system of ethics, all that its adherents claim, but as a factor of political rule, there must be some-

thing radically wrong interwoven in its very fibre to lead to such dire results in so many different quarters of the globe and affecting races of such varied origin and faith. The Moor or the Berber in the ordinary relations of life seems not so unlike other members of the race—fine and manly in his bearing, often industrious and personally intelligent enough to realize the value of honesty and the disadvantage of the violation of those moral precepts upon which the Koran so strenuously insists; he yet seems incapable of any efficient social or commercial organization owing to his unconquerable distrust of his fellow-native—few, if any, are the commercial partnerships—among the Muslimîn of the Barbary States; Banks are not only unknown but actually unrealizable institutions—the money not immediately required must be concealed, generally buried, and the secret is often not even communicated to the sons of the owner.

One terrible feature of the condition here in Morocco, is that no matter how fierce and cruel government may become, any chance of a successful revolt is rendered almost impossible as the leaders of the insurrection are certain to be betrayed by each other or by some of their followers, besides which the absence of intercommunication between the various provinces, together with their mutual feuds, embittered as they are by acts of personal or tribal vengeance, renders it almost impossible for any native to be sufficiently widely known or sufficiently in touch with fellow-sufferers, elsewhere, to organize a general rising. So long, therefore, as Ba Hammed can pay the troops, no revolt is likely to destroy his power, as no leader is likely to be able to unite a sufficient following to become really dangerous to the central Government which is more likely to be destroyed, if it does fall, by dissensions within and not by an attack from without, a consideration which brings us to the question of Morocco's relations with foreign powers and especially the ability displayed by Ba Hammed in his dealings with the envoys and agents of different nationalities.

One thing is certain which is that, unlike the Bourbons, Ba Hammed is not incapable of learning from experience and that he knows how to trim the sails of the Shereefian ship of state to the shifting winds of foreign influences.

Until quite lately the one apparently constant factor upon which the M'hazen, as the Moorish Government is called, was the good will and support of Germany. The reasons of this were so self-evident, the interest which the Power that had overthrown the French Empire must take in assisting to maintain the integrity of an independent native court on the confines of Algeria, especially a native Power like Morocco, whose wild horsemen, massed upon the Algerian frontier, might detain there an entire French army corps, at any critical juncture, was so obvious that no Moorish Vizier could doubt that, whatever else might happen, the tacit, if not the active, support of Germany could always be depended upon. Owing to this confidence the demands of other Powers were treated with scant respect.

The failure of Sir Charles Euan Smith, H.B.M.'s Minister, to induce the Sultan, Mulai El Hassan, in 1892 to append his signature, or its equivalent the Imperial seal, to the commercial treaty to which Sir Charles had devoted unsparing energy and determination, will be remembered by those of your readers who follow with interest the course of events in Morocco. The untowardness of this defeat, largely due to French intrigues, was accentuated by the apathy of the Foreign Office which not only failed to support their envoy, but with Lord Salisbury in office, despatches, obviously never intended for any but the Minister of Foreign Affairs' private knowledge, were published in the Blue-book and communicated to the press. Again, to add the finishing touch to the disaster, Lord Rosebery, when he, succeeding Lord Salisbury, instituted an enquiry at Tangier, his emissary, Mr. Crawford, addressed himself especially to the German and French Legations, England's most active rivals, rivals, moreover, who had, from the day of Sir Charles's arrival at the Tangier Lega-

tion, manifested their annoyance at the measures he took to impress the native officials by the somewhat military precision of his administration about which there was too much gold lace and formality to meet with the approval of the other Legations, whose own cue at the time was "to pull easy" in their dealings with the native Government, the ambition of each being to assume the rôle of the Sultan's best friend. Lord Rosebery, naturally, did not receive a flattering report from quarters where the first contemptuous reproval of Sir Charles's new line of "business" on the Morocco stage had been replaced by the most lively indignation over passages in Sir Charles's despatches alluding to the well-known fact communicated by the Moorish Minister of Foreign affairs to Sir Charles that foreign Representatives had sometimes compounded, or ceased to press, demands against the Shereefian Government in return for a handsome personal equivalent in the shape of cash down. No one who knew the German Minister, at that time Count Von Tattenbach, or Count d'Aubigny, the French Representative, would ever dream that such statements had been aimed at or referred to them; both were men of the most absolute integrity and honour, and both were rich men to whom no Moorish official would have dared to make such a proposition. Still, they were not the less indignant at such statements, unaccompanied by any saving clause and from them, as well as from every other Legation in Tangier, there was but one cry. Sir Charles Euan Smith was the common enemy against whom all were, for perhaps the first time, united in perfect accord.

But Sir Charles's recall and his subsequent obvious retirement from the Service was not without its disagreeable consequences to all Europeans. Not only did the official prestige of the entire Diplomatic Corps suffer in the eyes of the natives by this catastrophe to the occupant of the British Legation but even the personal security of non-official residents or traders was no longer what it had been; debts could no longer be collected and trade suffered. English-

men, especially, were at a grave disadvantage, and were worried and harrassed with comparative impunity—in vain did H.M.'s cruisers and gunboats "demonstrate" at the various ports; their presence was only hailed with hilarity by the natives who felt that, after the Sultan had sent H.M.'s Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary about his business, a local governor could at least snap his fingers at a Consul or at the Commander of a frigate! Matters were rapidly going from bad to worse until, most luckily for the foreign trader or resident, German subjects began to suffer; two were killed outright, probably by some native who owed them money or one who had suffered at their hands, and who deemed this a favourable occasion for paying off old scores in the good, old-fashioned, Moorish style.

On the receipt of special telegraphic instructions from Berlin, Count Von Tattenbach suddenly displayed an energy that other Foreign Ministers at Tangier might, in the interests of the subjects of their own Governments, well have already emulated. The German Envoy visited the coast town near the spot where poor Rocstroh had lost his life, and despite the Moorish Governor's intimation that, should the Minister land, he would not be responsible for the consequences, Count Von Tattenbach at once went on shore accompanied by a guard of marines, made his enquiries, formulated his demand for the arrest and punishment of the assailants, then returning to Tangier proceeded to Fez and there startled the Shereefian Court, with whom Sir Ernest Satow, then British Minister, was playing a slow game of patient waiting in the attempt to disarm the animosity that had been kindled by Sir Charles Euan Smith.

Instead of the "Sultan's best friend," the Grand Vizier Ba Hammed found in Count Von Tattenbach the Minister of a Power that is not accustomed to be trifled with, and one who knew how to press his demands with a stern insistence that would brook no delay. The German Minister

had formerly judged Sir Charles too urgent and peremptory; now it was the turn of his own colleagues to solemnly shake their heads and to fear that Count Tattenbach was treating with undue harshness *their* good friend the Sultan—but this is the way; this is the customary sympathy and *entente cordiale* of Europeans accredited to or residing in these semi-civilized States—who are, as a rule, only too ready to condemn their fellow-European and side with the native authorities until their own turn comes to suffer.

To day, however, all, especially the English, are benefiting by the rude lesson administered to Ba Hammed, and thus it happened that H.B.M.'s present Minister, Sir Arthur Nicolson, when he presented his credentials at Morocco city, in the month of May of this year, was received with an apparent cordiality, not to say eagerness, singularly at variance with the usual experience of his more immediate predecessors. Ba Hammed who had been having trouble with the French, also evidently felt it would now be wise to cultivate friendly relations with one, at least, of the greater Powers and Sir Arthur was consequently able to leave Morocco on the day he had himself fixed instead of dancing attendance for weeks or even months as had too often been the case on the occasion of other similar missions and, best of all, such demands or suggestions as the English Minister had made were accepted with an alacrity that does infinite credit not only to Sir Arthur's own judgment and moderation but also to the capacity of the Grand Vizir to profit by his recent somewhat trying experiences.

In view, therefore, of this change of front on the part of the Shereefian Government, Europeans may feel, despite the disorders that have become so constant a feature, that their own position is distinctly more secure, and if Ba Hammed would also take council with Sir Arthur Nicolson where more purely native interests are concerned, not merely tranquillity but increase both of local prosperity and of Imperial revenue would doubtless soon be realized.

Amongst other incidents to be noticed is the approaching retirement of the Moorish delegate Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier, an old and tried public servant of remarkable integrity—Si Hadj Mohammed Torres, a descendant of an Andalusian Moslem family, blue-eyed, fair-haired and in many other respects a singular contrast to the usual Moorish official—not a man of much energy or initiative, but simply that *rara avis*, an honest man, who has never been known to accept a gift or bribe and who retires from office as poor as when he succeeded Si Mohammed Bargash; of somewhat curt and surly manner but not unkind at heart, a tribute of respect is his due, even from those who, like the writer of these lines, has often had occasion to resent Hadj Mohammed's lack of courtesy and to deplore his curious indifference to local interests. He has, nevertheless, assisted me upon different occasions to purchase, or rather he has purchased for me, several negro slaves in order to thus secure their liberation. I fear, however, that the assiduous efforts of our anti-slavery friends will never bear permanent fruit whilst the country is under native rule, nor do I think the slaves have benefited by the suppression due to the Society's intervention of the public sales at Tangier and at some of the coast towns, as it deprives the most unfortunate class of slaves of the privilege, not very easily secured at any time, of claiming the right, accorded by the law, of being placed upon the market whenever they are subjected to gross ill-treatment and desire to try the chance of falling to the lot of a more humane master.

I am sorry to express this opinion as it sounds most ungracious in view of the untiring efforts of the Society and of its most energetic secretary, for whom I entertain a warm regard, but if Mr. Allen's activity has failed to do for the slave what the Society hoped to achieve, still it helps to keep public opinion in England alive to the necessity for reform and it is well, perhaps, to bear distinctly in mind that no effective amelioration of the lot of the slave is ever

likely to be secured whilst Morocco remains an independant State. Fortunately, as those who live in Mohammedan countries know, slaves are generally treated rather like humbler members of the master's family and often rise to positions of even official importance and, sometimes, when not so fortunate, are yet allowed to earn their own livelihood as day-labourers or domestic servants in other households; still their lot, in the main, is sad enough and the ethics insisted upon in the Koran are rarely realized in practice.

THE TRANSVAAL AND THE MA-TABÉLE RISING.

By R. N. Cust, LL.D.

"It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant."

Of all the Nations in Europe the most sympathetic with the British are the Dutch, and yet the policy adopted in late years in South Africa has tended to create an antipathy to us, which may have bad consequences in the future.

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope was founded by the Dutch; during the wars of Napoleon the British annexed it, and at the time of the Peace in 1815 it was recognized as British. The majority of the colonists are still Dutch. When slavery was abolished, a large number of the Dutch settlers left the boundaries of the Colony, and formed two republics in the unknown and uncultivated interiors; by occupying Natal the British anticipated their desire to have an outlet to the sea: they thus became an "enclave" in the midst of British and Portuguese Colonies. In 1877 the Transvaal Republic surrendered its autonomy to the British: then followed a rebellion, the defeat of a British force at Majúba Hill, and in 1881 the withdrawal of the British from the country, conceding to the Boers complete internal autonomy, but reserving to Great Britain a Suzerainty as regards their relations to other European Governments.

Unluckily, the discovery of gold led to the arrival of a great many British settlers, and the foundation of the City of Johannesburg. These immigrants far exceeded in number the Boer population, and paid more than half the taxation. They had not been invited by the Boers: they came for their own profit: a majority never expressed a wish to become citizens of the Republic: they proposed to remain British, make a fortune, and go home. A portion really desired to become citizens of the Republic on their

own terms, and because the Government of the Boers hesitated, the British prepared to obtain their object by force. It is strange that they could imagine that they had any such rights. Supposing that a number of French, Dutch, or German, teaplanters and miners, exceeding that of the British population in India, settled in that country, and became so audacious, as to harass the Anglo-Indian officials, and to claim a share in the Government of India, which is also that of a white minority over dark millions, how very speedily the Government in question would have deported these "Uitlanders"! It is true that the Government of India, unlike that of the Transvaal, is strong and has a large army: but the principle is the same. No one has a right to enter a civilized state, recognized as such by foreign Powers, and attempt to force upon the ruling race a change of their constitution, just to suit the views of the newcomers. The offence of the men of Johannesburg was high treason of an aggravated kind: that of Dr. Jameson was the invasion of a friendly state in order to aid and abet a rebellion against the constituted authorities.

A Parliamentary Inquiry will take place into the whole of these transactions, and it is as well to await its result before recording an opinion as regards any *individual* coming under such inquiry, as distinguished from the public or Imperial merits of the question under discussion.

"The game is not worth the candle" to the British nation as such, or the expenditure of a shilling of public money. It is the sole concern of private individuals and of Companies, that have interests at stake in South Africa, and especially of those who propose eventually to cease to be British subjects, and to become citizens of the great Africander Republic, which a few years will bring into existence, and which will occupy all South Africa South of the River Zambési on the East, and the River Cunéne on the West. Our only wish is that this transformation of Colonies and independent republics into one great Republic should take place without conflict, or loss of life, or

engendering bad feeling between nationalities. It may have been noticed, that in all the blusterings of the Boers and Uitlanders in the Transvaal, not a word escaped either as to the rights of the Native South African Bantu races, whose numbers far exceed the united population of Dutch and British, and whose occupation of the whole region is many centuries old. Both Boer and British, as regards these natives, were mere Land-Pirates, who wrongfully forced themselves upon a weak coloured race, and reduced them to the position of helots. If abstract justice could be secured, both Boer and British ought to be ejected from the region, though in the eyes of some so-called Christians of the British middle classes a black man has, practically, no right to his home, his cattle, his wife, even to his life, when it pleases the white man to take them.

Linked by lawlessness and brute force to the Transvaal raid is the Matabele-rising. A few years ago it suited the financial aspirations of a Company in London to pick a quarrel with the King of Ma-Tabéle, Lo-Bengúla, to raise armed retainers without the authority of the Queen, to attack and eventually kill the King, killing also many of his subjects, reducing the rest to helotry, after confiscating their private property and cattle, and destroying their homes. Thus was founded a British Colony; the motive, as in Johannesburg, so in Ma-Tabéle land, being to find gold. Had the rocks of the land not been supposed to be auriferous, Lo-Bengula and his men of valour, might still have flourished. A little diplomacy on the part of a Missionary, or of some one who knew the language, might have done for Lo-Bengúla what Mr. Moffat did for Khama, the Chief of the Be-Chúana: the Company however was in a hurry, had to pay dividends, and attract a brilliant list of Shareholders and Directors, Dukes and merchant-princes, and so short work was made in 1893 of the poor Ma-Tabéle, and their kinsmen, the Ma-Shona. Dr. Jameson, who had passed from the service of Æsculapius into that of Mars, had the deplorable fortune of leading the

slaughterers of the Ma-Tabéle in 1893, and of putting the match to the train, which has not only blown up the bubble of the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, but has also created bad feeling between the British and Dutch in South Africa, strained the relation of the Transvaal Republic with Great Britain, and has lastly culminated in a rebellion of the unhappy Ma-Tabéle, causing the death of many British settlers, and of a still greater number of aborigines.

Some writers have compared the conduct of the South African Company with that of the East India Company at the beginning of this century: but there is a difference. The East India Company was, no doubt, desirous to expand trade, but it never was a cattle-stealer or grabber of private property in land. The great Company fought battles, her armies led by men of the stamp of Sir Arthur Wellesley, annexed great kingdoms and defied mighty potentates, but she never confiscated private property, cattle-ranches, gold mines, and dwelling places. The subjects of the conquered country, as I myself can bear witness to in the Panjab in 1845-46, transferred their allegiance from a Raja or a Nawáb to that of the Company, and had to obey a Mr. Smith or a Mr. Thompson, instead of a native with a long name: but everything went on just the same as before: no man could say that he was deprived of home, fields, money, or wife: there was no army of hungry settlers ready to take up allotments, which had been assigned to them in return for carrying a rifle, and helping to kill a native: the difference of the system was, that the East India Company waged war with a regular army under the usual laws of warfare of civilized nations. The South African Company organized a body of volunteer burglars, who were to force the house, and then divide the spoil. In India the population increases by three millions annually: in Ma-Tabéle land we read of battues, not battles; so many so-called rebels killed here, so many blown up there by a mine laid by a white settler before he fled, and all this may yet go on for a long time. Is there no pity for un-

happy natives, who, like the Scotch at Bannockburn, like William Tell, and King Alfred, are fighting "pro aris et focis"? They had never done Great Britain any harm; their sin was the supposed possession of auriferous land, coveted by a white riffraff, the scheme being promoted by Ducal Companies, desirous of high dividends.

Quid non mortalia pectora coges,
Auri sacra fames?

In the reports of the local correspondent of the *Times* at Pretoria occur phrases such as the following:

'The Jameson-raid on the Transvaal struck a common note of indignation in Africa: it was regarded as a wicked and unjustifiable act: no possibility of extenuating circumstances was recognised.'

But how about the Jameson raid two years before on Ma-Tabéle-land? did it not strike a common note of indignation throughout all Christianity? Was it not wicked and unjustifiable to invade the inhabitants of an independent country, slay their men, confiscate their cattle and their lands? Do not let it be argued for a moment, that the political conquest of a kingdom necessarily entails the confiscation of the lands of its subjects. Millions of natives in India hold their hereditary lands under British Rule, which has strengthened rather than weakened their title: it is no disqualification to a landowner to be brown in colour, and not to be recorded in the Census, as a *nominal* Christian. Is it possible that it is the white man only, who has rights to property or political independence? In the early days of England our poor island was invaded by Danes, and Norse, and Saxons, and we are in the habit of sympathising with the patriotism of King Alfred: the Britons and Anglo-Saxons of that time were not much in advance of the Ma-Tabéle in the matter of culture.

What is the meaning of the word "rebel" and "murdered"? The Ma-Tabéle are called "rebels," because the first of Jameson's raids succeeded: the Uitlanders, for whose benefit Jameson made his second raid, are treated as rebels, were sentenced to death, and have now been fined,

because Jameson's second raid did not succeed. All the poor natives, whom Jameson killed in his first raid and whom the British forces are killing now, are deemed to be justifiably killed; while, if a white man is killed, he is described as "murdered." No doubt, in the Danish Chronicles of the time, King Alfred was described as a rebel, and it was complacently recorded that so many rebels on his side, fighting for their ancestral land, were killed: if any of the freebooting Danes were cut down, paying the penalty of their crimes, of course the Danes considered them to be murdered, so it is in Ma-Tabéle land: the intending land grabber, cattle stealer, gold prospector, is described, when killed, as being "murdered"—as if he were a saint, and not, from the Matabele standpoint, a burglar caught in the act.

The Hebrews, whom the Boers so readily quote, set a bad example to after ages: they had been in bondage in Egypt, and yet they ruthlessly seized the land of the people of Canaan, sparing neither woman nor child. The modern freebooter of Ma-Tabéle-land quotes the Resolution of a gold-digging Company in London, and the guidance of Mr. Rhodes, who is their Moses. What, however, did the Hebrews gain? They were eventually swept out of their ill-gotten possessions by still stronger races, and carried into captivity. This is a warning first to Great Britain, and secondly to the "illuvies Anglicæ gentis," described in my presence by an ex-Secretary of State as "the riff-raff of the British Nation"; the surplus progeny of the prolific middle classes, who marry early, and are encumbered by families larger than they can support: the "boys," that cannot find a decent livelihood in England, having failed to qualify themselves for any respectable profession of their class. At the time of the foundation of the North American Colonies the very salt of the nation went forth in such companies, as that of the May-Flower, seeking liberty of religion, and political independence. Even with them was a century of reproach, during which the noble Red Indians

were shamefully treated. It is, indeed, sad to admit that of all invaders of regions occupied by weaker races, the Anglo-Saxon is the most merciless, while at the same time the standard of Christianity is hypocritically unfurled: Missionaries accompany the advancing force, and large allocations of land, seized from natives are handed over to them for the cause of religion: Charles Martel, when he helped the early missonaries of England to convert the Germans by force, could not do worse.

The Boers of the Transvaal are a small body, compared with the swarming natives, whom they hold in subjection. Why do not the Uitlanders side with the native races? for the very good reason, that they want to hold them as subjects for their own advantage. They talk of liberty for themselves, but do not practice it, where others are concerned.

Can anything be done to avert the inevitable Nemesis, that must overtake Great Britain for its treatment of Africa? When the arm of the Hebrew, the Roman, and the Spaniard, was shortened, their day of punishment came. Let us leave the Transvaal alone: if the alien immigrants cannot get what they want, they should leave the country, and go elsewhere. The Jews expelled from Russia flock into London, but they have not as yet claimed a share in the government of that city. Why should the "Uitlanders" rule a republic, to which they will not even swear allegiance?

As regards Ma-Tabéle-land, let it be brought back into a realm of Law: the great Mutiny in British India taught Anglo-Indians the lesson of gentle conciliation: let some officials from British India, who have settled disturbed provinces in Burmah, or Assam, or elsewhere, try their hands in Ma-Tabéle-land, assisted by such men as Mr. Moffat, the son of the great Missionary of South Africa, who knows the language and the people, and is known by them: let the experiment be tried, which was so successful in the Panjab, of the "iron hand in the velvet glove": the wise and strong rule, clothed in gentle words and sympa-

thetic measures: thus conquest has been, as it were, sanctified. Let each native have a guarantee of undisturbed possession of his own lands, and territorial rights: there is abundance of unoccupied area for the new settling intruders: the rocks, from which the gold is extracted, were of no possible use to the barbarous tribes. But there must be absolute equality before the Law betwixt the savage, who hails from England, and the savage who is born in Africa. The sixth and eighth commandments must be respected, for the sanctity of property, whether in land or chattels, is the basis of all civilized communities. The distinction of *meum* and *tuum* seems to have ceased in Ma-Tabéle-land since the Chartered Company got the upper hand. Subjects of Her Majesty have all the same rights, whether black or brown, red or yellow, or white: we have got to that stage in India. An English discharged soldier in the Panjab killed a native, because he would not sell him a sheep: I gave him the chance of being tried by English law, sent him to Calcutta, and one of Her Majesty's Judges sentenced him to death, and he was hanged. We must have similar acts disposed of in a similar way in Ma-Tabéle-land before there is any chance of good government.

Think of the character of the British people in after-ages. The Spaniards acted in the 16th century very much as the British are acting in the 19th. Has Spain increased in power, wealth, or reputation? "Cave, Cæsar, ne respublica damnum capiat."

In support of Dr. Cust's statements, we regret to say that our information from Matabeleland leads us to believe that the Matabele rising was largely due to Europeans and the native police sending for the wives and daughters, even of chiefs, from the kraals. That Mr. Rhodes went unarmed among Matabeles who had already been won over, was certainly plucky, because he must have remembered that two out of the three ambassadors whom Lobengula sent to us at the Tati Camp were shot *for trying to escape* from having been made prisoners against all usages of War. Otherwise, it is the common thing for "*parlementaires*" going unarmed into an enemy's camp.—*Ed.*

HONG-KONG.

BY EX-OFFICIAL.

HONG-KONG is one of the most picturesque spots on the face of the globe, whether the hill be viewed from the harbour, or the harbour from the hill. There are seldom fewer than twenty large ocean-going steamers in port, not to mention men-of-war, local steamers, innumerable sailing craft, junks, steam-launches, and inhabited sampans. As a world port, it stands well in the front rank, along with Liverpool, New York, Hamburg, Constantinople, and Singapore; but of course the greater part of its tonnage is merely in transitory passage between Singapore, Shanghai, and Japan. Mr. Chamberlain has recently taken a wise decision in closing once for all the interminable discussion about local representation. As with the supposed intolerable grievances of the Randt, and the imaginary dangers of the Johannesburg women and children, so with local dissatisfaction in Hong-Kong, there is a vast amount of clap-trap and private axe-grinding, and very often all about nothing. The life and soul of Hong-Kong are the industrious Chinamen, who revel there in a delicious sense of freedom, far away from *likin* barriers, customs meddlings, mandarin extortion, robber bands, and all such ills inseparable from their own odoriferous land. The function of Englishmen in the colony is very much that of Englishmen in India; simply to hold the reins, put on the brake or flick the whip occasionally, and let the animals go.

"High life" at Hong-Kong may be defined as the Club, and "society" may be said to consist of the club and its wives. The club consists of say a hundred merchants and brokers, a few bankers, the navy and army men (a mere handful), a small group of government officials; globe-trotters; consuls and merchants from outlandish forts who have come up for an airing, a few select skippers who can keep their *h's* fairly straight; and that is all.

In no place in the world is the "government" less obtrusive. Every body does what he "darn pleases," subject to the solemn control of the Sikh policeman in the streets, who, *pace* Lord Wolseley, is as faithful, brave, and competent as any John Bull of that walk in life, besides being much more docile and sober. The Governor sits like a cherub aloft on his hill to watch o'er the fate of poor Jack, and of late years the General, Admiral,—in fact all the leading officials and merchants, have each procured for themselves bungalows on the same hill, a similar hill, or part of a hill, from which they can comfortably survey the seething life below. No Chinaman cares twopence about "representation" in principle. Such men as Ho Kai can hardly be styled genuine natives. Every Chinaman has his own axe to grind, of course, like every European or American, and he is only too willing to join in any political howl that may be going if he sees his way thereby to turn an extra honest penny. But Governor John Pope Hennessy ran the Chinaman for all he was worth half a generation ago, and the Chinese local political wind-bag may be now regarded as pricked once for all. A good, honest, unobtrusive, silent, inexorable, but veiled, despotism is what is wanted for Hong-Kong; yet at the same time the leading members of the ruling race—in which I include representative Americans, Germans, etc.—should have their say, and be respectfully listened to. Officialdom should avoid giving offence, and endeavour to eschew the slightest approach to those overbearing and hectoring airs which we all know so well in French and German officials. Grievances, even if imaginary, should not be pooh-poohed off-hand, but quietly listened to, deferentially considered, honestly weighed, and, if at all founded upon ascertainable fact, promptly remedied. Even if the alleged grievances are imaginary, or mere clap-trap, the pigeon-holing should be done in secret; answers which will hold water without leakage should be given; religious or other prejudices should not be trampled upon; and all cock-a-whoopness,

superciliousness, and crowing should be carefully avoided. To a great extent this admirable policy has indeed been already carried out, at least under the last few governors; but every now and then some local Hampden displays volcanic restlessness and undesirable activity; some official says or does a hasty or foolish thing; interminable correspondence with the Secretary of State is the result, and all goes on as before. The fact is, in Hong-Kong, as elsewhere, local residents are inclined to overestimate the importance of their petty affairs: the "new flush system" in the gaol, or a suspicious visitor at the forts, is apt to assume proportions which in the colonial mind entirely overshadow the decadence of Turkey, the claims of Venezuela, the discovery of the North Pole, or the innumerable other matters of first-class interest which more urgently engage the imperial attention. When all is said and done, Hong-Kong is going on splendidly, and can well afford to pay all that is asked of her. Out of 290,000,000 taels in "trade movement" with China for 1894, her share was 133,000,000, and her revenue is now well over 2,000,000 dollars. What is wanted is rather the prompt re-enactment of the Contagious Diseases Act than more "unofficial representation" in the Council and a hearing in "imperial affairs." A genuine grievance has just as good a chance with the Governor if temperately mentioned in conversation over a glass of whisky, or if quietly communicated to the Press and supported by club opinion, as it would be if trotted out in bellicose style by an aggressive unofficial member before the Council. In the particular case of the present able and industrious Colonial Secretary, it seems rather hard that a new rule should have postponed his chances of acting as Governor in favour of the General. But, whenever a serious riot or an impudent mandarin aggression takes place, it is always the General who must come to the fore, and most certainly it is the right thing to give the General a prominent place on both the Council Boards, so as to keep him in unbroken touch with current affairs. Hong-

Kong never had a better "Governor" than General Barker, and it is a very pregnant question whether, in view of recent political developments in the East, the Governor should not always be an admiral or a general. Prompt, silent action is required in these times, with as little talking as possible: if any one wishes to express his views, let him narrow them down on paper. This wastes no time. There is too much talking already in the House of Commons, in proportion to the work done, without extending the system of interpellations and questionings to each of our colonies. As to the Maritime Customs surveillance, which was at one time prophesied to work so much mischief, the tact of Sir Robert Hart has managed so well that there has never been any serious friction with his commissioners, who, though supposed to reside at Kowloon, are in reality amongst the most influential residents of Hong-Kong. No two places in the world have grown from such insignificant beginnings to such great results and in so short a time as Singapore and Hong-Kong. Both are mere ports of call, or central depots for subsequent distribution. Neither owes its prosperity to the wisdom of local parliaments. In each case promptitude in action, absence of customs fuss, and complete political subordination of the native population has achieved these great results, and it is to be hoped that the parochial debate style of dealing with local affairs will never be allowed to nullify the effect of past achievements.

As we all know, Hong-Kong was ceded to Great Britain at the commencement of 1841. At that time the total population was under 5,000. It is now over a quarter of a million. For some months after the cession, hostilities continued with the Chinese, and when Sir Henry Pottinger, the first Governor, arrived, it seemed doubtful if the British Government was really bent upon retaining Hong-Kong. However, the island was definitely ceded by the Nanking treaty in August of the following year, and Sir H. Pottinger, who was also Plenipotentiary to China, at once set to work to arrange the trade regulations and tariff duties for the

China trade. The Chinese had already been informed by proclamation that they were secured in the free exercise of their religious rites, social customs, etc., and in the enjoyment of their lawful private property and interests: nothing was said, or even hinted, about "representation" on any council board. Their ships were also exempted from charge or duty of any kind, and in this important clause undoubtedly lies the chief secret of Hong-Kong's subsequent prosperity. One has only to cross over to Haiphong, and witness the fussy meddlesomeness of the French customs officials, to form an idea of the damage which would be done to Hong-Kong by instituting there a similar system, one which has already ruined the Chinese trade of Haiphong, or at all events totally arrested its healthy development. The first British firms were Jardines, Dents, Hollidays, half a dozen Parsees, and another dozen or so of names which have now long disappeared from China: lots of land had been knocked down to them at good prices during the year 1841. Sir H. Pottinger notified the public that Mexican dollars were to be the standard coins, and he fixed the "cash" rate at 1,200 the dollar—nearly half as many again as can now be obtained. The Government of Hong-Kong was next transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office, and a regular system of civil, ecclesiastical, and educational administration, in all its branches, was gradually organized. During the first few years of "booming," there was naturally much jobbery in land, and a good deal of discontent was caused because the government would not grant perpetual leases at a quit-rent. On the whole Sir H. Pottinger, whose success as a diplomatist after the war was more complete than that as governor, did not get along very well with the mercantile community; and from that time to this the successive governors have, socially, kept up considerable reserve, which perhaps in a place like Hong-Kong, where every body meets every body else half a dozen times a day, is perhaps the best thing to do.

Sir H. Pottinger was succeeded by Sir John Davis towards the summer of 1844, and a full narrative of his

government is given in a very able account by that most painstaking official Dr. Eitel, entitled "The History of Hong-Kong," first published in the *China Review*, Vols. xx. and xxi. Sir John's attitude was autocratic, and he was understood to desire the establishment of a custom-house in Hong-Kong: it was he who, in default of a customs revenue, first suggested the opium-farm, still one of the chief stays of Hong-Kong finance. In 1847 the population had already risen to 24,000, but there were still then great doubts as to whether the colony would be an ultimate success. Mr. Matheson, according to Dr. Eitel, informed the House of Commons that "the whole of the British merchants would abandon Hong-Kong were it not for the very large sums they had sunk in buildings." The Parliamentary Committee succeeded in finding out what Hong-Kong really wanted, and came to the conclusion, amongst other things, that "a share in the administration of the *ordinary and local affairs* of the island should be given by *some system of municipal* government, to the *British* residents." Sir George Bonham succeeded Sir John Davis in 1848.

Sir John Davis had been a sort of *dilettante* Chinese scholar, but Sir George Bonham was the sworn enemy of the "been in the country and know the language men." Even Harry Parkes was in danger of falling a victim to this prejudice. In 1850 the Great Rebellion broke out, and the neighbourhood of Hong-Kong was more than ordinarily harassed by swarms of pirates, though even that circumstance did not prevent the steady development of the local junk commerce. Then came the Macao "slave-trade," chiefly with Cuba and Peru, the abuses connected with which soon caused the Hong-Kong government to place the local traffic under regulation: the actual banishment of the coolie trade from Hong-Kong did not take place until long after Sir George Bonham's departure. Meanwhile general local trade had undergone gradual alteration, and the few "merchant princes" had to share their profits with larger numbers, trading in a humbler way. At this date

(1896) it may be said that "merchant princes" have entirely ceased to exist in Hong-Kong, commission business having generally taken the place of wholesale speculation in produce. The much abused German competitor, with all his faults, is one of the most solid factors in colonial development. Up to the date of the last British war (1860), Hong-Kong consistently maintained a very evil reputation in sanitary matters; but, until the appearance of the bubonic plague in 1894, the colony was in a fair way of living down its earlier bad repute. The important investigations of the able French physician Dr. Yersin enable us to hope that this plague will soon be a thing of the past, and place Hong-Kong under a debt of lasting gratitude to French science. Sir George Bonham left Hong-Kong, after having done excellent general service, in 1854, and was succeeded by Sir John Bowring, during whose administration took place most of the events of the second war. Then came Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Richard Macdonnell, the last-named being perhaps the one who has left the most "fragrant" name as a capable governor in Hong-Kong. The rest is modern history, and will be fresh in the memories of most old residents in China. The development of Hong-Kong during the past 28 years has been tremendous, and great things may be hoped of it in the future. Since the Franco-Chinese war of 1884, Hong-Kong has become a powerful military and naval station as well as a great trading depot. When the handful of British residents there reflect upon the amount of poverty at home, and the enormous numbers of "imperial" taxpayers who have the greatest difficulty in keeping body and soul together by incessant labour, they ought to reflect how much more comfortable their own circumstances are, how little of the local revenue really comes from their own pockets, and what a small *locus standi* they have for demanding a share in the "imperial" councils. People at home admire them and will always be proud of them, so long as they put a shoulder to the wheel, pay their share manfully, and help the old country along.

HONG-KONG AND CHINA—LI HUNG CHANG AND THE CUSTOMS' TARIFF.

By an Old China Merchant.

There is nothing to show that Li Hung Chang had any official authority to ask for an alteration of the Treaty made in 1858, between China on the one hand, and Lord Elgin and Baron Gros on behalf of Great Britain and France respectively on the other.* By this treaty all the other powers have benefited, either by further special compacts, or under the "favoured Nations'" Clause. Li, indeed, admitted that he had no mandate to give "orders" on behalf of his Government,† but he feels, of course, that if he could only pave the way for the payment of the last War's Indemnity by any means which would save the Celestial pocket, he might put off, for the present at any rate, his own political ruin, for no one knows better than he does himself, that he has been degraded by the position which he has lately occupied.‡ Let us now assume, for the sake of argument, that the *Tsung-Li-Yāmen* (the Privy Council of China without which nothing of first-rate importance can be done in that Empire) will jump at this new way of paying old debts. It will then be necessary to have the consent, not only of Great Britain, France, Germany, America, and other Western nations, but also that of Japan, Corea, and other Eastern importers into China. If any one of these be left out, however small, the "favoured Nation's Clause"

* This statement is as striking as it is true. Li Hung Chang had no official authority beyond a permission to try if he could succeed on his own initiative.—*Ed.*

† The orders alleged to have been given in Germany, after his departure from that country, were, we believe, from Messrs. Mandl of Tientsin. —*Ed.*

‡ According to Chinese notions, the mission to congratulate the new Czar of Russia was a degradation for a man like Li Hung Chang who ranks immediately below the Imperial family. The main object, it is said, was to get him away, so as to enable his successor, Wang, to reorganize the Chihli Viceroyalty.—*Ed.*

will have to take effect. Should it, therefore, be possible to generally enforce the new Tariff, will China then grant what might be taken as a "quid pro quo" in the shape of cancelling all *lekin* or Inland Taxes? To illustrate the bearing of this question, it may be mentioned, as an instance in point, that a piece of gray shirting, sold in Shanghai for two taels (two ounces of silver) at 3s. per tael = 6s., costs the native consumer, say in Moukden, the capital of Manchuria, at least 7s. 6d., having had to bear freight, *lekin* and other taxes, or 25% over the purchase price. If the merchandise be sent still further north, the taxes almost double its original value. No doubt, in order to achieve the desired object of raising the Import Tariff from 5 to 10 per cent., the Chinese Government will *promise* to abolish lekin and other taxes. I particularly emphasize the word *promise*, as I am of opinion that no reliance can be placed on Chinese promises, or even Treaties, except in so far as they can be enforced. Were it possible to rely on the assurance that all goods imported into China would be taxed only to the extent of *doubling the Customs' Tariff*, importers would actually gain by the infliction of higher duties. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that Li Hung Chang should make such a point of his proposal, when China can already tax goods inland to any extent she pleases. His object, however, is very transparent. "Doubling" the *Customs' Tariff* will enable Sir Robert Hart to collect about £7,000,000 instead of £3,500,000 as interest for the further loans, which China must contract, in order to pay the balance due to Japan, and to re-establish her navy. There will be no difficulty for China to borrow, when the Imperial Maritime Customs, under Sir Robert Hart, can guarantee the payment of interest, and of course an interest at the rate of 5% amounting to £7,000,000 per annum represents a large capital to be borrowed. Let us now consider how Li Hung Chang's proposal, if universally accepted, would affect *Hong-Kong* in its commercial relations to *China*. Hong-Kong, being a British Colony, can import what it likes,

free of duty, except manufactured tobacco and a very few other articles, but the enormous stocks that are warehoused at Hong-Kong will require an outlet. As China consumes the larger portion of the Hong-Kong trade, then were the increased tariff in force, Hong-Kong would be simply, as regards Manchester and other goods, in the position of the original exporter, that is to say, if the Hong-Kong holder be only an agent. If he, however, be the buyer, or owner of the goods, he will probably at once take advantage of the present low tariff, and ship them immediately over to China. We can now imagine how in such a case, even the contingency of Li's proposal being accepted, will affect trade. The Chinese will, of course, expect lower prices, on account of the still existing smaller duties, and foreigners will be anxious to sell for fear of "holding" when the higher tariff comes into force. The original shipper will be anxious for sales and remittances; the ports will all be overstocked, and the natives will reap the benefit, as they generally do, of the panic that must ensue. The calmer minds will, no doubt, be aware that the new Tariff cannot be imposed without some notice, yet there are sure to be many merchants who will speculate on the chance, and thus all the markets will be flooded. Even the native buyers will overdo their purchases, and some of the goods will have to stop in transit to the interior, for lack of funds to pay lekin and other taxes or squeezes.

Li Hung Chang is reputed to be the richest man in China, and there are many who, rightly or wrongly, believe that he obtained his great wealth at the expense of his country. He has, no doubt, had the control, for many years, of the means for defending China, and we have seen the result in the war with Japan. The Chinese soldiers were supplied with fire-arms that did not shoot, with powder that did not explode, and with officers that ran away at the approach of the Japanese. The truth is that *bribery* and *corruption* are *the* causes of China's terrible losses. The natives of the Celestial Empire, physically (and mentally

also, in my opinion, which is founded on an experience of the two nations of more than 36 years) are *greatly superior* to the Japanese. Remember what General Gordon did in 1861-2 with only 3,000 Chinamen, *well drilled and armed*, who took the city of Soochow which was defended by 100,000 *Rebels*. Li Hung Chang (*then General Li*) was in a kind of joint-command with Gordon. Li is said to have given Gordon great offence at the time, and if it be true, I, for one, cannot understand the recent allusions to General Gordon's great respect and friendship for Li Hung Chang. Gordon was the essence of truth, and I believe that there must be some mistake in the story that Gordon—who no longer lives to contradict it—considered Li to be one of those men for whom one would readily give one's life.*

* Indeed, officially, Li may even have been Gordon's superior, but it was always understood that the latter did not allow any interference in the conduct of the war and that when Li, after the taking of Soochow, during Gordon's temporary absence, caused the decapitation of the three Wangs (claimants to the throne of China) Gordon was very angry and tried hard "to find" Li.

BHARATA NÂṬYA SÂSTRA; OR, THE INDIAN DRAMATICS BY BHARATA MUNI.

By H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B., D.L.A., M.R.A.S., M.P.T.S.
District and Sessions Judge, Amreli, India.

"*Lokasya Charitaṃ Nâṭyaṃ.*"

The ancient Ṛishis of India, and the Greek Rhetoricians and Poets, stood alone among the nations of the world, to first create that Flower of Human Imagination—the Drama, to amuse and instruct people. But they have given their own sweet colour and flavour, beauty and fragrance, variety and attraction, to their productions in the history of their existence.

While the Hindu tradition ascribes everything to *Brahmadeva* or *Pitâmaha*, the Great Father of the World, the first of the Hindu Triad, the creator, there is a tendency in other quarters to trace everything of literary, scientific, or artistic worth in India to a Greek origin, or to ascribe their polish or perfection to Greek influences, direct or indirect.

From Dr. Bhau Daji downwards, the age of *Kâlidâsa*, the Indian Shakespeare, was being brought down to the 6th century of the Christian Era. And with him came the *Kâvya* and *Nâṭaka* Literature to a later age. The great "burst of song" in the 6th-7th century in India has puzzled several scholars of note and eminence. And the *Vikramâditya*, of the *Hindu* Tradition of the first century before Christ, has been brought down to the middle of the 6th century after Christ, and his Samvat Era is said to have been antedated by 600 years! The great name of Mr. Fergusson is associated with this last fiction, and Prof. Max Müller has hallowed the theory by christening the age as that of "the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature." Dr. Bhâu Dâji has, before them, read in *Kâlidâsa*, a paraphrasis of *Mâtṛigupta*, the viceroy deputed by the *Vikramâditya* of *Ujjayinî* of the 6th century to Kashmere, on whose retirement *Pravarasena* ascended the vacant throne. Dr. Peterson too, in seeking the cause of the impulse that led to the great "burst of song," in the 6th-7th century, is led to see Greek influences in the fiction of *Kâdambarî* of *Bâṇa*, as there certainly were, he adds, in the Astronomy, as taught by *Aryabhaṭa* and *Varâhamihira*, and as known to even *Kâlidâsa*. And he has found parallel passages from a work of Achilles Tatius of 450 A.D., strikingly agreeing with some from *Kâdambarî*. But mere conjectures as the former, and such stray parallels as these, are, surely, not the evidence, to settle the great question, as to the age of the Literature of a Nation, and its originality or indebtedness to others.

But these theories have found their refutation from the discoveries of one of these scholars himself, among others, I mean Dr. Peterson. In the two interesting Papers that he read before the Royal Asiatic Societies of London and Bombay on (1) "Pâṇini, Poet and Grammarian"* and (2) "Courtship in Early India as based on the *Kâma Sûtra* of

* Jour. R.A.S., April, 1891, pp. 311 ff.

Vâtsyâyana,"* Dr. Peterson is inclined to believe, that both *Kâlidâsa* and his Patron *Vikramâditya*, belonged rather to the first century before, than to the 6th century after Christ. Dr. Bühler also has contributed a very valuable Paper to the subject "*Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*" in which he has traced the existence of Sanskrit Poetry of classical type—*Kâvya*—from the fifth, through the fourth and third, to the second century of the Christian era. And this he does with the aid of eighteen of Mr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions. To this evidence Dr. Peterson adds the case of *Aśvaghosha*† author of "The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIX.) or the Life of Buddha originally written in Sanskrit—by the twelfth Buddhist Patriarch, a contemporary of Kanishka, in A.D. 78. Dr. Peterson adds that "the startling resemblance between *Aśvaghosha's* Poetry and that of *Kâlidâsa* cannot fail to attract the attention of the reader even of the English version of the Chinese translation."‡ This takes *Kâlidâsa* back to the first century of the Christian era. The author of *Mâlavikâgnimitra* could not have chosen a hero, that lived in the second half of the second century before Christ, unless only a short space separated him from the Poet—for, very little is known of him from the *Purâṇas*. Mr. Pandit rightly believes that the author tried his first hand at a recent well-known event in Indian History. The Aihole Inscription of King *Puli-Keśi II.* of 634 A.D., was the earliest recorded date of the Poet's time. The Mandasore Inscription pushed it back to 472 A.D. *Vatsabhaṭṭi* the author of the Inscription had probably for his model, the *Meghadûta* and the *Ṛitû-Saṃhâra* of *Kalidâsa*.§ To these I may add the testimony of the great Mimânsist *Kumârila—Bhattâchârya Svâmin*, the author of the *Tantravârttika*, a Gloss on *Sabarasvamin's* commentary on the *Mimânsâ Sûtras of Jaimini*. The first Adhyâya and Pâda Third of it gives the following verses :

Yathâ rumâyâm lavaṇâkareshu
Merau yathâ vo-jjvala-rukma-bhûmau
Yaj-jâyate tan-mayam-eva tats yât
Tathâ bhaved-veda-vidâtma-tushṭiḥ
Evaṃ-cha vidvad-vachanâd-vinirgataṃ
Prasiddha-rûpaṃ Kavibhir-nirûpitaṃ
"*Satâm-hi sandeha-padeshu vastushu*"
"*Prâmaṇam-antaḥ-karaṇa-pravṛittayah.*"

* Jour. Bo. Br. R.A.S., vol. xviii., No. xlix., 1872, p. 110.

† We have now an excellent edition of the original Sanskrit poem *Buddha-Charitam* by Prof. Cowell, which is also to be translated by him for the same Sacred Books of the East Series as vol. xlii.

‡ Jour. R.A.S., April, 1891, p. 334.

§ The questions of Milinda (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxv.), a work written in Northern India, either in Sanskrit itself or in some North Indian Prakrit, "of an age ranging between the Bactrian King Menander's and the Buddhist writer *Buddhaghosha's*, has, perhaps, a reference to the poet's *Meghadûta* in the following. Menander-Milinda, approaching *Nâgasena* is described as overcome with "a feeling of fear and anxiety" . . "like a Yakkha (ogre) who has sinned against Vessavana (the king of ogres and fairies)," p. 38. Pali *Yakkha* is surely Sanskrit *Yaksha*, and *Vessavana* is Sanskrit *Vaiśravaṇa*, a name of *Kubera*, the God of Riches, of *Yakshas* and *Gandharvas*, etc. The simile above seems to have been drawn from verse 1 of Meghadûta, which see.

"Just as in *Rumâ*, as in Mines of Salt, as in Mount *Meru*, or as in the bright Land of Gold, whatever is produced, may become like it, so may become the satisfaction (or contentment) of the *Âtman* of the knowers of the Vedas. And similarly has it come out in the words of the Learned, (and it has been) enunciated by Poets of well-known form,—that in cases of doubt in good people, the indications of their heart (conscience) are the authorities (to be obeyed and followed)."

The lines italicized above are from the immortal drama of that famous poem, Śakuntalâ or the "Lost Ring."

Thus the Hindu Traditions have succeeded in the long run in the estimate of their age of *Kâlidâsa* and his Patron *Vikramâditya*, of the *Samvat* Era. But he was not the first nor the last dramatist. In his Preface to the *Mâlavikâgnimitra* he names *Bhâsa*, *Saumilla*, and *Kaviputrâu*. Bhâsa is named by *Bâṇa*, *Vallabha's Subhashitâvali*, *Śârngadhara-Paddhati* and by *Sûkti Muktâvali* of *Râja-Śekhara*. *Somila* is also mentioned by *Râjaśékhara*, and to him is ascribed *Śûdraka-Kathâ*, jointly with *Râmila*. *Kaviputrâu* are known to *Vallabha's Subhâshitâvali*. Our poet *Kâlidâsa* again is an authority for another Dramatist *Bharata-Muni*—the founder of the dramatic School. *Vikramorvaśî* Act III. *Vishkambhaka*, brings on the stage two of the *Śishyas* or disciples of *Bharata* who inform the audience that the Nymph *Urvaśî* stumbled in the performance of the part of *Lakshmî* in the *Lakshmî-Svayamvara Nâṭaka*. The writers on Dramatics ascribe another work to *Bharata*, viz., the *Tripura-dâha* which his *Nâtya Śâstra* also admits.

Thus the Hindu Drama and the founder of the School are anterior, at least to the first century before Christ. The *Bharata Nâtya Śâstra*, that I propose to introduce to the Congress, also contains eloquent proofs of the Classical *Kâvya* and *Nâtya* Literature of India, being ancient and not so recent, as is generally supposed. *Nâtya* or *Nâṭaka* according to *Bharata* is but a species of Kâvya.*

The *Bharata Nâtya Śâstra* is a very rare work. The Deccan College Collections of Poona contain but 2 copies of the work (MSS. Nos. 68 and 69 of VI. Collection of 1873-74, vide their Catalogue of 1888, p. 57). They are both from Bikâner, containing 260 Folios with 8 lines on each page, and 237 Folios and 11 lines on each page, respectively. My MS. belongs to the Collections of the Vallabhâchârya Gosvâmi Mahârâja Vitthalésaji of Amreli—Bombay (since dead 1894). It is No. 13 of his Group No. 75 of *Sangîta* works. It contains 284 Folios oblong (1 ft. × 4 in.) with 8 lines on each page—the first and the last pages being written on one side and the latter having 5 lines only on it. Thus there are about 4333 lines in the MS. with an average of 40 letters in a line. The present MS. is a copy of one existing in Jodhpur. So this and the Poona MSS. belong to one family, viz., Rajputânâ. The Gosvâmi Mahârâja's MS. is dated V.S. 1928 (A.D. 1872) Âśvin Vadi 3.

The work† is mainly a metrical composition, there being some Prose

* For further antiquity *cf.* Postscript note, *poste*.

† The *Bharata Nâtya-Śâstra* has, since the writing of this paper, been printing in the Kâvya Mâlâ series of Pandit *Durgâprasâda*, who had a copy of the Amreli MS. from me. The Pandit unfortunately has not lived to complete the edition, who would surely have done it full justice.

Kârikâs and *Sûtras* also in it. The verses have not been all numbered, but at the close of Chapters I., II., IV., V., are given the totals of their verses 95, 100, 311, and 167 respectively. I have at the end given the contents of the chapters of the work.

There are 38 chapters in all called the Adhyâyas. They are wholly written in the usual heroic or *Purâṇic* metre *Anushtubh* with the exception of some *Indravajrâs* and *Upajâtis* at the close of some chapters, and at intervals, and the *Âryâ* metre, in which the *Sûtras* and *Kârikâs* are given as a summary, sometimes, of the prose preceding them. There are single instances of *Vasantatilakâ*, *Mâlinî* and the *Sragdharâ* (the last but one) also.

The first and the last two chapters deal with the Rise and Origin of the Drama in India. The scene of the birth of the Drama and the Theatre is laid in Paradise. *Bharata* sits surrounded by the Holy Sages who question him about the object and origin of the Drama (*vide* vv. 2, 3, 4, 5), its descriptions, divisions, and details, and he takes them to the origin of things. The Golden age (Satya Yuga) had set; also the silver age (Treta Yuga): and rough times had come. The *Jambu-Dvîpa* (Asia) was occupied by *Devas*, *Dânavas*, *Gandharvas*, *Yakshas*, *Râkshasas*, the great *Nâgas* etc. It was the great *Indra* who desired of *Pitâmaha Brahmadeva* to see a play (*Krîḍanîyakam*), that would be *Dṛiśya* (visible), and *Śravya* (audible) (vv. 8 to 11). *Brahmadeva* thereupon sat in meditation, and breathed out *Nâtya Veda* or the Drama as the fifth *Veda*. It was at the desire of *Indra* that this *Veda* should be the fifth *Veda*, and for both classes and masses. And it was created accordingly. Verses (Padyam) were taken from the *Rig-Veda*, music (Gîtam) from the *Sâma veda*, Gesticulation (Abhinaya) from the Yajur-veda, and Rasa or Sentiments from the *Atharva Veda*. And it was at the Flag Celebration (Dhvaja-mahotsava) of *Indra* that the first drama was celebrated by *Bharata Muni* and *Nârada Muni*, and the Gods were pleased with it. It opened with a *Nândî* (Benediction) and the composition consisted of the History in which the *Dânavas* were conquered by the *Devas*. The several Deities made choice presents to the performers. The *Daityas*, that had collected there, were much agitated at it, and led by *Virûpâksha* they exclaimed "Come we will not have it." By their destructive magic, the speech, action, and memory of the actors were paralysed. Seeing this, *Indra* asked the Manager or *Sûtradhâra*, why it was so, and he saw the whole thing, as it really stood, in meditation. He thereupon, on receiving no reply from him, got up with anger, took up his glorious banner, marched up the stage and thrashed well the *Dânavas*. But that did not allay the fears of the actors, whereupon *Bharata Muni* approached *Brahmadeva*, who by his conciliatory speech, won the parties over, after he had ordered the erection of a stage by *Viśvakarmâ*, and the stationing of the *Devas*, etc., in the several quarters thereof, for its protection. *Virûpâksha* spoke at the time to *Brahmadeva*, that the *Nâtyaveda* he had created was "Ours, that you have done for the Gods. Then it should be so done that the *Daityas* should be considered as good for it as the *Devas*." *Brahmadeva* replied "Be ye not angry. I have done *Nâtyaveda* to represent your, as well as the *Devas*' good or bad actions.

It is neither solely yours, nor of the *Devas*. It is for the whole of this threefold world," etc. He advised them therefore not to be angry with the Gods.

" *Devâ-nâ-m-asurâṇâm-cha râjye lokasya Chaiva—hi*
Brahmar-shîṇâm—cha, vijñeyam Nâtyam vṛittânta—darśakaṃ."

" The Drama is to be known as the exhibitor of the life of the *Brahmarshis*, as well as of that of the kingdoms of this world, and of the Devas or Gods, and the *Asuras*." In short, the Drama is pithily described as "*Lokasya Charitaṃ Nâṭyam.* (Drama is the Life of the World.) The difference between the *Devas* and the *Dânavas* was thus quietly got over.

The Drama and the Stage, from that time forth, had their existence in Paradise, where the *Śishyas* or Disciples of *Bharata Muni* and *Nârada Muni*, with *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras*, were holding the representations at the Court of *Indra*. In chapters xxxvii. and xxxviii. are given the facts descriptive of the descent of the Drama from Heaven to Earth by the Omniscient (*Sarvajña*) *Muni Bharata*, also called there, the *Muni* of *Munis* (*Munînâm Muniḥ*), in reply to the questions of his holy audience.

Once upon a time, the sons of *Bharata* enacted a comedy, making light of the *Ṛishis*, which incensed them so much, that they cursed the actors, that they would fall on Earth from Heaven, and they would be reduced to the low state of Dancers (*Narttakâḥ*), and have to depend on women and children for support. The Gods thereupon appeased the *Ṛishis*, who were pleased to add that the Drama would not, however, perish. The sons of *Bharata* bitterly complained to him, that it was on his account that they were ruined, when *Bharata* consoled them, saying—

Mâ-vaḥ pra nasyatâmetat. . . .
Mahâśrayaṃ mahâpuṇyaṃ Vedângopânga-sambhavaṃ
Asurebhya idaṃ chaiva yathâ-tattvaṃ tathâstutat
Nâtyaṃ datvâ tataḥ sarve prâyaśchittaṃ charishyatha.

" Let it not be perished of you . . . This, that is very great and very holy, born of the *Vedas*, their *Angas* and *Upângas*. Let it be for the *Asuras*, all as it is. And giving it (to them), may you all perform (your) purification (*Prâyaśchitta*).

Still, that was not its descent to the Earth. It was reserved for another occasion, and another being. This history is given in the last chapter. *Nahusha*, once upon a time, came to be the Ruler of the Gods, by his policy, intelligence, and valour. While he was thus ruling, he wished to see the *Gandharvas* and *Nâtyas* perform with the *Apsaras*. *Bṛihaspati*, followed by the Gods, protested, saying that the *Devâṅganâs* cannot play with men. *Nahusha* thereupon ordered *Bharata* to look to it—when the *Muni* directed his sons to go with him to the Earth, and play the several Dramas there, as the King *Nahusha* should not be disobeyed. They, thereupon, alighted upon the Earth with *Nahusha*, and being affianced there with human damsels, they got progeny. They established the Drama and the Stage with them, and from them was the Race of *Bharatas*. It was thus that the Theatre established itself on Earth, being a Descent from Heaven.

There is something charmingly sublime about the myth. We have a

parallel of this in the Rise of Poetry from *Vâlmiki* in the *Tretâ* Age. It was the result of a meditation of a *Muni* affected with the fate of two *Krauñcha* Birds. But a higher parentage is here proposed for the sublimer Dramatic Art. Even the beautiful imagery cannot conceal from us the simple outlines of the real picture of the First Dawn.

From the above resumé, it appears that there were five characters who were concerned in the Rise and Spread of the Drama. *Indra* the Leader of the *Devas* desired it, *Brahmadeva* created it, *Virûpâksha* claimed a share of its honour for the *Dânavas*, *Bharata*, a Muni, established it, and *Nahusha*, while on the throne of Paradise, brought it from there, to our Land. There may be lurking a tradition of a foreign, and perhaps a Greek origin, or a claim for it, of the Drama. But more on it hereafter.

Still it would be interesting to compare notes with the Greek works on Greek Dramatics. But I believe the latter cannot be as exhaustive and as extensive as our present work, the extent of which we have summarized below. After the three chapters about its rise and history, in no passage of which are there any names known to Indian tradition or History, the only names that occur are of *Bṛihaspati*, the Preceptor of the Gods, *Nârada Muni*, *Tumburu*, the inventor of the musical instrument known by his name, *Tâṇdu Muni* the inventor of the *Tâṇḍava* dance, and the *Munis Svâti* and *Pushkara*, inventors of several musical instruments, and *Kohala* and *Śândilya* and *Vatsa*, of whom we know very little from other sources. No sacred or profame author is referred to or alluded to by name.

In the concluding chapter, the writer divides the honour of establishing the Drama in heaven, between *Svâti*, *Nârada*, and himself. The assistance of *Nârada* at the outset has also been acknowledged in the first chapter. *Kolâhala* or more correctly *Kohala* or Kâhala (?) seems to be the propagator of the science among mortals—who seems to be one of the descendants of his *Śishyas*. *Vatsa* and *Śândilya* seem to be the sharers of the work and honour with *Kohala*. But no classical references are to be met with for these other Rhetoricians or Dramaticians.* Can this Śândilya be the same as the author of the Śándilya Sûtras? And can our *Vatsa* have anything to do with the *Vâtsyâyana*† of *Kâma Sûtras*? *Kâma Tantra* has been repeatedly referred to in our work (*Vide* ch. xxiii., xxiv., etc.). Also *Vaiśika Śâstrakâra*‡ meaning perhaps the same (ch. vi.).

Svâti, and *Nârada*, are again referred to in ch. xxxv. as writers on *Avanaddha* or hide-dressed musical instruments as drums, etc. How

* Except it be that Mallinâtha quotes from *Kohala* or *Kâhala* in his valuable commentary on *Kâlidâsa's Kumârasambhava Mahâkâvya* or the Great Poem of the Birth of the War God, Kumâra or Kârttikeya. Can Kâhala have anything to do with the invention of cymbals that also go by his name, as *Pushkara* is of the drum, *Mṛidanga*, also known by his name, and *Tumburu* is of *Tamburâ* or tambourine? Possibly.

† *Patañjali* in his *Mâha Bhâshya* or the great commentary on *Pânini's Sûtras* gives in several places the derivative *Vâtsyâyana* from *Vatsa*. Can it have anything to do with our names here?

‡ This may equally be *Vâtsyâyana*, the author of the *Kâmasûtras*, who has a chapter on the subject, or the independent writer on the theme, who preceded him, and whose work forms the basis of his.

interesting would it be, if we found these originals, from which our author has so largely copied. In other places unnamed authors are referred to, as *anyair-apyuktam* (ch. ix.), *anye-tu, anyaih, Achâryâh,* Kshepaka (*Ib.* pp. 80-81), etc.

Besides *Kâma-tantra, Itihâsas* ch. i., xxv.), etc., *Purâṇas* (in one place, ch. xix.), *Nîti-Śâstra, Artha-Śâstra, Śilpa-Śâstra* (ch. xxv.), *Manu-Nîti* (ch. xvi.), *Tatva-Jñâna* (ch. vii.) and perhaps a work by name *Rasa-Vichâra* or *Rasavichâra-mukha* (ch. vi.) are referred to.

None of these writers or works enables us to fix the time or age of our author, except that his time was later than the Vedic Period as embracing the *Mantra, Brâhmaṇa, Upanishad* and *Sûtra* periods of Prof. Max Müller's classification—as also the Epic age of *Râmâyaṇa* and *Mahâbhârata.* It is fairly within the *Purâṇic* times, or perhaps at the junction of the *Darśana* or Rationalistic and *Purâṇic* or early *Brâhminic* times The *Jainas, Bauddhas* and other *Yatis* and *Lingins,* and notably *Pâśupatas* were already in existence (ch. xii.) *Kâshâyavasanas* may either mean *Jaina* or *Buddhistic* Monks, and sometimes the Hindu recluses too (ch. xi.). But the appellations *Nirgrantha* and *Bhadanta* are clearer (vide ch. xvii.). Śramanas* (the MS. reading Śrâminas having no meaning) point to the same direction (ch. ii.). *Pâshandins* or heretics also are named with the last (*Ibid*).

But better still are two other words for foreigners, viz., *Śakas* and *Yavanas. Śakas* are mentioned twice (vide ch. xvii. and xxii.) like the *Mlechchhas* (ch. xi., p. 98 and ch. xvii.). In one place they are mentioned with *Bâhlikas,*† *Khashas,* and *Śabaras,* for their Language, as Mlechchhas in ch. xvii. But in the other place they are mentioned with *Yavanas,* where there can be no mistake about them (ch. xxii.). There, their colours, as well as directions, are fixed. In representing them the actors are to be shown as fair complexioned. They are from the North and the West. The verse runs thus :

"*Sakâścha Yavanâśchaiva*
Prâyeṇa Gaurâh Karttavyâh Uttarâṃ Paśchimâṃ Diśaṃ"
(Ch. xxii. p. 154).

"The *Śakas,* and the *Yavanas,* are to be made (painted) fair (white)—for the Northern and the Western directions."

This would mean that the *Śakas* or Scythians were settled about the Northern and the *Yavanas* or Greeks or Græco-Bactrians were settled about the Western Borders of India about the time of this work, and were both fair in complexion.

It is therefore that the *Śakas* in the other place are placed with the *Śabaras, Bâhlikas* and *Khashas* that were border races to the North and the West. Then these references cannot take our present work beyond the first quarter of the fourth century before Christ. And I am of opinion that as far as the present data go we cannot aspire to go further. And

* Pali Samana. Cf. Prof. T. W. Rhys David's notes on the word, p. 7. "The Questions of Milinda," Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxv.

† Can they be the Bactrian Greeks of Sugâlâ where Milinda-Menander ruled, circa B.C. 150-110, as King of the 500 Yonakas or Yavanas? Cf. Ibid.

if this be the fact, the claim of *Virûpâksha* might have been based on surer grounds, and on a solid historic basis—that the new foreigners and countrymen of Alexander and Megasthenes had told the People of India, that they too had a prior claim to the Drama. This does not necessarily mean that the one was indebted to the other for the valuable possession. But there was a time, when the foreigners witnessed the strange drama, and when they saw themselves excelled, perhaps, their leader put in his caveat, ending in a perfect reconciliation, as seen above in the myth narrated here.

Who is then the author of the Bharata Nâṭya Śâstra? is the natural question. The ending colophon gives the name as *Nandi-Bharata-Pustakaṃ*—The work of *Nandi Bharata* or the work known as such. The present form of the work is a running Dialogue between *Bharata* and the other *Munis*. It is the usual *Purâṇic* strain with its occasional metrical or grammatical irregularities. Ch. i. twice gives the form *a-pûjayitvâ* for *apûjya* and ch. xxxviii. *Kathishyati* for its *Kathayishyati*. My MS. is not correct throughout—but these are no mistakes of the Scribe. Again the *Sûtras* and *Kârikâs* have been subsequently incorporated by *Bhânudatta* in his *Rasatarangiṇî* (No. 651 xv. Poona Collections Catalogue 1888 p. 294). The author of *Kâvya-prakâśa* also has incorporated some of these *Kârikâs* into his own (vide *Bhaṭṭa Vâmanâchârya's* edition of *Kâvyaprakâśa* Sans. Preface, p. 9). Thus almost all the writers on Poetics acknowledge their indebtedness, and ascribe the authorship of the *Sûtras* and *Kârikas*, to *Bharata Muni* from *Rudraṭa* in his *Kâvyâlaṅkâra* (ch. xvi. v. 38) to Viśvanâtha in his *Sâhityadarpaṇa* (which see). Under the circumstances there exists no doubt as to the existence and authorship of *Bharata Muni* of the aphorisms of Dramatics. I have found the name of another work by the same Muni in Group 98 No. 1 of Gosvâmi Mahârâja Viṭṭhaleśaji's collections of MSS. by name *Bharata-Kritâs Shṭa-nâyikâ-bhedaḥ*. I have not been able to go through it as it is at Bombay. Then from this work, and from *Lakshmî-Svayaṃvara* on the authority of *Kâlidâsa*, and *Tripura-dâha Dima-Sañjñaḥ*, as learnt from *Bharata Nâṭya Śâstra* (ch. iv.) itself, and from the several instances of metres to be used in the Drama (ch. xv.), and from other subjects treated of in this dramatic Cyclopædia, the great power and authorship of the *Muni* are clearly manifested. But the present work may have been from the pen of one of his Śishyas or descendants by name Nandi Bharata. Although the writer does not name his patron, yet he closes the work with a graceful benediction for him, thus :

"*Evaṃ Nâṭya-prayoge bahu-vidhi-vihitaṃ Karmma-Sâstra-praṇîtaṃ*
Noktaṃ yach-châtra lokâd-anukṛiti-karaṇât-samvibhâvyaṃ tu tajjñaiḥ,
Kiñchânyat sam-pra-pûrṇâ bhavati Vasumatî nashṭa-durbhiksha-rogâ
Śântir-go-brâhmaṇânaṃ bhavatu Narapatiḥ pâtu prithvîṃ samagrâṃ."

"Thus has it been prescribed in many ways in the representation of the Drama, as stated in the Science of Actions. And what is not given here may be realized from the World by persons acquainted with it, by making imitations. And what (is) more, that the earth (full of *Vasu* or wealth) becomes full of Famine and Disease, (is) destroyed! May there be peace to cows and Brâhmaṇas! May the king (Narapati) protect this whole earth!"

The last verse describes the work as *Bharatasya yaśovahaṃ* bearing the fame of *Bharata*, which the *Muni* himself would not do, if he were the author. Then the writer of the present work seems to be *Nandi Bharata* and not the Muni himself. Whoever be the author, he has shown great command over the subject in describing it in all its aspects. The minutest details are given of the construction of the Theatre-house and the furnishing of it, and its opening, and other ceremonies, in chapters 2nd and 3rd. The fourth chapter is equally full about Dancing, in describing the *Tâṇḍava* Dance, and the fifth, about the performing of the Prelude or *Pûrva-Raṅga*. The sixth chapter is named the *Rasâdhyâya*, treating of the sentiments, in all their details, as the seventh is for the exhibitions of them. The eighth chapter gives the gesticulations of the head, eyes, nose, cheeks, lips, face, neck, etc., and the ninth, of hands single and joined, feet, chest, sides, etc., in acting and dancing. The tenth chapter is for *Châri* motions, and the eleventh for *Maṇḍala*, the twelfth being for the gaits of different characters.

The thirteenth chapter is *the* chapter of the work. It deals with the ten *Rûpakas* or dramas, their styles and other qualifications. The fourteenth names, defines, and illustrates, the important metres to be used in dramas beginning with those of 6 syllables and ending with those of 26. The names of some are given differently from those occurring in standard works on Metrics; for instance, *Druta-vilambita*, *Bhujanga-prayâta*, *Mâlinî*, *Hariṇî*, *Mandâkrântâ*, and *Pṛithvî*, are respectively called *Hariṇîplutâ*, *A-prameyâ Nândî-mukhî*, *Vṛishabha-lalita*, *Śrîdharâ*, and *Vilambita-gati*. Chapter xvi. similarly concerns itself with the *Alaṅkâras* used in dramas. Chapter xvii. gives *Prâkrita* idioms—and the dialects named are 7. There is surely a departure from *Vararuchi's Prâkrita Prakâśa*. But here, what is given, is, as it obtains in the several provinces of India. It goes over the whole ground of the continent as regards its Geography. Fuller definitions and descriptions of the 10 *Rûpakas* are given in the 19th than in the 13th chapter. The 20th describes the several *Sandhis* of the Drama, while the 21st gives the origin and history of the *Vṛittis*, and tells how *Vishṇu* called them into existence, while fighting with the Demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* and destroying them.

Chapter 22nd takes us to the Dressing and Scenic room behind the stage, and makes very practical suggestions. Chapters 23rd and 24th again revert to the *Abhinayas* or gesticulations. And in the 25th are again some practical hints and instructions to male and female actors in playing their several parts. Chapter 26th is again for other *Abhinayas*, while chapter 27th has directions as to what parts are to be assigned to whom, looking to the grace, and delicacy, or force, and spirit, of their execution. Chapter 28th among other things gives the place and time for acting. There should never be a representation at noon, or dinner, or supper time, or *Sandyhâ* worship time, or midnight. It may either be in the early morning, in the forenoon, or afternoon, or evening.

Chapters 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 are for Music, and musical instruments of various kinds in extensive details of them. Chapter 36th is again one of practical hints about the parts of Gods, *Râkśasas*, Kings, Generals, Ministers, Macebearers and Chamberlains, Buffoons and other

paraphernalia of the King, to be assigned to what sorts and appearances of persons and how. And the contents of the last two chapters 37th and 38th are sufficiently given before.

Thus along with the history of the Subject, the Style, the Music, the Dancing, the Metres, *Sanskṛita* and *Prâkṛita*, the languages *Sanskṛita* or *Vernacular*, the Gesticulations, the Dresses, Ornaments, and other appendages of the Drama have been given with a mastery of details, discovering a keen and close insight into every branch of them. And it is this, that has won for him the titles of the *Muni* of *Munis* and *Sarvaiña* or all knowing. The Master has always kept before his mind's eye the Mirror of actual Life for all acting and representation. It is not the object of this Paper to do full justice to the work. Each chapter and each branch requires a separate Disquisition. But we cannot more gracefully close this reading than with the Ideal of a Drama that is presented here, in the words of the Master himself:

Trailokyasyâsya sarvasya Nâṭyaṃ Bhâvânukîrttanaṃ
Kvachid-Bandhaḥ kvachit-krîḍâ kvachidarthaḥ kvachitsamaḥ
Kvachid-dâsyaṃ kvachid-Yuddhaṃ kvachit-Kâmaḥ kvachid vadhaḥ
Dharmâdharma-pravṛittânâṃ kâmât-kâmârthasevinâṃ
Nigrahaṃ durvinîtânâṃ mattânâṃ damana-kriyâ
Klîbânâmapi Yûnâmutsâheśvara-mâninâṃ
Abodhânâṃ vibhodhaścha vaidagdhyaṃ vidushâmapi
Ishvarâṇâṃ vibodhaścha sthairyaṃ duḥkhaârditasya-cha
Sarvopajîvinâmartho Yati-rudvigna-chetasâṃ
Nânâ-bhâvopasampannaṃ nânâvasthântarâtmakaṃ
Loka-Vṛittânukaraṇaṃ Nâṭya-metan-mayâ kritaṃ
Uttamâ-dhama-madhyânâṃ narâṇâṃ karma-sanśrayaṃ
Hitopadeśa-jananaṃ Kâle Nâṭyam mayâ Kritaṃ
Dharmyaṃ yaśasya-mâyushyam Hitaṃ Buddhi-vivarddhanaṃ
Lokopadeśa-jananaṃ Nâṭyametad-bhavishyati
Na tat śrutaṃ na tat śilpaṃ na sâ vidyâ na sâ Kalâ
Nâsau yogo na tat Karma Nâṭyesmin yanna dṛiśyate

* * * * *

Yo-yaṃ Svabhâvo lokasya sukha-duḥkha-samanvitaḥ
Soṅgâdyabhinayopeto Nâṭya-mit-yabhidhîyate
Veda-vidye-tihâsânâ-ma-rathânâṃ parikalpanaṃ
Vinoda-Karaṇaṃ loke Nâṭyam-etad-bhavishyati.—(Chapter i.)

"*Nâṭya* or Drama is the representation of the *Bhâvas*, *Bhâons*, (feelings or essences) of the whole of this threefold World. In some places there is imprisonment, in some dalliance, in some *Artha* or Economics or interest, in some equality (?). In some places there is slavery, in some war, in some love, and in some execution; of those engaged in virtue and vice, of those taking to Love or Desire for its own sake; the chastisement of the immoral, and the correction of the infatuated or mad, as also of the imbeciles, and of youths, feeling pride of exuberance or power. And there is the instruction there of the uninstructed, and also the proficiency of the learned. There is the counselling of the lords and consolation or stability

of those afflicted with misery. There is the attaining of the objects of all that are dependant, and the restraining (of the mind) of those whose minds are troubled. I have made this *Nâṭya* or Drama, full of different kinds of *Bhâvas*, feelings or essences, consisting of different states (of life), an imitation of the World—where there are (described) the actions of the high, the middle, and the lower classes of men. I have made the *Nâṭya* productive of beneficial teaching in proper time. Religious, glorious, life-giving, beneficial, increasing the intellect; productive of teaching to the People shall this *Nâṭya* become. There are no (sacred) learning, no arts, no sciences, no skill, no *Yoga*, no *Karma*, that are not seen in this *Nâṭya*. . . . Whatever the nature of the People, whether full of happiness or misery, that is accompanied by the gesticulations of the body, &c., is called the *Nâṭya*. This *Nâṭya* shall become the unfolder of Vedic lore, of the *Itihâsas* or histories, and of Artha or politics and economics; it will be the maker or the means of the delight to the People." (Free translation.)

* * * * *

The writer closes his work with the following verses on the merits to be attained by the students of the Drama:

Yâ Gatir Veda-vidushâṃ yâ Gatir-Yajña-Kâriṇâṃ
Yâ gatir-Dâna-śîlânâṃ tâm gatiṃ prâpnuyâddhi-saḥ
Dâna-dharmeshu sarveshu kîrtyate su-mahat-phalaṃ
Prekshaṇîya-pradânaṃ hi sarva-dâneshu Śasyate
Na tathâ gandha-mâlyena Devâ muhyanti pûjitâḥ
Yathâ Nâṭya-prayogaistair-nityaṃ tishthanti mangalaiḥ
Gândharvaṃ-cheha Nâṭyam-cha yaḥ Samyak paripâlayet
Sa Iśvara-Gaṇesânâṃ labhate sadgatiṃ parâṃ.

* * * * *

Mahâpuṇyaṃ praśastaṃ cha lokânâṃ Nayanotsavaṃ
Nâṭyasâstraṃ samâptedaṃ (sic) Bharatasya yaśovahaṃ.

(Chapter xxxviii.)

"What is the fate of the knowers of the Vedas, what is (again) the fate of the performers of the Sacrifices, what is (also) the fate of the meritorious or charitable, the same fate is obtained by Him. Great fruit is praised in all religious and meritorious acts; and giving the representation of a Drama is described as the best of all such acts. The Gods are not so pleased when worshipped with sweet unguents and flower chaplets as they are with the auspices of the performances of the Dramas. He, who maintains this *Nâṭya* of the *Gandharvas* in this world, attains to the great good estate of *Iśvara* or the god *Śiva* and of *Ganeśa* or the god of wisdom. . . . This seizure of the *Nâṭya* or Drama, fame-giving of Bharata, the delight of the eye of the People, very sacred and famous is (now) finished."

Our readers will share in the general regret at the untimely death of the author of the above excellent paper, one of the most promising of Indian scholars, which took place at Surat on the 29th June. We trust that some steps will be taken to commemorate the memory and activity of one who to English attainments joined a Sanscrit scholarship, now, alas, so rare among educated Hindus of the new School.—*Ed.*

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

By Prof. Dr. Edward Montet.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

We welcome the publication of the 2nd volume of the "Recueil d'archéologie orientale"* by Clermont Ganneau, of which the first volume appeared in 1888. The first printed parts contained the most varied inscriptions: Palmyrean, Arabic, Minaean, Nabatean, Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

In the category of "general" works we also include the 3d edition of Riess' Bible Atlas.† Any eulogy of this excellent publication would be superfluous. In the new edition there are corrections of several points in the preceding one. Thus the towns of Hippos and Susitha which the 2nd edition located the former at Kalat el Hosn, the latter at Abu Shushe are now identified with a single place viz., Susiye.

The treatise which H. Grimme, Professor at the University of Freiburg in Switzerland, has devoted to Hebrew accentuation,‡ is, in reality, a work on accentuation in Semitic languages. It is a very detailed monograph on a subject that has already been often discussed, but which remains obscure, notwithstanding the rays of light from time to time thrown upon it by specialists. The author does not decide the question of the original form of the Hebrew article. Was this article ה originally הל like the Arabic ٱل? We do not think that any doubt is here admissible, as much for reasons of comparative Semitic philology, which it would take too long to expound here, as on account of the presence in Hebrew of such forms as הַלָּזֶה, which appear to us difficult to explain by any other etymology. The author has added an interesting dissertation on the form of the name יהוה to his treatise, which he concludes with the remark that the signification of the sacred Tetragram still fails us, a statement which is only too true.

The last number of the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" (fasc. II. 1896) brings a readable article by Bacher on a curious Hebrew-Persian dictionary of the 15th century. The incomplete MS. belongs to Dr. M. Gaster of London. The author of the MS. is named Moses B. Aharon B. Scheerith of Schirwān in the north of Persia. The MS. was finished in the year 1771 of the Seleucide era, 5219 *anno mundi* (1459 of the Christian era).

* Paris, E. Leroux, 1896. The 4 first parts with maps and engravings have already appeared.

† "Bibel-Atlas in zehn Karten," 3rd edition, Freiburg i. B. Herder, 1895.

‡ "Grundzüge der hebräischen Akzent und Vokallehre" (Collectanea friburgensia fasc. V.). Friburgi Helvetiorum, apud bibliopolam Universitatis, 1896.

BIBLICAL HEBREW AND ARAMAIC—OLD TESTAMENT.

History of the people and of the religion of Israel.

In this branch we have first of all to notify the 2nd edition of the Translation of the Old Testament, published under the supervision of Kautzsch.* The first had appeared in 1894. This work, remarkable as much for the translation of the text in which such scholars as Baethgen, Kittel, Marti, Socin etc. collaborated, as for the numerous notes (219 pages in gr. 8°) which accompany it, does the greatest credit not only to German science, but to the German public, the first edition having been so rapidly exhausted.

Amongst the German theological publications relating to the Old Testament we have to notify two of opposite tendencies, but both arriving at the same result on the position taken up by Jesus with regard to the Hebrew Bible. One is by Kaehler,† who belongs to the moderate Lutheran orthodoxy, the other is by Meinhold,‡ a representative of scientific biblical criticism. In both works the fact that Jesus, whilst remaining faithful to the spirit which inspired Moses and the Prophets, yet spiritualized and transformed their teachings, is equally clearly brought out.

"A fragment of the original text of Ecclesiasticus" is the title of an interesting study by Schechter in the "Expositor" (July 1896). A Hebrew original for the Greek of this apocryphal book has long been supposed to exist; see on this point in particular the article by Margoliouth, "Was the Book of Wisdom written in Hebrew?" (Journal of the R.A.S. 1890, p. 263). This judicious hypothesis has been fully confirmed since the Bodleian Library possesses nine pages of the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus probably belonging to the same MS.

The well known and, to a certain extent, classical work of Schultz on the Theology of the Old Testament has just appeared in a fifth edition§ thoroughly modified and considerably shortened. This book, although written from a now rather antiquated point of view, is nevertheless a valuable work and always to be recommended.

The legendary "Therapeutes" and the pseudo-Philonian treatise "de vita contemplativa" have just been made the subject of a very conscientious and competent thesis by Wendland.‖ The author belongs to the school of Massebieau and Conybeare; he upholds the authority of the treatise attributed to Philo, and consequently the historical character of the Therapeutes. We do not however think that this publication is likely to modify the results achieved by the criticism of Schürer and Lucius.

Dr. Gerber, Professor at the German University in Prague, has just published a study on the Hebrew denominative verbs which is worthy of attracting the attention of philologists.¶ He classes them in six categories

* Die heilige Schrift des alten Testaments übersetzt und herausgegeben von Kautzsch 2te Ausg. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig Mohr 1896.

† Jesus und das Alte Testament, Leipzig Deichert 1896.

‡ Jesus und das Alte Testament, Freiburg i. B., Mohr 1896.

§ Alttestamentliche Theologie 5te Aufl. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1896.

‖ Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben. Leipzig, Teubner, 1896.

¶ Die hebräischen Verba denominativa, Leipzig, Hinrichs 1896.

according to their being denominative in one, two or three etc. forms of Hebrew conjugations. This work will contribute *a priori* to the destruction of the theory which has so long held absolute sway in science, a theory according to which all Hebrew vocables are derived from verbal roots. As a matter of fact it is the contrary which frequently takes place.

But the most important work we have to mention, is that by Mandelkern,* which we already announced in our preceding report. This Concordance, by far the most complete, is indeed a very remarkable production, and is the result of enormous and most conscientious labour. As the author reminds us in the preface, this sort of book is extremely ancient, since the first compilation of this kind is due to Rabbi Isaac Nathan and dates from the years 1437-1447; the first edition Venice, 1523. Since that time many concordances have appeared, of which the most celebrated and the one of the greatest scientific value is that of Fuerst (Leipzig, 1840). But the gigantic work which Mandelkern has undertaken, will certainly rank above its predecessors, and is infallibly destined to supplant them.

The 1st part (p. 1-1254) contains the entire Biblical-Hebrew vocabulary. The words are indicated successively under the different forms which they might assume: the absolute state, the construct state, preceded by prepositions, etc., followed by pronominal suffixes, first in the singular form, then in the dual (when it exists), and finally in the plural. Opposite each passage indicated is to be found the Hebrew quotation reduced to its essential parts. Beneath each vocable the author has given in Latin the different senses in which it may be taken. E.g., יָד manus, met. potestas, vis, præsidium, latus, ripa, regio, locus, pars, monumentum (euph. pro pene Es. 57, 8); *plur.* cardines asserum, axes rotæ, adminicula sellæ.—This quotation, taken at random, shows with how much care these summaries of significations have been compiled. After the argument in Latin comes the argument in Hebrew, containing new observations and remarks on the word. E.g., שְׁאוֹל, *orcus*, LXX. Ἅιδης, *θάνατος*, בנוי לבור תחתיות, שחת ואבדון, מושכן מתי עולם, etc. It would be impossible to imagine anything more complete and at the same time more accurate than this arrangement of all Hebrew passages in the Old Testament according to each of the words which it contains.

The 2nd part (p. 1255-1311) is the concordance of all the passages in which the personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns, and the relative index אֲשֶׁר are to be found. The author here follows the same method as in the first section. It is here that one can best form some conception of the minuteness of the researches undertaken by Mandelkern; see in particular the article אשר.

The 3rd part (p. 1312-1348) contains the concordance of Aramaic words. The last part (p. 1349-1532) is devoted to proper nouns and the different forms of the sacred Tetragram. It is thus a new contribution to the numerous monographs and "studies" which have appeared on this problem of the name יהוה, just as obscure however to-day as it was yesterday and the day before.

* Veteris Testamenti concordantiæ hebraicæ atque chaldaicæ, Lipsiæ, Veit and Co., 1896.

To sum up, Mandelkern's work is an admirable instrument for research and a book of reference for Hebraists and for all students of Semitic learning who are interested in the ancient collection of the Scriptures of Israel. Whilst indispensable to the former, it will be of the greatest assistance to the latter. German Orientalism may well be proud of such a monument of science. Let us add in justice to those who have aided in this publication that it is very excellently and accurately printed. When we say that it is published by Drugulin, we need add nothing further.

Syriac.

We have to notice a fairly large number of Syriac publications. First the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic series, vol. i., part iv.),* which contain interesting fragments of biblical books (Exod. 28, 1 Kings 2, 9, Job 22, Sap. 9s.), also some extracts of a collection of homilies. One of these latter gives an entirely heretical interpretation of the famous passage from Matthew xvi. 18 ("Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church"). He sees in the rock upon which the church shall be erected, not Peter the Apostle but Jesus Christ, or, as he explains, the corporeal form in which the Lord was enveloped. This exegesis which appears to be of a strikingly polemical character, directed against the pretensions of the Roman church, shows that the homily from which it is taken is not an ancient one.

Father Bedjan continues the publication of the *Acta syriace martyrum et sanctorum*. Vol. vi.† which appeared recently, contains twenty-six divers fragments. The first volume of this great collection was edited 1890.

The discovery of the palimpsest of Sinai by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis has this year given rise to two new works. The first is from the pen of the Orientalist herself who found it. It is a revised translation of the Syriac text‡ and is accompanied by a history of the author's third journey to Sinai. The second is a study of the recovered text and a comparison of the same with the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Curetonianus, of the variations of which the author, Dr. Holzhey, gives a complete list.§

Arabic and Islám.

Several works of merit intended for the general public have appeared relating to Islamism. The first which we have now before us, is entitled "L'Islam" by Comte Henry de Castries.‖ It is written by a man who was intimately acquainted with the Mussulmans in Algeria, who lived with them, and who, whilst maintaining his Christian convictions, was moved to sympathise deeply with them and their religion. This book can be highly recommended; it will assist in removing the false ideas and prejudices which dominate European society concerning Muhammed, the Koran, polygamy, the Mussulman paradise, Islamic fatalism, etc.

* Biblical and patristic relics of the Palestinian Syriac literature by Gwilliam, Burkitt and Stenning, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1896.

† Parisiis (Leipzig, Harrassowitz), 1896.

‡ *Some pages of the four gospels* retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest with a translation of the whole text. London, Clay, 1896.

§ Der neuentdeckte Codex syrus Sinaiticus untersucht, München, Lentner, 1896.

‖ L'Islam, impressions et études, Paris, A. Colin et C^{ie}, 1896.

The "voyage à la Mecque" by M. Gervais-Courtellemont* is, on the contrary, written by an Algerian Frenchman whose admiration for Islam was so great that he appears to have undertaken the journey to the holy city in the character of a Mussulman neophyte, where the fact of his being a Christian caused him to run more than one danger. It is true that he carried a photographic apparatus which enabled him to take many interesting views of Mecca. The animated description he gives of his journey to the great city of Islam, and of the religious and civil customs of its inhabitants, is full of charm and most instructive, but does not teach anything new. Descriptions of modern Mecca published in Arabic and the principal European languages are already numerous, and after the great work which appeared in 1888 by Snouck Hurgronje (Mekka), little remains to be told about the city and the city life of Mecca.

Under the title of "Le désert de Syrie" the Comte de Perthuis† gives a most interesting account of a voyage undertaken in 1866 in the desert of Syria and Mesopotamia. Charged with an important mission to the nomadic tribes of those regions, a mission which he successfully accomplished, he passed several months among the Arabs of the Sbaâ, the Feddaân, the Shoummar, etc., tribes. He is also a traveller who sympathises with Islam, an enlightened traveller having lived eight years in Syria. His book is full of valuable information about the country he has traversed and the life of the Nomads with whom he sojourned.

* Mon voyage à la Mecque, in 12, illustré d'après les photographies de l'auteur, Paris, Hachette et C^ie^, 1896.

† Le désert de Syrie, l'Euphrate et la Mésopotamie, Paris, Hachette et C^ie^, 1896.

NATIVE AND EUROPEAN GRAMMARIANS OF ARABIC.*

By M. S. Howell, LL.D.; C.I.E.

Professor de Goeje says in his preface, "The second edition of Wright's Grammar of the Arabic language had been out of print long before the death of its author, but he was never able to find the leisure necessary for preparing a new edition." Want of leisure, however, was not the lamented author's sole reason for delaying the preparation of a third edition; for he told me in 1883 that he intended to wait until the publication of the second, and concluding, volume of Sibawaih's "Book," the first volume of which had been brought out in 1881 by Professor Derenbourg. Unfortunately the second volume of the "Livre de Sibawaih" did not appear till 1889, the year of Professor Wright's untimely death. It is a matter of deep regret that the author, whose vast learning and ripe experience so well fitted him for such a task, should not have been spared to make the contemplated revision, because the only imperfections discernible in his grammar are attributable to insufficient attention to the teaching of native grammarians. Some instances of such inadvertence will now be pointed out. In § 19, rem. *c*, the author tells us that in the article الْ "the vowel with Hamza is original, but has been weakened through constant use." This is, no doubt, the theory of Al Khalīl; but his pupil Sibawaih adopted the opinion that the Hamza with its vowel is merely prosthetic, the determinative being the ل alone, not, as his master taught, the Hamza and the ل together; and in § 345 Professor Wright seems to veer round to Sibawaih's opinion, stating that the ا is "prosthetic, . . . prefixed only to lighten the pronunciation," though he observes in rem. *b* that some grammarians regard the ا as an integral part of the article. So far, there seems to be merely some vacillation in the Professor's opinion on the Hamza of the article. But his statement in § 345 that the ل of the article is "the demonstrative letter ل," which appears in such words as ذالك, and that the original demonstrative sense of the article still remains in some words, like اليوم and الآن, is distinctly opposed to the teaching of native grammarians, who consider the ل of the article to be quite different from the ل of the demonstrative, as appears from the catalogue of ل's given in § 599 of my Arabic grammar (Part III., p. 671) from the *Mughni-lLabīb*; and the article in اليوم to be determinative, not demonstrative, and in الآن to be either determinative or redundant, the latter being the opinion of Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hishām. The alleged identity of the ل of the article with the ل of the demonstrative is inferred by Professor Wright from the supposed identity of sense between the article of اليوم and الآن and the ل of the demonstrative; but the very

* Wright's Arabic Grammar, third edition, vol. i., revised by Professor W. Robertson Smith and Professor M. J. De Goeje. (*Messrs. C. J. Clay and Sons, Ave Maria Lane, London*).

basis of his inference is not granted by native grammarians, according to whom the article of الْيَوْمَ, and, as some say, الْآنَ denotes *presence*, while the ل of the demonstrative denotes *distance*. The nature and sense of these ل's are explained at length in §§ 173, 206, and 599 of my grammar on the authority of Az Zamakhsharī, Ibn Ya'īsh, Ibn Al Ḥājib, Ibn Mālik, Ar Raḍī al Astarābādī, Ibn 'Aḳīl, Ibn Hishām, and other native grammarians of unquestionable repute. It only remains to add that, as a logical, but unfortunate, consequence of this misconception as to the origin and sense of the article الْ, our author classes it with demonstratives among nouns, "Nomina Demonstrativa" (§ 338); whereas it is universally regarded by native authorities as a particle.

In § 89 Professor Wright includes the quiescent ت of the 3rd pers., sing. fem., of the preterite, or, as he calls it, perfect, of the verb among the "suffixed pronouns expressing the nominative." Nothing can be farther from the teaching of native grammarians. For "the ت in ضَرَبَتْ and ضَرَبَتَا," says Ar Raḍī, "is a particle denoting femininization, not a pronoun, as is proved by هِنْدٌ ضَرَبَتْ;" and as a particle it is treated by Az Zamakhsharī, Ibn Al Ḥājib, and all other writers on grammar: while the nominative is either an explicit noun, as in the example just given, or a latent pronoun (§§ 161, 165, 607 of my grammar).

In § 89 again the four aoristic letters ا, ن, ت, and ي are styled "prefixed pronouns expressing the nominative"; whereas the native grammarians hold them to be mere preformative letters, constituting parts of words, not entire words, and consequently to be devoid of independent signification, having no more effect in expressing the nominative than they have in expressing the accusative, when the verb happens to be transitive.

In § 91 the author omits to insert the useful rule that reduplicated verbs commonly have Ḍamm for the vowel of their second radical in the aorist, or, as he calls it, imperfect, when they are transitive, and Kasr when they are intransitive. This rule, quite a common-place of lexicologists and grammarians, is mentioned in some articles, *e.g.*, ج and بت, of Lane's great Arabic dictionary, and, with various exceptions, in § 482 of my grammar.

In § 184, rem. *a*, the مَا in مَا أَفْضَلَ زَيْدًا is explained only as an interrogative, meaning *What?* but, according to the explanation commonly accepted, it is an indeterminate, meaning *A thing, i.e., a* great *thing*, (*has made Zaid excellent*); and two other explanations are given in §§ 180 and 479 of my grammar, on the authority of various native writers. The explanation of the other admirative form أَفْضِلْ بِزَيْدٍ is similarly defective, as may be seen on reference to § 478 of my work.

In § 188 the detached accusative pronouns are said to be expressed by "genitive suffixes appended to the word إِيَّا." Whether إِيَّا be a pronoun or an explicit noun is not stated; but the respectable authority of Al Khalīl, Abu-lḤasan al Akhfash, and Al Māzinī in the former case, and of Az Zajjāj and As Sīrafī in the latter case, may be cited for the opinion here expressed by Professor Wright. Three other opinions are, however, set

out by Ar Raḍī; and the best of the five seems to be that the pronoun is إيّا alone, the suffixes being mere particles indicating the person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) of this homonymous pronoun. Persons interested in the subject can refer to §§ 161, 162, 560, and 562 of my grammar for a full account of these opinions. The opinion here called the "best" is there attributed to Sibawaih; and is expressly approved by Az Zamakhsharī and Al Baiḍāwī in their Notes on Ḳur. II. 4, where the former commentator declares that it is universally held by critical judges. It is the opinion that has outlived all its competitors, and is commonly taught in native text-books, like the *Mufaṣṣal* and the *Kāfiya*; but it is not even noticed in the work under review.

In § 196, and indeed throughout the book, such measures as فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَانٌ are printed as triptotes (فَعْلَةٌ and فَعْلَانٌ): but, the measures of words being proper names, as pointed out in § 9 of my grammar and in my Note on p. 14, l. 1, such of them as contain a second cause of diptote declension, like the ة of femininization and the augmentative ا and ن, should be regarded as diptotes.

In § 344, rem. *c*, our author classes ذَيْتَ وَذَيْتَ and كَيْتَ وَكَيْتَ among demonstratives. According to native grammarians, however, these expressions, and كَمْ and كَأَيِّنْ, which in § 351 are said to be interrogative pronouns, are metonyms, not demonstratives or pronouns, with which they have nothing in common except their being uninflected nouns. And the author's assertion in § 351, rem., that كَمْ is compounded of the ك meaning *like* and مَ meaning *what?* is directly in conflict with the concurrent statements of Ibn Hishām and Al Ushmūnī that كَمْ is simple, uncompounded (§ 226 of my grammar).

In the first paragraph of § 353 Professor Wright says that the interrogative noun مَا, which he there calls a pronoun, has passed into an indefinite, the exact converse of what is laid down in the *Mughni-l-Labīb* by Ibn Hishām, who makes the interrogative a subdivision of the indeterminate مَا (§ 180 of my grammar). This error, indeed, has not escaped the notice of Professor De Goeje, who points out, in a foot-note, on the authority of two European grammarians, that the interrogative sense of مَا is really derived from the indeterminate.

In the second paragraph of the same section, the conditional مَا, the infinitival مَا, adverbial and not adverbial, or, as Ibn Hishām prefers to call it, temporal and not temporal, and the redundant مَا, restringent and not restringent, are all indifferently described as "the indefinite pronoun مَا:" whereas the native grammarians hold the conditional مَا to be a subdivision of the indeterminate مَا, an explicit noun, not a pronoun; and the infinitival مَا and the redundant مَا to be particles of different kinds, not pronouns, or nouns of any kind (§§ 497, 571, 565, and 525 of my grammar), though some assert the مَا following an indeterminate noun to be a noun (§ 180),

not, as the majority hold, a redundant particle. And, in the same paragraph, مَهْمَا is said to be compounded of an "adverbial noun" (whether مَهْ or مَا is not stated) and the infinitival مَا: whereas the best opinion is that it is simple, not compounded; while those who hold it to be compounded consider the final مَا to be either redundant or conditional, not infinitival (§ 181 of my grammar).

In § 354 our author says "There are four sorts of particles (حَرْفٌ, pl. حُرُوفٌ, [or أَدَاةٌ, pl. أَدَوَاتٌ]); viz., Prepositions, Adverbs, Conjunctions, and Interjections." And in subsequent sections ظُرُوفٌ, like أَمَامَ, بَعْدَ, and عِنْدَ, are classed among prepositions (§§ 359, 359); ظُرُوفٌ, like أَيْنَ and مَتَى, and even demonstratives, like هُنَا and هَذَا, are classed among adverbs (§ 362); ظُرُوفٌ, like إِنْ, إِذَا,* مَتَى, and مَتَى مَا, among conjunctions (§ 367); and verbal nouns and ejaculations, like حَيَّ, هَلُمَّ, صَهْ, and بَخْ, among interjections (§ 368). Now all ظُرُوفٌ, demonstratives, verbal nouns, and ejaculations are regarded by native grammarians as nouns, not particles (حُرُوفٌ); while of particles proper no less than 28 sorts are enumerated (§ 497 of my grammar). As for أَدَاةٌ, it is an ambiguous term, equally applicable to a particle and a noun, as explained under article "Instrument" in the glossary prefixed to Part I. of my Grammar, like أَدَاةُ شَرْطٍ *instrument of condition*, which includes a conditional particle, like إِنْ, and a conditional noun, like مَا. Many words, therefore, which are not حُرُوفٌ, may be أَدَوَاتٌ; and the statement that there are only four sorts of أَدَوَاتٌ is even more inaccurate than the statement that there are only four sorts of حُرُوفٌ. All this confusion of terms in Professor Wright's otherwise scholarly and valuable grammar is much to be deplored, because the student who learns, on his authority, to regard the article أَلْ as a demonstrative noun, the quiescent تْ of femininization as a suffixed pronoun expressing the nomina-

* إِنْ and إِذَا "in the sense of *lo! see! behold!*" are said by Professor Wright (§ 362) to be adverbs and particles. This is a hard saying, because, in Arabic grammar, adverbs (ظُرُوفٌ) are not particles, but nouns; while, in English grammar, "see!" and "behold" are not adverbs, but verbs, and "lo!", though called an interjection, has the sense of a verb, not of an adverb. That إِنْ and إِذَا, however, when denoting *suddenness of occurrence*, as here, are particles (حَرْفَانِ) may be conceded on the authority of Al Akhfash, Ibn Barrī, and Ibn Mālik, this opinion being preferred by Ar Raḍī to the contrary opinion that they are adverbs (ظَرْفَانِ), of *place* according to Al Mubarrad and Ibn 'Usfūr, or of *time* according to Az Zajjāj, Ar Rummānī, and Az Zamakhsharī, though the last opinion has even been attributed to Sibawaih; but, as particles, they are merely redundant, having no sense but *corroboration* (see § 204 of my grammar, at pp. 755, 761 775-776), like the rest of the redundant particles (§§ 563, 564).

tive, the preformative letters of the aorist or imperfect as prefixed pronouns expressing the nominative, ذَيْتَ وذَيْتَ and كَيْتَ وكَيْتَ as demonstratives, كَمْ and كَأَيِّنْ as pronouns, the interrogative, the conditional, the infinitival, and the redundant مَا as pronouns, and adverbs (ظُرُوفٌ), demonstratives, verbal nouns, and ejaculations as particles, cannot fail to be greatly perplexed when he has occasion to consult a native grammar, dictionary, or commentary. Surely it is not the part of a teacher to put stumbling-blocks in the path of the learner.

I have referred so often, in this article, to my own Arabic grammar, not because it expresses my own opinions, which I should not venture to pit against those of the eminent Professors, whose names adorn the title-page of the work under review, but because it contains the doctrines of the native grammarians, who are the ultimate, and indeed only, authorities on the grammar of their own language.

THE FIVE ZOROASTRIAN GATHAS.*

By an Asiatic Quarterly Reviewer.

As there are so few experts living who profess to have studied seriously the various branches involved in Zend philology, and as we do not wish to subject our author to the criticism of writers only partially acquainted with the sources of independent information, we will confine our remarks upon this work to a description of what the author professes in the book itself to have presented in it, and to the reports of such experts as have written reviews of it in Germany and France, and whose names are themselves a guarantee for their capacity.

If the author has presented faithful and respectable work in this large volume, he has evidently given us a translation of the Gâthas founded on studies more full than those which have preceded any other translations, for we note with much respect and pleasure that Dr. Mills' translation of the Gâthas has been made after treating the Pahlavi translation, the Sanskrit and the Persian as for the first time in their entirety; no other work on the Gâthas has, we believe, ever been attempted on this scale. The Gâthic text is given in the Zend character and in a critical but not objective edition, that is, it is based upon the oldest MSS. critically emended by collation with other MSS. of good authority, only a few variations being given as the author did not wish to reprint the rich collection of variations published by Geldner (see page viii). The author describes the acquisition of two of the leading MSS. by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. They were J.^{2}, and J.^{8} and they were presented most munificently by Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Ph.D. of Tuebingen, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon. at Dr. Mills' suggestion. Another valuable MS. was lent and allowed to be photographed by Darab Destoor Peshotan Sanjana in the name of Destoor Shams-ul-Ulamâ Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D. Dr. Mills' text is transliterated in the Gâtha Ahunavaiti for the purpose of showing how it must be read and pronounced in view of the metre (see the *Revue Critique* of September 18, 1893, p. 149), for the metre enables us often to decide upon our choice between differing texts; words, or syllables which spoil the metre are generally not original. In the course of this transliteration, as explained in the Commentary, the author has made an advance in no less a matter than the decipherment of the Zend Alphabet itself; and in this he applies the discovery which he announced in the Introduction to the translation of the *Yasna* in the *Sacred Books of the East* of which he is the author; see p. xxxiv. It is to the effect that some of the principal letters in the Zend Alphabet must be read as the irregular combination of two characters accidentally conjoined, and

* *The Five Zoroastrian (Zarathushtrian) Gâthas with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Texts, with Translations of the First Three, and a Commentary to All;* pp. 622 + xxx, by Lawrence H. Mills, D.D. F. A. Brockhaus; Leipzig.

others must be sometimes read as entirely different letters from those which they generally represent. He gives as an explanation the fact that the Zend letters were once Pahlavi, and every Pahlavi character even yet expresses several different sounds. We must refer our readers to Dr. Mills' article on this subject in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländeschen Gesellschaft*, III Heft, p. 481. 1895. His views, as we see, have been accepted by Professors Justi and Darmesteter, and they must have a radical bearing upon the whole subject, as they abolish such mistakes as °*ahe* for °*ahya*, and *kaine* for *kainyâ*.

In the work before us the Gathic text is translated first verbatim into Latin the common vehicle, also used by Haug (page viii). The author at first imitates as closely as possible the grammatical forms in the Gâthas, and since the two languages, Zend and Latin, are cognate, curious resemblances become at once apparent. The roughness of verbatim translation is relieved by glosses, and alternative translations are added not only here, but in the Commentary, as the author holds the opinion that no one translation can ever be regarded as "infallibly correct." In order to reproduce the effect of the rhythm, free, and approximately, metrical translations are given.* Under the Verbatim translations appears the Pahlavi texts as "for the first time deciphered and for the first time edited with collation of MS."

Dr. Mills pays a high tribute to Professor Spiegel who first printed the Pahlavi translation of the *Yasna*, showing that it was no fault of that great scholar that he was confined to a single manuscript; Dr. Mills' edition shows a collation of all the known MSS. with full variations; and in its further treatment Dr. Mills makes an entirely new departure. One quarter of the Pahlavi texts of the Gâthas had been translated by Haug as revised by West in the well-known Essays, and to this Dr. Mills pays a high tribute as a preliminary work "masterly" in its time (see the Preface, page vi); but he has himself noticed some facts which put an altogether different face upon the whole matter. Several words have been twice translated by the Pahlavi as if giving alternative renderings; this feature had been overlooked by Dr. Mills' predecessors with the result that errors of the most serious description were committed and, the Pahlavi translation falling into disrepute, scholars excused themselves from studying it.

Dr. Mills illustrated this matter still further so long ago as 1888. When he published an article in the *Zeitschrift der Morgenländeschen Gesellschaft* on *Yasna* XLIII 1-10 this was quoted as we see with approval in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* to which we will refer again further on. In his Introduction to the present work, see page xii, he warns us that "chaos" must result from translating the Pahlavi translation as if it were the ordinary Pahlavi of the books, flowing, in the natural sequence of its words, and the reason is that the sequence of the words in the Pahlavi is almost entirely dependent upon the sequence in the words of the Gâthic of which it is almost entirely a word-for-word translation; and the sequence of words in a Pahlavi sentence largely determine the sense, which is very

* For a modified reproduction of some of these, see this Review for Jan., and Oct., 1895, and for April of 1896.

much less, or not at all, the case with the Gâthic, the sequence of whose words however determines arbitrarily the sequence in the words of its quasi verbatim translation. . . . Most certainly these are distinctions of decisive importance.

So of Neryosangh's Sanskrit translation, Dr. Mills says "that no Sanskritist living who is not at the same time a Pahlavi scholar" and does not compare this Sanskrit with its original which was the Pahlavi, can read it without "serious errors at every step," as the order of its words is likewise in its turn affected by that of its original or originals. Dr. Mills also shows that this Sanskrit justifies much of the lexicography which has been erroneously superseded, especially that of Burnouf, the Pahlavi original proving that the Sanskrit of Neryosangh was used in a sense reported by Burnouf and current in India, say some five hundred years ago. Says the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of May 13, 1893, already referred to, "By means of Mills' work it becomes possible to form a judgment on Parsism and the value and worthlessness of the exegetical tradition. . . . His work deprives scholars of all further excuse for avoiding the Pahlavi and Sanskrit traditional interpretations."

See also the *Critical Review* for Jan. 1896. "Pahlavi is a language of extraordinary difficulty which very few scholars can decipher, much less translate; and the student of the Gâthas who comes to his sufficiently thorny task armed with nothing but Zend and its Indo-Germanic congeners owes a great debt to Dr. Mills for thus supplying him with the interpretations of the Old Rabbins of Zoroastrianism." Throwing the light of comparative philology further upon the subject, the Parsi-Persian text of Haug's Munich MS. is added, the variations of its main text from that of the Pahlavi text of Dr. Mills being given bodily in brackets. The author, complimenting his great colleague Professor Darmesteter, points out that several of his most brilliant suggestions find their original in this text (see page xxxiv). The Commentary kindly spoken of as a *genauer Commentär* and *un large commentaire* in the reviews already quoted covers pages 393-621, "giving, as it does (see the *Critical Review* of Jan. 1896) a clear idea of the multitudinous difficulties and ambiguities of detail found in these ancient texts as well as Dr. Mills' own comments *in extenso*." The author apologises (page xx) for the succinctness of these 220 pages on the score of space, and by the statement that he hopes to print a succinct dictionary (see page 621). This should be an easy task as the Verbatim translations form a dictionary without an Alphabetical order. But it is to be preceded by still another new feature which has however already been partly presented. It is the printing of the entire Gâthas in Sanskrit in the style of his contribution to Roth's Festgruss which has been cited with interest by Oldenberg in his Religion der Vedas, and for which Dr. Mills, as he mentions in the Critical Review of July, 1896, "received the thanks of the great master himself in a last letter received from him before his lamented death." The author explains that the distribution of this work in its imperfect form among "almost all the specialists" then living was occasioned by Roth's requesting a copy of it from him in 1881-82, adding that he was pleased at Roth's requesting the completion of the

book later, as *sehr erwünscht;* the immediate patronage under which he, Dr. Mills, procured his grant from the India Office was that of Sir Henry Rawlinson; see page vi.

As to the manner in which Dr. Mills has accomplished his various tasks he must stand upon his own authority. The subject of the xxxist vol. of "the Sacred Books of the East" has been called one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult in Aryan philology (see the reference on page x).

It was certainly an unprecedented honour to receive an invitation from Professor Darmesteter (one of the first scholars living) to become his colleague and successor in such a series; and we understand both from a direct communication from Dr. Mills and also from the Preface to the xxxist vol. of the S. B. E. that it was owing to the translations in this present work that Professor Darmesteter made the proposal.* Dr. Mills states that "although deeply appreciating the undesirableness of following one whose scholarship is only surpassed by his genius, I found myself unable to refuse."† It was doubtless owing to the influence of Darmesteter that a person very familiar with the Sacred Books had mentioned Dr. Mills so long before as April 12, 1884, as "the best authority on the true interpretation of the ancient Gâthas"; see the *Athenæum* of that date. The book was put on sale as soon as its Parts I. and IV. were ready in 1892 when the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* spoke of it as "*das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art,*" adding "*Unser Verständniss der Gâthas mächtig gefördert,*" and the lamented Darmesteter himself wrote in Sep. 18, '93; see the *Revue Critique, tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interpretation des Gâthas rendront hommage à l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills . . . indispensable pour l'étude.* See also the *Critical Review* of Jan. '96, "there are few literary objects more entirely deserving of State help than these."

In the last number of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländeschen Gesellschaft" (II Heft 1896) Professor Pischel remarks at the close of an appreciative notice, "*Mills' Werk, das Ergebniss langjähriger, mühe-und entsagungs-voller Arbeit, vereinigt bis auf ein Wörterbuch das in Aussicht gestellt wird, alles was für die Erklärung der Gâthas nothwendig ist. Man mag im einzelnen noch so viel abweichen, immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss. Mills hat mit ihm der Avestaforschung einen hervorragenden Dienst geleistet.*" We understand that the first edition is already nearly exhausted.

* A footnote refers to a notice in the Revue Critique of Nov. 26, 1883 (sixteen years ago).

† Owing to especial circumstances a copy of Professor Darmesteter's letter of Nov. 5 (1883) to Dr. Mills has been shown us; these words occur: "Je lui ai répondu que je ne pouvais (des occupations nouvelles me prennant tout mon temps) et je lui ai dit que vous étiez la personne . . . pour me remplacer . . . Vous n'avez qu'á détacher de vôtre travail la traduction rhythmique avec quelques notes explicatives et le mot à mot quand vous vous en écartez trop."

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THIRTEENTH REVIEW ON THE

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THE PAHLAVI TEXTS, TRANSLATED BY E. W. WEST. PART I. THE BUNDAHISH, BAHMAN YASHT, AND SHÂYAST LÂ-SHÂYAST.

(VOL. V.)

BY THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.

Bundahish, the creation of the beginning, or *vice versâ*, is a collection of fragments which refer to cosmogony, mythology, and legendary history taught by Mazdayasnian tradition, but which cannot be considered in any way a complete treatise. The name *bundahish* came from the accidental occurrence of the word twice in the first sentence quite as much as from its appropriateness to the subject. The old and actual name was *Zand-âkâs*, that is to say: "knowing the tradition."

The Good Spirit is in "endless light, and the Evil in endless darkness." But here readers should at once be emphatically warned that the superficial articles by non-experts which attempt to describe Zoroastrianism generally begin with this description from a comparatively late Parsee work as if it were the Avesta itself, and so they hopelessly mix up the various phases of doctrine, both as to the nature of God and as to the phases of creation. There is no mention whatever of "endless light" or "endless darkness" in the earliest documents of Zoroastrianism, nor anything of a similar type.

This *early-middle* stage of Zoroastrianism is important enough and interesting enough of itself to be valued at its own worth without regarding it as the leading type of Zoroastrianism. The *original* type of a religion has an unanswerable claim to be held constantly in view. And the fact that very many persons fail to make any distinction between it and the five or six other different phases of Zoroastrianism would be totally discouraging to specialists if they were not already familiar at every step with similar manifestations of obstinate ignorance, brought into sight by carelessness or vanity.

To resume, the Good Spirit, according to this venerable and interesting document, the Bundahish, being then in endless light and omniscient and the evil spirit being in endless darkness and with limited knowledge, each produced their own creatures:—this latter point is important and is in full accordance with the earliest Zoroastrianism;—but the doctrine that "their creatures remained apart for three thousand years in a spiritual or ideal state" is wholly post-Gâthic, no such mechanical divisions by number being manifest in the earliest Avesta.

In the later portions of the Avesta however this is familiar; *cp.* such expressions as "a thousand years," "The seed of 1000 men and women,"

"a thousand cattle," etc. This separate existence of the creatures of the good and of the evil spirit was to last for 3000 years, after which the evil spirit began his opposition for 9000 years. By uttering the Ahunaver *Zatha ahû vairyô* the good spirit throws the evil one into a state of confusion for a second 3000 years, during which he also produces the *ameshaspends** and the material creation, including the sun, moon, and stars. Then the evil spirit together with demons which he had in the meantime produced, once more rushes upon the good creation to destroy it. The demons battle with each of the six classes of creation, sky, water, earth, plants, animals represented by the primeval Ox, and with mankind as represented by Gayômard, their success being limited to producing "movement" in the sky, saltness in the water, mountains in the earth, withering in plants, and death to the primeval ox; and in the end death also to Gayômard, the first man. Then follow chapters on the seven regions of the earth, on mountains and seas, on the five classes of animals, on the origin of mankind, on the five kinds of fire, on the three sacred fires, on the Ox Hadhayôsh, etc. Then comes the mention of the resurrection and future existence, the treatise closing with the genealogies of legendary Persian Kings and heroes, of Zaatûsht (Zoroaster), and of certain priests together with an epitome of Persian chronology from the creation to the Muhammadan conquest. The work is, as has been already intimated, of a fragmentary character, but this by no means detracts from its interest. Dr. West thinks it has the appearance of being a series of broken translations from one of the later lost Nasks of the Avesta, the Dâmdâd Nask. The Dînî-vajarkard gives an approximate summary of this Dâmdâd Nask which is fairly in harmony with the above sketch of the Bundahish; and the author of the selections of Zâd-sparam, the shortened form of the Bundahish, cites this Dâmdâd Nask. The age of the composition or more properly of the last "edition" (so to speak) of his work the Bundahish may be traced from a passage in which the writer mentions several of his contemporaries. Among these the name of Zâd-sparam, the brother of Mânûchihar occurs, and this latter person was highest priest of Pârs and Kirman in A.D. 881.

This then was about the date of the Bundahish. The book is important as carrying on the historical discussion of Dualism, and it is of general interest throughout, being also easy reading and lit up with many a quaint turn of thought and with phrases which refresh the reader by their appeal to his sense of humour. With regard to a printed published text of this work we have Westergaard's lithographed edition and Justi's which was for the most part its reproduction. Several translations have preceded this present one. To speak of the labours of Europeans, Westergaard had published the lithographed text in 1851. Haug attempted the translation of the first three chapters of this text in the "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen" in 1854. Spiegel followed with many other passages his Literature of the Parsis in 1860, adding a transcription of some chapters into the Hebrew characters. Windischmann in 1863 first translated the entire text into a European

* THE AMESHA-SPENTA, bountiful immortals, the "*amshaspands*" of literature.

language; Justi is the first even as yet to give us an attempt at a *full* treatment of the subject for he attacked the text itself in 1868 so far as to transliterate it minus the uncertain short vowels which are not expressed at all by the Pahlavi characters; he gave also a fresh translation advancing upon his predecessors, and above all added a glossary attacking the lexicography of the book at close quarters, the whole being a most valuable work; but of course partially superseded so far as the latest results are concerned, by the present masterly exposition which appeared some twelve years after its predecessor (in 1880).

We miss of course a re-edited text and cannot help thinking that provision should have been made for one, not of course in one of the volumes of the S.B.E., but as an accompanying work, perhaps among the Anecdota of the Clarendon Press.

The existence of the more extensive MS. T. D., which the owner declines to allow to be zincotyped, is one good reason for delaying the fuller edition of the text, and the owner Mr. Mobad Tahmouras Dinshawji Anklesaria of Bombay, the first Pahlavi scholar of India, is now, we understand (in 1896), preparing an edition of this fuller text which has high claims to be considered the original, or, if not the original text, then at least the original with very ancient additions. It is greatly to be desired that the issue of this text should not be too long delayed. The printing of texts is the easiest possible of all services which can be rendered to Avestan philology. We have only, as it seems, to collect the variations mechanically, and send the paper to the printer. In fact in the present state of Pahlavi scholarship we particularly desire the fac-simile, to which emendations could be freely made in notes. The funds are provided at present in Bombay; and the photographs could be furnished at once; why should they be delayed?

The "*Selections of Zâd-sparam*" form the second work included within this Vth volume of the S.B.E. In some manuscripts of the Dâdistân-î Dînîk, the ninety-two questions and answers which usually go by that name, are preceded and followed by Pahlavi texts. Among these the most important are the memoranda and writings called "Selections of Zâd-sparam son of Yûdân-Yim." The work was written about A.D. 881.

A translation of so much of these "Selections of Zâd-sparam" as treats of the same subjects as the Bundahish has been added as an appendix to West's translation of that work.

Dr. West is of the opinion that these "selections" were written with a copy of the Bundahish before the writer's eyes and he remarks that the involved style in which they were produced contrasts with the simplicity of the Bundahish and seems to prove that the bulk of the Bundahish was already an old book in their days. The translator seems to give this as his reason for reproducing the work in this volume. He remarks "that the language used in these Selections seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the age of the *Bundahish*"; see page xlvii Introduction.

No published text whatever of this work has been provided, although a transliterated text might be offered with little trouble or expense, not of

course in direct connection with the S.B.E., but as an accompanying pamphlet.

The *Bahman Yasht* or "Zand of the Vohuman Yasht" of the Avesta is a kind of prophetical work "roughly compared" by the translator with the Apocalypse, while the Bundahish might be said to represent Genesis. Zaratûsht (Zoroaster), having asked Aûharmazd (Ahura Mazda) for immortality, receives instead of it a temporary supply of wisdom which results in a vision of a tree with four branches of different metals representing four historical periods which remind us somewhat of Daniel's image; the periods are the reigns of certain kings and the time of the appearance of certain demons and idolators at the end of a thousand years.

A second request for immortality results in a second supply of wisdom and a vision of a tree this time with seven branches of different metals, which are supposed to represent six ages of triumph and a seventh of adversity when Iran is to be invaded by hordes of demons or idolaters who are to destroy and mislead mankind till "the Religion" becomes nearly extinct. But the text is for the most part a Jeremiad harping upon the miseries of this seventh period, briefly relieved by a page or two of more pleasing allusions to the final Sôshyans, who is to appear to make the creatures again pure and to bring in resurrection and the future existence.

The translator regards it as a composite work, and places its authorship at some period in the eleventh or twelfth centuries.

The *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast* is the fourth document treated in this one volume of the S.B.E. While the translator compares the Bundahish with Genesis and the Bahman Yasht with the Revelations of St. John the Divine he compares the Shâyast lâ-shâyast, "it is fit; and it is not fit," with the Book of Leviticus. It is a compilation of miscellaneous laws and customs regarding sin and impurity, with memoranda about ceremonies and religious subjects in general.

It consists of three parts, the first two of which are often put together in modern MSS., and bear the same name; but they are widely separated in the oldest MSS.

These two parts were compiled by two different persons who had access to the same authorities.

The first part commences with "the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin," and with what is of still more importance, with the names of the chief commentators on the Vendîdâd.

Long details follow regarding the treatment of corpses and of menstruous women who seem to have been closely associated with corpses by the composer so far as the matter of ceremonial impurity is concerned. Then the pollution caused by a serpent's bite, etc., is treated. Then follow details about good works with allusions to Christians, Jews and others. After this we come to the matter of reverencing the fire and to "the sin of extinguishing it"; then we have remarks relating to confessions and renunciations of sin, and to atonements.

Upon these follows a digression in the course of which the "rich" are forbidden "to hunt" on the grounds that they are too dexterous and would keep the game from the poor.

Then we have a mass of miscellaneous matter treated, in the midst of which may be noted the items, "priests passing away in idolatry," "throwing a corpse into the sea," "the evil of eating in the dark," "the ephemeral nature of life," "the proper looseness for a girdle," "on providing a tank for ablution," "on not reciting the Gâthas over the dead," "food and drink must not be thrown away toward the north at night"; . . . "the evil of walking without boots" is considered, also "breaking the spell of an inward prayer"; "ten women wanted at a childbirth." The sin of beating an innocent person is condemned, and then we have the consideration of the case of men and women who do not marry.

Further remarks follow on "not mumbling the Avesta," on "not laughing during prayer"; on "the crowing of a hen (it is not to be condemned; she is helping the cock)," on "the treatment of a hedgehog," on "the necessity of a dog's gaze"; on "when a woman can do priestly duty."

The second part of this work also commences with "the names and amounts of the various degrees of sin," etc.

Then we have discussions on the simplest form of worship, on the necessity for submitting to a high priest, on the advantage of fire, on the sin of clothing the dead, on the presentation of holy-water to the nearest fire after death, on nail-paring to be prayed over, etc., etc.

Then we have an account of the mystic signification of the Gâthas.

The third part of this work or the appendix to it, gives us an account as to how each of the Amerhaspends can be best propitiated by a regard for the particular things which he especially protects. Then follow among other matters the ceremonies after a death, and the particulars as to those who are to have no share in the resurrection, and as to the place where the dead shall arise. Then we have the complaint of the demon Aêshm to Aharman, the Devil, as to the three things which he could not injure, etc.

From external evidence alone Dr. West concludes that this entire treatise, the Shâyast lâ-shâyast could be put at the date of A.D. 1250; but from its *internal* evidence, a greatly higher antiquity must be claimed for it.

From good reasons which Dr. West gives with his usual care and fairness we conclude that the first two parts of the Shâyast lâ-Shâyast were compiled in the seventh century; but that like the Bundahish and Bahman Yasht they are compilations of extracts and translations from far older writings, and may also have been rearranged after the Muhammadan conquest. The fragments which are collected in the appendix or third part of this present translation of the Shâyast lâ Shâyast "are of various ages and several of them may not be more than seven centuries old." "As regards the last two chapters we have no evidence that they are quite five centuries old."

Such are the interesting contents of Dr. West's first volume of translations from the Pahlavi texts for the Series of the Sacred Books of the East. These translations have been accomplished with remarkable care and by that scholar who has paid more serious attention to Pahlavi than any other European scholar with the exception of Professor Spiegel.

We may place implicit confidence in this work as the best that could possibly have been offered at the time and under the then present circum-

stances. As to the matter of close criticism, it is simply debarred to the public by the absence of all published texts, except the now antiquated text of the Bundahish as edited in lithograph by Westergaard and Justi.

Dr. West enjoys a peculiarly enviable position from the fact that he keeps to one speciality and to a speciality of a peculiarly uninviting character. That childish jealousy which rules like an iron law in the Universities of Europe passes him completely over.

He could therefore all the more afford to place his subject in the fullest manner possible within the reach of the public; and, with a text beside his masterly translations, Pahlavi would offer more encouragement than it does at present to the mass of Orientalists.

We think so well of the translations as literature that we wish all the more for the texts to verify their excellence as the production of our first Pahlavi specialist.

SIX BRITISH MINISTERS IN CHINA.

By an Old Resident in China.

We will pass over the time when the well-intentioned Lord Napier conducted his wearisome negotiations from Macao. He was succeeded at Canton by Captain Elliott, who, on the whole, may be said to have rather mismanaged the opium negotiations, however bravely he stuck to his duty in other respects. Sir Henry Pottinger was a strong resolute man. Sir John Davis dabbled in Chinese. Sir George Bonham was a respectable administrator. Sir John Bowring also dabbled in Chinese. All these knightly Superintendents of Trade were at Hong Kong, and "hammering at the gates of Canton," may be described in one word as the sum and substance of their unsuccessful efforts between 1834 and 1858. All this is ancient history. Sir Henry Pottinger was perhaps the only one with any pretensions to first-class merit, though all did their duty, and we are grateful to them.

Diplomatic history in China begins with Lord Elgin. Yet even he can hardly be described as a British Minister. His duties were special. He knew next to nothing of Chinese ways or administrative economy. He was too soft-hearted, high-minded, and honourable a man for his task. He looked every inch a nobleman as he was taken in his chair to the Peking "Board" to sign the treaty with Prince Kung, and his distinguished bearing then and after certainly impressed the Chinese. But he was never in sympathy with the British merchants, for he was afflicted with a conscience. He was not what the world calls a strong man; and many persons felt relieved when he handed over charge to his brother, Mr. Bruce, afterwards Sir Frederick.

Sir Frederick Bruce has, perhaps, left a more durable mark upon Chinese affairs than any other British Minister, not excluding even Sir Harry Parkes. The Chinese had complete confidence in him, at least so far as it was possible at that date for them to have confidence in any European. He also *had* a conscience, but he was not *afflicted* with one. He sympathized with the merchants, but he was by no means the man to be made their tool. He was unmistakably master in his own Legation, and he kept his consuls in wholesome subjection; but he was never in the faintest degree jealous of his subordinates. A big burly man, with honesty stamped in every feature. He wrote a scrawling schoolboy's hand, like that of Lord Byron, at Lord Byron's best. His despatches, however, were pithy and to the point; there was no nonsense about him. During the whole of his term he never once did or said a foolish thing officially, and he rarely failed to do a wise thing when there was an opening for it. His trade regulations are still the basis of international commerce in the Far East. It is no over-praise to him to describe him as the "great *eltchi*" of China, his successors all ranking considerably below him.

One of them said of Sir Rutherford Alcock, who came next: "I

never knew a man who had such opportunities in China for acquiring knowledge and who made less use of them." This too severe statement sums up Sir Rutherford in a few words. He wrote sonorous discursive despatches from the moment when, landing in Hong Kong, he sent round to his consuls to say "I have to announce my arrival in China," to the day when his whole legation staff, on horseback, escorted him to the boat at Tungchow. This was in 1869. He could argue to a nicety the exact academical bearing of this or that question. He too had a fine presence, as men go, though decidedly less striking and manly than that of Sir Frederick Bruce. He was wont to *savourer* the dignity of his position, and his family loved to speak of him as "your chief." Though his compositions were often sententious and verbose, he had at least the merit of promptness. He was always there: his pen was the tongue of a ready talker, as his tongue was the pen of a ready writer. Great at circulars and notifications under the Orders in Council, he loved to say: "Wherefore now know ye that I, by virtue, etc., do order, etc." Fond of collecting notes on all imaginable subjects, though he never wrote authoritatively upon any; he seldom looked better than when, at the Royal Geographical Society, after his resignation, wearing a broad K.C.B. scarf across his shirt, and a contented smile on his face, he accorded his presidential approval to distinguished travellers such as Elias, Cooper, or Baber. *He* also left *his* port regulations behind him; but their chief feature was that it was forgotten to duly sanction them until many years later, when it was discovered that they were void for want of authority. Sir Rutherford Alcock left no such name behind him in the Chinese mind as Wade or Parkes. He is better known in Japan, having published a very passable book on that country. Bruce, Wade, Parkes,—are household words in the official native mouth to this day, but the name of Alcock is almost forgotten. Some of the older merchants entertain agreeable memories of him, and a few persons are grateful for his medical or surgical aid. No one has a word to say against him. He satisfied his superiors; he was understood to be a trifle bumptious with his subordinates; but he did his best, and valued his own efforts highly. Many a man in the consular and diplomatic career does worse.

Sir Thomas Wade was quite another character. He was a regular storehouse of curious and precise information upon all Chinese matters. Whilst still a subordinate of Sir Frederick and Sir Rutherford, he very sensibly took their advice to "stick to the secretariat." When once a man left Peking in those days, his chances of returning to high office in that Sleepy Hollow were as good as gone. Consulates were very paying. Life at the ports was very agreeable. But *les absents ont toujours tort.* The man who is at hand to pass the cake round at tea-parties; who plays a good rubber (which, by the way, Sir Thomas never did);—is the one who usually heads the list for promotion. If Wade "bossed" his contemporaries in the end, it was not that he ever handed the cake round. Less of a lady's man in that sense never entered the gates of Peking; but he was ever present to serve his successive chiefs loyally and well. He was certainly Sir Rutherford's right-hand man, and without his accurate information many of "the chief's" most readable despatches would have been gaseous indeed. Oc-

casionally a sop was thrown to Cerberus, and the subordinate was allowed to draw up a political memorandum in his own name. The old rogues at the Chinese Foreign Office perhaps smiled at its patronizing style: yet it had its weight: it was quoted in after years; and probably the generous recommendation of his chief, who was not a jealous man, secured the succession to Sir Thomas. Sir Thomas had a horrible temper. Scenes in his house, with merchant visitors, and with his own staff were of daily occurrence; so much so that it was looked upon as an extraordinary thing to get through any business without a "row." Scenes with the Chinese statesmen were also frequent, but the casuistical Chinese mind was easily persuaded by friendly subordinates that what looked like fire was really only smoke; that what appeared to be ill-mannered wrath was only an honest Western way of evincing zeal. Sir Robert Hart also had a calming influence on Sir Thomas Wade's mind. His excessive modesty and gentleness of manner used to make Sir Thomas almost cry. Towards the end of his career the Chinese ministers got to know Sir Thomas Wade's objurgations so well that they would even help him out with a word. "Confound it all, don't I tell you you'll have to—to—to——" "Quite so, Sir Thomas; you mean 'guarantee the future'!" Though a profound Chinese scholar, Sir Thomas was (so at least his subordinates reported) always a poor Chinese speaker. In the first place his temper was so infirm that he had not the patience to construct his sentences correctly; and in the second, he was such a stickler for "correct form" that he was often driven to arrant pedantry. Notwithstanding these faults, Sir Thomas Wade had great influence with the Chinese. Both his English and his Chinese despatches were always well written, and he could compose equally well in French and Italian. The English despatches were often diffuse, and he was at times a little prone to inform the British Secretary of State what Confucius really *did* say, or what Mencius really meant; but the solid stuff was there: his information was sound, and carefully weighed: his memory was prodigious; his grasp of history marvellous. The Chinese never really humbugged him, even though occasionally he seemed to yield to their wiles. He was no lover of missionary zeal, nor did he admire what he used to call "blatant Shanghai": yet he did the merchants' work for them pretty conscientiously. He was stated to be stark mad on Chinese, and to grow very angry with subordinates who presumed to question his literary *dicta*. Still, when convinced of his error, he would apologise in a manly way; and if once it occurred to him that temper was causing him to be unjust to a junior, he would go quite out of his way to promote him. Sir Thomas Wade was a man, with a man's affections and weaknesses. Whatever people may say of his personal failings, want of presence and manners, constantly "giving himself away," &c., it is certain that he was respected by the Chinese, his colleagues, and the "communities" at the ports. Towards the end of his career he may have grown disappointed and lazy, but there was many a moist eye when old Sir Thomas made his farewell speech at Peking in 1882. Sir Thomas Wade undoubtedly did more laborious work for China, and for British trade, than any other minister; but then his career was much the longest. Of the various *chargés d'affaires*, such as

Mr. Fraser, Mr. Grosvenor, etc., nothing need be said. Their tenure of office was uncertain; their great object was to avoid getting into trouble; and, so far, they were successful. The only *chargé d'affaires* (except Mr. Thomas Wade) who ever made his mark was Mr. O'Conor, of whom more anon.

The next minister was SIR HARRY PARKES. It was thought by many a mistake to send him to China. It would have been all very well in the old bullying days of gunboats; but twenty years had elapsed since Sir Harry had been strung up by the whiskers in a Peking gaol: Sir Thomas Wade had been educating China in *his* way just as much as Sir Harry Parkes had been educating Japan in another way. Sir Harry's methods were so uncompromising that it had even been a recent question whether he ought to be sent again to Japan. However, he was; and not only that, but he was actually sent, shortly after, to the scene of his tortures in China. It is the fashion in China to cry up Sir Harry, as the one perfect minister that Great Britain ever had. Certainly the "lion-hearted Sir Harry" *was* lion-hearted: he was a capital man for Palmerstonian deeds of derring-do. He knew no fear, recked him of no man's enmity, spoke his mind, possessed inexhaustible industry, and did his very best for all British interests. It seems almost a sacrilege to hint at the possibility of Sir Harry's not being perfect in every way. Perhaps it is to the credit of Englishmen that admiration for the pluck of Dr. Jameson totally blinds many of them to the fact that he made a great mistake in the Transvaal: in the same way it is perhaps to their credit that their admiration for Sir Harry's pluck totally blinds them to his deficiencies. Sir Harry was more than enough for the ignorant Japanese when he first took them in hand; but he was not more than their intellectual equal when the results of his education had made statesmen of them. In the same way, Sir Harry was more than enough for the corrupt, conceited, vaporizing Chinese cowards at Canton and Peking in 1858-60; but not more than the intellectual equal of the Chinese statesmen educated by Wade. Wade had a loyal admiration for Parkes, unmixed with the slightest jealousy; but Parkes' educational foundation was infinitely below that of Wade, who was a thorough scholar. Wade with all his faults of manner could *imposer* upon his fashionable secretaries, and make them keep their place, feeling that they were in the hands of a master, if only a local one. It was slightly different with Parkes. Of course secretaries must obey their chief; and even if they do not feel him to be in all respects *de leur monde*, they are usually too much of gentlemen to show it. But Sir Harry Parkes as minister in China was undoubtedly a comparative failure. He accomplished little: not for want of trying; but circumstances were against him. The wily Chinese laid "plants" for him, coaxed him on to lose his temper; in short, played with him, and tried to discredit him with the home authorities. In any case, his brief career of 18 months was hardly enough to enable him to get his hand thoroughly in. The memory of his past great services was enough to secure him a place in St. Paul's Cathedral, and his memory will ever be green in both China and Japan. What he might have done in China when he had his second chance is one thing; but he did not live long enough to do it, and certainly he had not done much when he died.

The death of Sir Harry Parkes gave MR. O'CONOR his opportunity, and Mr. O'Conor speedily rose to the occasion. He possessed the rare merit, among diplomatists, of answering letters and despatches promptly. Perhaps, it may be said that a less *distingué* man never held the reins at Peking: certainly none ever held them more successfully or more to the satisfaction of all concerned. Mr. O'Conor was an adept at what may be called the private letter and chocolate cream form of diplomacy. "Dear Jones; the Norwegians are going to start a wharf at Cape Coast Castle: put a spoke in their wheel if you can." He had a good word for everyone. Every subordinate thought that he was specially marked out for promotion. There was no conceit about the future Sir Nicholas. He would, even when *chargé d'affaires*, come and take pot-luck with the junior customs mess any day. He had no "side" whatever. Then he answered despatches. Ah! if all diplomatists only did so! As a rule, Foreign Offices don't care what you say, so long as you answer sharp, and say something definite: but answer you must. What with Exeter Hall, Shipping Companies, W. S. Caine, Ashmead-Bartlett, and what not, they must have *some* explanation: anything, so long as it will silence inconvenient interpellators. The British Foreign Office will always back one up so long as one does not do the wrongest thing; and even then they will let one down "easy" so long as one saves their face, and one's immediate superiors' faces, in case of trouble. In this sense Mr. O'Conor was perfect. His good-humoured easy ways charmed the Chinese; his Irish blood conciliated Sir Robert Hart, and intoxicated his subordinates; his promptness pleased the Foreign Office and surprised the merchants. It is a fact that when Mr. O'Conor went home he was regarded universally as the very best "Minister" Great Britain had ever had. He went home in a blaze of glory,—and took his promises with him.

SIR JOHN WALSHAM was a phenomenon new to China. A nice red uniform as deputy lord-lieutenant. A distinguished appearance, a courtly manner, hereditary title, a Parisian reputation; all this seemed to promise great things. It was rumoured that he intended to study Chinese and "see things for himself." The British merchants hold Chinese lore in great contempt. However, they invited him to listen to their grievances upon transit-passes, thinking that a man yearning for a Chinese education might fairly like to begin with this. What was their astonishment when he regaled them after landing in Shanghai with a long lecture in Sir George Grey style upon that very subject, giving them his views in full! At first great things were hoped from him notwithstanding. Like everyone else who succeeds in reaching Peking alive, Sir John Walsham became as good as dead when he got there. Still, it was rumoured that he was reading all the archives through from the beginning, and that when he *did* begin to act all things would get the best results from his *haute politique*. Every now and then (the merchants were told) a long despatch arrived in which some subject was historically and carefully treated. Consuls, it was whispered, had to mind their P's and Q's, for Sir John Walsham objected to language being used to the Chinese authorities which would be impolite to the *Président de la République*. Unexpected wiggings and snubs came when least antici-

pated. Explanations were asked by puzzled merchants from subordinate officials, but were never forthcoming. Everybody wrote from Pekin to say Sir John was the most charming, gentlemanly, hospitable, and kind-hearted man that ever presided over the Legation. Some of the disappointed ones, despairing of solving the mystery by letter, themselves went up to Peking. The kindness and hospitality were certainly extraordinary; everything paid for by Sir John; picnics, routs, rides, pleasures of all sorts at Sir John's expense, whilst Sir John himself pored the whole day long in his study over despatches. How was it possible to say anything ungenerous against the methods of a man who plied you with cigars, ice-creams, ponies, and tennis-parties, whilst he himself sacrificed all his pleasures to the public service? "Why don't you go and assist poor Sir John?" "He won't let me; he insists on working it all out for himself." Now, the reason why some able ministers at Peking had failed to please had been that instead of opening their despatches at once and pencilling replies there and then, they had taken time to consider for an hour or so, and had thus often missed the mail. But here was a minister who took everything to his own room and pored over it for days. To cut a long story short, things soon got to such a pitch that no reply on any question, public or private, official or unofficial, at any time, under any circumstances, could be got from Peking. It took several years before this truth became generally realized in all its force. However, so great was Sir John Walsham's personal popularity that people contented themselves with waiting until it should be time for him to go, it being openly stated that he loathed Peking so heartily that he never willingly left the Legation precincts. But, after four years or more, the alarming news was spread that Sir John had become so enamoured of Peking that he was a candidate for a second term! The rebellious spirit in all quarters was so unmistakable on the part of the leading merchants that this had to be altered, and Sir John was transferred to Bucharest. His career in China was quite unique. Mysterious hints of the great things done in high diplomacy reached the outer world; a good spurt was certainly made by Sir John when British missionaries began to be massacred wholesale. During Sir John Walsham's term of office, the new opium rules were put into force; but that business must have been in train, and near completion, shortly before his arrival. Everybody said Sir John did very well when the missionary rows took place. Everyone, without exception, spoke in the highest terms of Sir John as a host, a gentleman, a hard worker, and (in "high diplomacy") a man of great capacity. Otherwise his five years or more in Peking produced absolutely nothing. *Vox et præterea nihil* (minus the *vox*),—so far, at least, as the trading community knows.

Great things were expected of Mr. O'Conor when he came back, colours flying, as full Minister to replace Sir John. Now at last we were going to settle those rascally Chinese! At last we have a proved man, approved, improved, and destitute of all silly Chinese literary notions! Merchants boarded the steamer almost before it anchored at Hongkong. We all thought that on that occasion he looked as business-like as one of the local bankers: we were, as usual, charmed with him. In what a friendly way did he button-hole us: "Now, my friend, let's get to the bottom rock of this:

who's the man to go for?" It was delightful. "For he's a jolly good fellow" sang the Tientsin community, headed by Her Majesty's Consul, as he landed from the steamer. Friendly letters to everyone; despatches answered promptly; universal hope and approval. Now's the time; now we shall see! Ah! my masters! It is one thing to be a bachelor, unexpectedly created *chargé d'affaires*, and quite another thing to be Her Majesty's Minister, with a distinguished wife. In the one case one can afford to please Dick, Tom, and Harry, and yet get a name: in the other the great thing is to give no trouble to your superiors, to avoid complications, to qualify for a European post. Be that as it may, to everyone's surprise, at least in the Far East, Mr. (now Sir Nicholas) O'Conor showed no results at all commensurate with his antecedents. Of course the old *haute politique* ghost was made the excuse. It was said that great things appeared to have been done on the Pamirs, the Burmese frontier, Siam,—anywhere but at the treaty ports of China. Certainly no Chinese successes explained his promotion to the St. Petersburg Embassy. However, the press took a generous view: if he had done nothing in China now, at all events he did something before; and, perhaps, he really *had* achieved a *coup* in "high diplomacy," and had, therefore, deserved his promotion.

No British Minister ever went out to China less known than SIR CLAUDE MACDONALD, and from none has more ever been expected. It will be seen that, with the exception of Sir Frederick Bruce and Sir Thomas Wade, no British minister to China has been, so far as solid results go, a complete success. The missionaries and merchants are long-suffering, very loyal, and very hopeful. They are willing to make all allowances, but it *does* seem as though the atmosphere of Peking were absolutely fatal to activity. Let us hope Sir Claude Macdonald will resist its soporific influence.

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

By Charlotte M. Salwey, M.J.S.

III. THE BOYS' FESTIVAL, OR THE FEAST OF FLAGS—TANGO-NO-SEKKU.

In the Japanese Calendar, festivals trip closely upon one another; indeed, it has been stated that for each day in the year there is some event worth recording. Some of these festivals are local, some religious, and some general. There are five important days on record, and these are termed, the *Go sekku.*

1st of the 1st month, *Gan-jitsu* or *Gan-sekku*, New Year's or foundation day.

3rd of the 3rd month, *Hina-no-sekku.* The Girls' festival.

5th of the 5th month, *Tango-no-sekku,* the Boys' festival or the Feast of Flags.

7th of the 7th month, *Tanabata-no-sekku* festival of *Tanabata*, the Weaver, or star Vega near the milky way.

9th of the 9th month, *Kiku-no-sekku*, Festival of the Chrysanthemum.

Tango-no-sekku, which claims our attention at this present time is the third great national feast day of the year. It falls on the 5th of June according to the old manner of reckoning, because New Year's day formerly dated from about the 11th of February, the Japanese making their months according to the lunar dates.

The nature of the Boys' Festival stamps it at once as one of antiquity, reaching far back into the feudal days of old Japan. The day was set apart, as a yearly reminder of a soldier's career, to which most young men of all ranks, particularly the nobility, inclined. All things which tended to inspire military ardour in youthful hearts, were displayed and sustained throughout the day. *Tango-no-sekku* is also called *Shobu-no-sekku*, and *Ayamé-no-sekku*, both words meaning the sweet flag, or iris (*Acorus Calamus*, or *Aromaticus*). It is stated in a note in the second chapter of the *Genji Monogatori*, (one of the earliest books on history, manners, customs, etc.) that the festival received the name of the feast of flags, because the *Ayame* was at that time in full flower. Every month has its special floral tribute, which crowns particular days with its presence, and speaks in a silent and symbolic language, to all who participate in the day's rejoicings. The iris, or sweet flag, is the emblem of victory. It is tall, and stately, with petals of a regal colour. Its sword-like leaves suggest in themselves victory, success, self-defence. Brittle in growth, it will not bend, but die rather than yield under ruthless handling. Soldiers were reared up in the understanding that defeat must end in death, even if self-inflicted. The *Ayame* is extensively cultivated in and around *Tokio:* field after field can be seen in the vicinity of the modern capital. The peasants love to grow it in their tiniest plots of ground, or to place single rods of blossom, in the tall vases of inexpensive wares, that grace the poorest dwellings.

On the day preceding the festival, the roofs of the houses were decorated with the *Ayame.* This was done in order that the faint sweet odours might pervade the apartments, and greet the awakening sleepers at early morn: suggesting as the first lesson of the day, loyal duties, that the heart of each subject of the Mikado loves to cherish. The petals of the blossoms were then collected, and cast into the early morning bath, always taken as a preliminary task of the day. Petals were also strewn into the cups of *saké*, which with the cake of rice known as *chumaki* formed the ceremonial food. The rice cake was enveloped in a case, made of a kind of grass. It was placed on the *sambo*, or stand upon which things were laid that were offered to the *kami*, or household gods. The bottles containing the saké or rice drink was also put upon the stand.*

The main feature of the festival was the gift of suits of armour, made in miniature, which were laid over night upon the same place of honour as the food. They were so arranged as to meet the eyes of all aspiring youths, on the first moment of their debût into the reception room to remind them of the times when they would gird on their military accoutrements for their Emperor and country, and take their part in the history of their great land. In the old pictures that show us details of this festival, various forms of helmets and armour are figured, the most favoured styles being those worn by *Naogani*, *Atsumori*, *Kusonoki*, and other heroes of the past. Small statues of these historical personages, whose lives have ever been held up as models for the future generations to imitate, were presented on *Tango-no-sekku.* These gifts were made in priceless lacquer, and metal work, and were many of them beautifully-finished specimens—the work of armourers and lacists. Swords, spears, bows and arrows, and all kinds of weapons of warfare were among the traditional gifts from parents and guardians, cherished and preserved after the day was over; these treasures were placed in the godowns, or fire-proof houses, and often handed on from one generation of children to another, as priceless family heirlooms.

Besides all these preparations in the homes, decorations were displayed outside. These chiefly consisted of *nabori*, certain flags only raised on festival days. The nabori were white, and names of the *kami*, or household deities were written upon them, or else they were used as prayer offerings, to convey and embody the dearest wishes of each young man's heart. Their presence marked where the young patriots resided. Bundles of the sweet *ayame* were also fixed up in the enclosures round the homes, and a long staff of bamboo was erected, from which was suspended a hollow paper fish; this fish was the *koi*, or carp, which became inflated in the wind, and swung hither and thither: from the mouth of the *koi*, a *nobori*, or paper flag streamed down. The carp signified an heir had been born in the house—a likely young *samurai* or fighting man of the future, sons always being regarded as certain to embrace a military career. The carp as previously stated in the pages of this Journal, is an emblem of perseverance and courage. This idea is of Chinese origin from the Legend of the Dragon Carp which swam against the stream, and succeeded in passing the *Sung Men*, or the Dragon Gate rapids, became a dragon fish, and after living a thousand years, ascended to the skies.

* James L. Bowes, "Pottery," chap. on Festivals.

From *Tango-no-sekku* dated the early summer weather, the warm wadded winter clothes were usually then discarded for lighter garments of cotton, or silk, and if boys had reached the prescribed age to wear the *hakama*, or loose flowing trousers, worn by the *samurai*, they were privileged to don them for the first time on this occasion.

It has been stated on good authority that the last sad calamity that happened in Japan, the terrible seismic wave, which wrought unprecedented destruction, occurred while the Japanese were celebrating *Tango-no-sekku*, for in the villages along the northern coast, they still keep to the dates of the old calendar. At 8.30 p.m. children of all ages were rejoicing in the day's festivities, that had been provided for them by their relations and guardians. At 8.35 p.m. 30,000 souls had perished—a few minutes before in the quiet of the evening hour, boats were dancing lightly over the waves, fields of grain were rippling in the breeze that had set in after a misty rain, hundreds of children were rejoicing in innocent and useful pleasure. Then came a roar, a thud, a panic, a peril too swift to be outdone, a struggling sea of humanity, a mighty wail of agony at a power let loose, against which Heaven has never yet permitted us to interfere: one of those moments in which we *feel* the awful presence of a supernatural force too great and strong for frail humanity to face!

Since Japan has come to the fore, stirring events have followed one upon another in rapid succession. That it has ever been a land visited by the terrible ravages of earthquakes and volcanic actions, is widely known to all who have studied the least about it. Rich in minerals, and hot mineral springs which bubble up everywhere in the vicinity of its eruptive mountains, these earth tremblings are not to be wondered at. From observances chronicled by Humbolt, Kaempfer, Xavier, and other early travellers, we have learnt how often beautiful tracts of land, shore, and water, have been disfigured, or entirely disappeared in a single day. The legends of the land into which these phenomenons are frequently introduced with effect, are after all not so fanciful as we have been inclined to regard them. Typhoons are not so frequent as earthquakes, but none the less to be feared, for they play, at certain seasons, sorry havoc along the north and south coast of Japan. But history has recorded how once the land was saved from the invasion of the Mongol Tartars, through the sudden fury and intervention of the elements, the enemy's fleet being entirely disabled in a typhoon, or wind and water storm.

The late Seismic waves which struck the coast three times were according to some reports due to volcanic action under the sea. These waves raced from 60 to 70 miles along the shore from *Sendai* to *Aomori*. Between these two places there are many small islands, and the coast line is jagged, like the teeth of a saw. *Kamashi*, one of the most populated places between those above named, is celebrated for its iron, and iron ore deposits. This iron is the finest known in the island, it is used to make lovely sword ornaments, incense burners, vases, bowls, and other specialities with which we are now well acquainted. Many of these gems of art are produced by the industrious population that crowd in the seaboard villages of these parts. That so terrible a calamity should have happened, on one of

the most general and popular festival days, to which these hardworking industrious people looked forward with joyful anticipation, is extremely distressing. The suddenness of the catastrophe, coming while all things were going on as usual, prevented many useful lives being saved. While the fisher-folk were pursuing their trade in distant waters, they were not cognisant of any unusual disaster, and not until well within sight of the shore, returning to participate in the day's rejoicings, did they fully realize that everything sacred and dear to them had been snatched away by the fury of one wild tide.

A touching incident is recorded to show the spirit of the age. A young soldier on the alert for the safety of his country, mistaking the roar of the waves and the sudden commotion for the approach of some neighbouring foe rushed to the sea-front sword in hand. After the disaster his body was found mutilated by the unconquerable enemy, bruised all over by the stones cast up by the tides—but his dead hands still tenaciously grasped his trusty and beloved weapon of defence. The lesson of *Tango-no-sekku* had indeed sunk deep into his soul.

CURIOSITIES OF CERTAIN HEBREW PROPER NAMES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By the Rev. Dr. Chotzner.

Shakespeare, in one of his plays, puts into the mouth of one of his *dramatis personæ* the interrogatory words: What's in a name? indicating thereby that he failed to see in a common proper name anything that is remarkable and striking, or, in fact, any relation between it, and the person by whom it is borne. Yet, there are names to be found here and there in Shakespeare's works, which have evidently some bearing upon their possessors' mental and physical disposition, inasmuch as they seem to contain some hidden allusion to the latter. So, for example, in the dialogue between *King Richard* and *Gaunt* (in 2 Richard II., Act 2), we hear the former saying:

> "What comfort man?
> How is't with aged Gaunt?
> *Gaunt.* Oh, how that name befits my composition!
> Old Gaunt indeed, and *gaunt* in being old!"

A similar fitting remark on the same John of Gaunt is made by Falstaff in 2 *Henry IV.*, Act 1, where he says:—"I told John a Gaunt he beat his own name; for you might have thrust him and his apparel into an eel-skin."

In Greek literature, too, several names occur, which are even more striking, inasmuch as they foreshadow or anticipate, as it were, the future fate, and sometimes also the mental or physical disposition of their bearers. The following two examples, selected from a fair number in existence, will suffice to illustrate this assertion. After the chorus (in Æsch. Agam., 671) had mentioned Helen, the following passage occurs:—

Ἑλέναυς, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις, where the play on words lies evidently in Ἑλένη and ἑλέναυς. *Browning*, in his translation, endeavours to preserve this play on words by rendering the original Greek as follows—"Ship's-Hell, Man's-Hell, City's Hell." We also find in Eur. Bacch., 508, that, when Dionysus asks Penteus his name, and he replies:—

Πενθεύς, Ἀγαυης πᾶις, πατρὸς δ' Ἐχιόνος, the former makes the following remark:—Ἐνδυστυχῆοσι τὀὐνομ' ἐπιπηδεῖος εἰ, which means to say, that his name was fully appropriate to his luckless position.

Equally striking are certain Hebrew proper names found in the Old Testament, which seem to have characteristics similar to the few Greek proper names just quoted. Already in the first few chapters of Genesis several proper names occur, which have a marked signification. So, for instance, in the name of the first man *Adam* = אדם, from אדמה, the earth, the bearer's final destiny on earth seems to have been foreshadowed, or predicted. At a subsequent period in Adam's life, this hidden allusion to his future fate is made more clear by the words: "For *dust* art thou, and unto *dust* shalt thou return" (Gen. ii. 19). Something similar is noticeable in connection with the first woman, *Eve*. At first she was called in the second chapter of Genesis "Ishah" (אשה, from איש) "because she was taken out of man," but at a subsequent period of her existence, after she had tasted of the "tree of knowledge," her former name was changed into חוה = Eve (from חי "living"), which is evidently a name with a purpose, as she was then destined to become "the mother of all living." In the name

of one of her sons, Abel (הבל = "breath," "nothingness"), a prophetic prediction of the unexpected brief earthly career of its bearer seems to have been expressed, and the names of the descendants of her second son *Cain*, viz. *Jabal*, *Jubal* and *Tubal* (יבל, יובל, תובל) indicated the latter's actual occupation in their grown up state.

At a later period in Biblical times, we meet with the names *Noah* (נח = "rest," or "comfort"), *Abram* (אב־רם = "the exalted father"), and *Sarah* (שרה = "the princess"), and it is interesting to notice how these names foretold in a striking manner the future useful activity and disposition of their owners. There are three more proper names in the Pentateuch, which belong to the same category, viz. *Korah*, *Balaam*, and *Balak*. Korah signifies in the original Hebrew "coldness," or figuratively speaking, "coolness," and the owner of that name took it coolly indeed, when he brought about a rebellion against Moses' divinely instituted authority, without minding in the least its future evil effects.

The same proper name has also another meaning in Hebrew, viz. "baldness," and it is curious to learn that that name has once supplied to some ardent followers of the Church of Rome a ready handle to banter *Calvin* (Lat. Calvus, Calvinus = bald) as being homonymous with his predecessor (קרח) in schism. (Comp. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *sub* Korah.)

As regards the names Balaam and Balak, we find that some of the old Jewish and Christian commentators on the Bible have already detected in them some meaning and signification. In the name Balaam (בלע-עם) the latter saw the future "devourer," or "destroyer of the people," and Balak (בלק) appeared to them to express "worldlessness," or "incompetence." Thus both appellations seem to correspond with the subsequent cowardly proceedings against the Jewish people on the part of their bearers.

To the aforementioned names may be added *Achan* or *Achar* (עכר) (1 Chron. ii. 7), which means "to cause trouble," and *Machlon* and *Chillion* (מחלון, כליון) "the sick, the perishing," and while we know from the Bible that the former has really done a great deal of harm to many members of his race, we learn from the same source that the latter died unexpectedly in the prime of life owing to a weak constitution.

Similarly interesting is the name *David* (דוד), which means "the beloved one," or "the friend," and was given to the child that subsequently became the sweet singer of Israel. That David in after life really turned out to be what his name had indicated, is sufficiently known to those who are fully acquainted with his biography. In connection with the bearer of this name a play on words may be mentioned here, which seems to have hitherto been overlooked by students of the Bible. When the weak-minded King *Saul*, who hated David ever since his victory over the chief of the Philistines, had one day missed his presence at the royal table, he asked his son *Jonathan*, David's intimate friend:—"Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat?" (אל הלחם). Thereupon Jonathan answered and said with some hidden sarcasm:—"David has earnestly asked leave of me to go to Beth-lehem" (בית לחם). By this play on words Jonathan seems to have intended to tell his irritated royal parent, that David had, indeed,

a home of his own where there was plenty of food (לחם) in readiness for him, and he could readily dispense with that offered him at the king's palace, wherein his life was, moreover, in constant danger.

Speaking of play on words, it may be mentioned here that there are two more to be found in the Bible, which refer to proper names, viz. בתי אכזיב לאכזב "The houses of *Achzib* (from כזב) shall be a *lie*" (Michah i. 14), and עקרון תעקר, "*Ekron* (from עקר) shall be *destroyed*" (Zeph. ii. 5). It is curious to notice that the idol, or sham-god, which the inhabitants of the latter used to worship, was ignominiously called in the Bible "*Baal-Zebub*"—"the Lord of Flies." It is related in 2 Kings i. 2, not without a slight touch of irony, that King *Ahazia* had sent messengers to this impotent deity to inquire about the issue of his protracted illness.

Finally there are four more proper names in the Bible, which have seemingly foretold the future characteristics of their respective possessors. These are—King *Solomon* (שלמה), being a name which signifies "peace"; *Malachi* (מלאכי) "My Messenger," the future Jewish Prophet; and *Ezra* (עזרא, "The helper"), and *Nehemia* (נחמיה, "God's comforter"). The bearers of the two latter names are well-known in Biblical history as having accomplished many useful deeds in connection with their leading back to Palestine the bulk of the Jewish exiles from the Babylonian captivity.

There are also a few female proper names mentioned in the Bible, which have characteristics similar to some previously quoted male proper names. In addition to the names of Eve and Sarah, to which some short reference has already been made before, there is the name *Miriam* (מרים, "their rebellion"), which tells the tale of her and her brother Aaron's rebellion against Moses on the occasion of his marrying the Cushite woman. Jacob's only daughter was called *Dinah* (דינה, from דין "judgment"), and that name seems to have foreshadowed the owner's future fate, or rather her subsequent well-deserved punishment for having foolishly moved about the country unprotected. *Deborah* (דבורה "the bee") had, in conjunction with *Barak* (ברק, "the lightening") quickly and effectively caused the enemies of her race to feel her stings in the great battle that she had fought against them. Another Biblical heroine, *Hannah* (חנה, from חון "to pray," or חנן "to be favoured"), has in after life really been greatly favoured by Providence by means of her devout prayers and supplication. She saw her most ardent desire in life fulfilled, inasmuch as she bore a long-wished-for-son, who, moreover, became subsequently a Prophet of great fame and renown.

In conclusion, a passing reference shall be made here to one of *Job's* most beautiful daughters. She was called *Keren-ha-puch* (קרן הפוך) which term means "a horn of cosmetics," and is somewhat akin to the word φύχος and *fucus* of the classics. It is of little importance to us to know whether the bearer of that name had really in after life any recourse to the use of cosmetics to embellish therewith her own person. But the name in itself is one of the many existing curious instances, which show that names were given in Biblical times to persons of both sexes, which seem to have foreshadowed their bearers' future destination or disposition in life.

ABYSSINIA AND THE ABYSSINIANS.

By E. de Leon, late U.S. Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent in Egypt, and others.*

1. "Unpublished narratives of American officers and captives, connected with the Egyptian Campaign in 1876."

2. "De Casson's Cradle of the Blue Nile: A Visit to the Court of King John of Abyssinia, in 1873."

3. "The Mission of Admiral Hewett and Mason Bey, Governor of Massowah, in 1884."

4. "The Italians in Africa," by His Exc. Ruggiero Bonghi. 1891.

5. "Une Expédition avec le Négous Ménélik in 1894-5," by J. G. Vanderheym.

Just as very few are familiar with the fact that Egypt was once a Christian kingdom, for 259 years ending A.D. 640, so there are fewer still, outside the circle of Missionary enterprise, who know or care aught for the existing Christian Empire of Abyssinia, beyond its more recent political record. Yet Abyssinia has been Christian for centuries; and its late King Johannes who greatly enlarged its boundaries and extended its influence in Central Africa, bore, like some European monarchs, the title of "Defender of the Faith"—most dear to the kings of Abyssinia.

The Christian period of Egypt, comparatively short in duration and unimportant in influencing neighbouring tribes or communities, ended in the Arab conquest under Amru which left but few vestiges of Christians or Christianity. To-day, a small Coptic community in Cairo—respected more for the intelligence of its members, the chief accountants and clerks of the Administration, than for their numbers or influence—and a few more scattered over various villages, alone attest the antiquity of Christianity in Egypt. But Abyssinia—the ancient Ethiopia—claiming to possess the primitive Christianity and boasting of preserving the relics of St. Mark the Evangelist, has ever held fast to Christianity,—even though disfiguring it with strange superstitions, distorting it with fierce fanaticism, and showing even sterner savagery than animated the old Crusaders, with whom hatred to the heathen was equivalent to love of God.

Three great mountain chains forming a triangle, with its base resting on the Abai and the Kawash, and its apex at Massowah on the Red Sea, are the boundaries of an immense elevated plateau, upheaved by volcanic action from the sultry plains of tropical Africa, but blessed with a climate as fresh and healthy as any in Europe. Indeed, the table-lands of Abyssinia, bounded on the North and West by the arid deserts of the Soudan, on the South by the country of the ferocious Gallas, and on the

* We have delayed publishing this interesting account sent to us in June, 1891, in the hope, since partially fulfilled, that we might be able to complete it with (a) an account of the Italian occupation of Erythrea from the Italian stand-point supplied to us by the late Sig. R. Bonghi, (b) with that of the leader of the Russian expedition (in which expectation we have been disappointed), and now with (c) one from the Abyssínian side in connection with Mr. Vanderheym's recent publication on the present Negus Menelik II.—Ed.

East by Debeni, Adal, and the great salt plains of Arrhoo, may be likened to some rocky island rising in the midst of the Ocean, rich with verdant plains, bubbling streams and shady woods, but seldom visited by the Mariner, owing to its isolated position and the terrible cliffs by which it is surrounded. Very seldom do the natives of the Abyssinian plateau venture down into the fever-stricken plains, where dwell their hereditary enemies, the Mahometans and the pagan Gallas. Nor, except when led to a profitable and pious invasion of "Habash," do the people of the low countries often penetrate the wild passes of the Abyssinian Mountains. It happens, therefore, that from whichever side the traveller approaches Abyssinia, he can glean but little information from the natives concerning the country beyond the mighty wall of mountains which rise before him, as if to bar his path.

This description given by a recent traveller Capt. De Cosson of the British Army, who went to Abyssinia to hunt the hippopotamus in 1873 and spent several months there, is confirmed by the reports of the American Officers connected with the last Egyptian expedition. It will serve to disabuse the minds of most people, as to the real character of the country, which, because it is in Africa, is generally regarded as made up of marshy jungle or sandy desert—the home of malarial fevers and serpents.

To gain the interior of Abyssinia and survey the wide domain of the "King of Kings," an elevation of 5,000 feet above the sea-level must be slowly and painfully attained, over mountain paths, which it would be over-courteous to call roads. Then again, to quote De Cosson,

"the traveller will see great table-lands of level and verdant plains, extending far as the eye can reach, ending abruptly in a perpendicular precipice, girding with a wall of stone fertile valleys a thousand feet below. Rising from these elevated table-lands, the traveller will see lofty ranges of granite mountains, that vie with the Alps, and when he looks at the thousands of torrents, that in the wet season pour down from all these mountains, cutting their way through the rich earth of the valleys, and flooding the Abai and Athara rivers, he will know the secret of the inundations of the Nile and of the fertility of Egypt."

Capt. De Cosson speaks truly here. Abyssinia may well be termed the wet-nurse of Egypt; whose life is in the Nile; for the Nile is supplied annually, as he states, from this source, both with the water and the sediments which enrich its delta and its banks in remote Egypt, and make her one of the great granaries of the earth. Abyssinian kings, before Johannes, have loudly and frequently sworn in their wrath at Egyptian aggression, that they would cut off this supply; but the task is far beyond their power and knowledge.

Yet admitting the possibility of such an engineering feat, the fertility of the soil and wealth of the two populations would be immediately reversed; and Pharoah's lean kine would again eat up the fatness of Egypt.

Hence it was that the Khedive Ismail—than whom no man knew better what concerned Egypt—when taxed with the desire of annexing a large portion of Abyssinia responded (in the presence of the present writer) that as Nature was already annually sending him down the best part of Abyssinia —*minus* its intractable people,—he certainly had no desire for the worthless residue. There was some truth, as well as sound judgment, in this remark; but, like Charles II., Ismail was a man

"Who never said a foolish thing,
And seldom did a wise one;"—

and among his most signal follies were his three disastrous expeditions to Abyssinia.

General Loring, an old U.S. officer, who served in Mexico where he left an arm, and who was also connected with Abyssinian expeditions, informed the writer that he was much impressed by the general resemblance of that country to Mexico, though, as far as he and the army were able to penetrate, having less majestic mountains and feebler vegetation. He said, that proceeding inland thirty or forty miles from the coast, one reaches plateaux 2,000 feet high, and enjoys one of the most bright and salubrious climates in the world—clear and sunny in winter, and in summer refreshed by constant rains. From June to October there are several varieties of climate every day; the morning breaks fine and sunshiny; at mid-day it becomes cloudy; two hours later the rain falls in torrents; then follows a cloudless sunset, succeeded by a clear night, the heavens studded with stars,—often both the North Star and the Southern Cross being plainly perceptible at the same time. The continual rains so temper the heat as to make the summer solstice as endurable as the spring season. Hence the table-lands of Abyssinia, though lying in the midst of a burning region, are both temperate and healthy, all the year round.

The low valleys produce corn: *teff* (a small grain much prized by the natives), indigo, *dourah* or maize. Barley, wheat, flax, *etc.*, grow on the more elevated plateaux. The vine and most other fruit and vegetables can also be cultivated with little trouble, though less attention is paid to such culture by this restless and nomadic race than to the raising of flocks and herds on the old Abrahamic system. They have enormous herds of cattle and sheep, yet subsist chiefly on *teff* and *dourah*, crops easily raised. Good cotton lands are to be found between the Athara river and the Blue Nile. Dr. Johnson's "happy valley" of Rasselas has not been reached by any modern explorer; and a visit to the other valleys of that region exhibits quite a different style of living from that which the grim old lexicographer "evolved from his inner consciousness."

The Abyssinians trace the origin of their empire to the days of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba's visit to him; and their line of kings to the joint issue of those two potentates. Their religion exhibits a strange mixture of Judaism and Christianity; a great pride of race and religion animates this singular people whose monarch bears the haughty title of "King of Kings"; and they consider themselves not only the peers, but even the superiors of all the rest of mankind.

The earliest history of Ethiopia is lost in the mists of tradition. Homer's reference to the "blameless Ethiopians" proves the character they had already established among the cultivated Greeks; but if the appellation was then correct their habits and customs must have changed greatly since the days of the blind Bard. We know little about the country except its conversion to Christianity in the ivth century, by Frumentius, sent for that purpose by the Patriarch of Alexandria. In the 6th century, Abyssinia extended her sway over the Red Sea Coast and Yemen or Arabia; and the Byzantine chroniclers often mention King Kaleb, the friend and ally of Justinius. This monarch, tired of victory and power, set the example

afterwards followed by Charles V., and resigning the Abyssinian throne, he retired to a monastery on the summit of a high mountain, where he dressed and lived as a monk and died in the odour of sanctity. Half a century later, the Persians invaded the Abyssinians in Arabia, slaying all they found and effectively eradicating all trace of Christian domination in Arabia.

In the xth century, Judith, daughter of Gideon, King of the Falashes—a Jewess, caused all the members of the family descended from the line of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba to be massacred: only one escaped and perpetuated the royal line. Judith and five of her descendants reigned over Abyssinia till the restoration of the line of Solomon, three centuries later. Besides internal dissensions, there have, of course, been perpetual feuds and wars with their Mussulman and pagan neighbours; and her kings and people have vindicated a claim to being "Defenders of the faith" by a fierce and bloody fanaticism compared with which that of the Turk is tame and gentle.

We next hear of Abyssinia in the xvth century, through the Portuguese, who were the most daring and adventurous travellers and explorers in the world. Peter, Prince of Portugal, when on a visit to Venice, obtained a narrative written by Paulus Venetus, wherein he speaks of a wonderful Christian prince called *Prester John*, reigning in Asia,—the most powerful and wealthy emperor in the world, looked upon by many as a second Pope. Inflamed by this account, the Portuguese king fitted out an expedition to find the empire of Prester John, selecting for that task two men—Pedro Corilham and Alfonso Payva—skilled in Eastern languages, and who were to seek this Christian prince and make a treaty with him. For years the Ambassadors wandered through Egypt and India, in various directions, but found no Prester John. At length, Corilham was left to make the search alone; and early in the year 1400, being then in the Red Sea, he heard of "a most potent Christian King of Ethiopia, who used to carry the Cross in his hands, and whose subjects favoured, if they did not follow, Christianity." So Corilham wrote to the King of Portugal, that he had at last found Prester John, whose people were called Abyssinians, and that he would proceed without delay to his court. The intrepid explorer did penetrate into Abyssinia, where he was detained by the king or chief who ruled there at the time; and no further results sprang from his visit except that, long after, an Abyssinian king, hardly pressed by his enemies, sent for and obtained aid from Emanuel of Portugal. Four hundred and fifty Portuguese, with their matchlocks, headed by Don Cristobol de Gama, in 1543, routed a host of native warriors, and reinstated the king on his throne. The little band settled there, having been provided with lands, houses, and mules; and they instructed the natives in useful arts. The ruins of the fine palace at Gondar still remain, as well as the cathedral at Axum, bridges over rivers, and many buildings. But on the death of the king whom they had befriended, his successor confiscated their lands; and the jealousy of the native priests having been excited, the Portuguese colonists were either massacred, sold into slavery or driven out of the country. Their return to Abyssinia was forbidden by special decree, just 150 years after their first colonization. After this experiment, the

Abyssinians closed their country against foreigners, and for more than two centuries it was unvisited,

The well-known explorations of Bruce were not made until 1771; and from him (until very recently) most of our information as to Abyssinia was derived. More recent explorers confirm Bruce's statements; and neither the country nor the people seem greatly to have changed since his visit, a century ago.

It was the English Expedition against King Theodorus, in 1867, that opened out the country and let in some light on its dark places. Great was the surprise of Christendom which had previously classed the Abyssinians among other savage and warring tribes, leading a nomadic existence in the deserts and jungles of Africa, where the climate and wild beasts dispute with equally savage men the entrance and egress of the foreigner and repel the onward march of civilization. If that expedition did little beyond inspiring a terror and respect for English prowess and power among the wild dwellers on the almost inaccessible mountain heights of Abyssinia, it certainly accomplished this much: it gave an impulse to that country and its people, which nothing less violent could have effected. They learned the infinite superiority of the civilized modes and appliances of murder on a large scale—termed war—over their own barbarous old methods. Their teachers, moreover, left their tools behind them, as a gift to the native Prince who had made himself their ally and had materially assisted in the overthrow and destruction of King Theodorus.

This chieftain, Kassai of the Province of Tigré, also claimed descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; and he was, therefore, in the line of succession to the throne of what there remained of ancient Ethiopia or modern Abyssinia.

Supported by the potent arguments of English repeating rifles and artillery, he was soon able to convince all rival claimants and people at large of the legitimacy of his title; and after many bloody battles and the banishment of refractory chieftains to the remote mountain tops—which serve as State prisons—he assumed the style and title of "Johannes, King of Kings"; he annexed all the provinces lying contiguous or convenient; and constituted or consolidated an Empire, over which he ruled absolutely for many years, with a population roughly estimated at 5,000,000.

The boundaries of ancient Abyssinia embraced the shores of the Red Sea, and extended to 7° N. latitude. Those of the modern Kingdom are far more restricted—"Habash" as they now call it—comprising the provinces of Tigré, Ambara and Shoa, with several other small ones, subdivided into semi-independent communities under the rule of different chieftains,—all, however, acknowledged the paramount authority of Johannes. The Christian element preponderates; yet there are also many Jews, Mahometans, fire-worshippers and pagans. It may be said generally, that although all these princes and people owe nominal allegiance to the great "Negus" or King, he has frequently to enforce his authority by arms on both; except when a religious war, such as that with Egypt, is proclaimed—and then all the Christian subjects of the Negus throng eagerly to his standard, accompanied by their priests, who, like

those of the Middle Ages, are far more men of war than men of peace; inflaming almost to madness the fanatical frenzy of the people, and even leading them on in the battle-field.

The boundaries as well as the mutual relations between Egypt and Abyssinia have always been of the vaguest and most unsatisfactory description. When, however, Johannes had become master of Ambara, Shoa and other provinces in addition to his native Tigré and had been crowned Emperor in 1872, with a following (it was said) of 150,000 warriors of whom 30,000 were cavalry, and when on the other hand, Ismail Khedive, having seized Darfur in 1874 had also taken possession of the Soudan, the question of the boundaries became acute and the relations strained. We cannot tell which was the lamb and which the wolf. The arbitrament of the sword ended unfavourably to Egypt, which then tried the intermediation of General Gordon. He might have succeeded in getting a respite for Egypt by the cession of some Red Sea port, other than Massowah; but the position of the two powers had been reversed. Egypt, once the aggressor and invader was now the suppliant, and one of her own Red Sea ports was in danger besides the provinces they had annexed. For, like a disturbed swarm of irritated wasps, the Abyssinians poured and massacred Munzinger Pasha, the Governor, with 2,000 followers, —King Johannes personally leading the assault.

In revenge, Ismail Khedive, in 1875, sent into the disputed territory, 2,000 well armed soldiers under Col. Arendrup—a Danish officer in his service. Decoyed into an ambuscade, Arendrup and his force were massacred, and their bleaching bones were seen lying unburied in the valleys, by the next expedition into Abyssinia. With Arendrup perished one of the ablest of the rising generation of Egyptian statesmen—Arabel Bey, nephew of Nubar Pasha and Governor of Massowah,—a young man of great promise.

Still more exasperated by these reverses, the Khedive, in December, 1875, sent against Abyssinia a yet larger expedition, consisting (as far as can be ascertained) of 20,000 fully armed and equipped under his General-in-chief, Ratib Bey, a Turk. With him went the Khedive's son (Hassan Pasha, now dead) with a staff of American officers for advice and aid,—General Loring (also deceased) being the Chief. The ignorance, obstinacy and jealousy of the native officers, however, absolutely prevented the Americans from doing anything, until, almost at the last extremity, they had to rescue the army from the situation into which native incapacity had brought it. Compared with the Abyssinians, the Egyptians, both officers and men, were as sheep to wolves; and only behind strong entrenchments could the latter make any head against the former.

The testimony of two Americans, Dr. L. D. Johnson and Professor Mitchell, prisoners in Abyssinia, as well as the experiences of General Gordon, Admiral Hewett and Mason Bey throw much light on King Johannes, on Abyssinia and on the Abyssinians.

Dr. Johnson, who was captured on 7th March 1876, with a detachment of several hundred men, (most of whom were murdered in cold blood, or mutilated and sent back as warnings to others) was more than six weeks

a prisoner in the tent of a *Ras*, or chieftain, in high favour with the king. His life was spared, and his liberty finally given him, without ransom, from his being considered a Christian, and "an Englishman,"—"American" being a word not in their vocabulary. He had almost forfeited his claims to consideration, by asking for meat during Lent, which was most strictly observed by the pious warriors, who amused themselves, under his windows, by spearing their helpless Egyptian captives.

After Lent, Dr. Johnson was given meat, raw or cooked, as he preferred —the Abyssinians preferring the uncooked flesh. Summoned one day to the tent of King Johannes, the Doctor enjoyed an interview with him. He described him as a man of middle age, in full vigour of manhood, of a sullen and apathetic countenance, of dark colour, but many shades lighter than a negro. His features were high, his nose aquiline, with nothing of the African type in his oval face or in his thin compressed lips. His manner was reserved; his speech slow and hesitating. He wore a long cotton cloth, with a red band running through the centre, much in the fashion of a Roman toga. He had no covering on his head or feet,—shoes and stockings being unknown luxuries in Abyssinia. His tent differed from that of the other chieftans, only in being larger; and having an adjoining tent for women. The King squatted on a mat, and a tame lioness with her cubs, gambolled playfully before him—the lion being their symbol of royalty. When De Cosson saw him, the lions were present at the interview. There were many women, as well as men crowded into the tent and outside; the captive "Ingleeze" being an object of great curiosity. The king was one of the finest specimens of a fine race,—a splendid rider, a good shot, and able to throw his lance further than any of his people;—such gifts being the most highly prized among the rude race he ruled. Dr. Johnson says, that never in his life, was he more closely catechised, than on this occasion and the subsequent interview.

After expressing his surprise, that he, a Christian and an "Ingleeze," should have been fighting on the side of "the Turks" instead of on that of his Christian brethren, the King questioned him closely as to the force and movements of the Egyptian army.

The captive parried the first thrust by declaring that he had not come to fight at all, but to practise his profession of surgery, as he was a "*Hakim*" (physician) and attended to the wounded on both sides. The King then proposed, that he should remain in his service, and he would make him Governor of a Province. The Doctor declined this offer, on the pretext of an imaginary wife and children at home. Finally the King asked, whether he would undertake, if liberated, to convey a letter from him to his "sister," Queen Victoria, without the knowledge of the Khedive? On the doctor's promising to fulfil this mission, Johannes declared that he would write the letter, and send him to Massowah, whence he could proceed to England. Doctor Johnson was told by the Interpreters (of whom the King had several speaking English) that the priests had prepared a letter appealing to the British Queen against the Khedive's acts, but that they could not conquer Johannes' indolence or suspicious nature, sufficiently to induce him to sign and despatch it. A similar

experience occurred to De Cosson. Dr. Johnson was included in an exchange of prisoners, and heard nothing further from the King.

Captain Deerholtz—a Swiss in the Khedive's service, captured at the same time,—fared far worse, and was most brutally treated, his wounds being shamefully neglected. The latest American captive, the geologist, Michell, who was seized while making scientific researches, unconnected with any armed expedition, was also outrageously maltreated in every way, with the King's cognizance, and was happy to escape with his life, after such sufferings as few would have survived. Yet this savage King has found not only admirers but eulogists in some of his foreign visitors—notably in De Cosson and in Capt. Gerard, a French officer and explorer. I give a translation from M. Gerard's letter, containing an account of an interview between himself and Nubar Pasha, on the subject of Abyssinia and its King:

"Returning to Egypt, in November, 1869, after having explored the whole of Tigré, I was presented by M. de Lesseps to Nubar Pach, then all-powerful in Egypt. This able Statesman took a lively interest in questioning me and hearing my impressions of travel. Two long interviews sufficed to empty my budget. Nubar Pasha proposed giving me command of an expeditionary force of several battalions, with cavalry and artillery, that I might, in the name of the Khedive, take possession of Bogos and the Province of Hamassero. 'As an old French officer, with your knowledge of the country,' he said, 'this will be easy for you—for you who have had experience in the wars of the Kabyles, of the Crimea and of Italy. You have also seen the English struggle with Theodorus and are the very man we need. Accept this command, and everything necessary shall be placed at your disposal; for this purpose Egypt will recoil from no efforts, and from no expense.' 'Excellency,' I replied, 'what you propose is impossible. I know too well the valour of the Abyssinians, entrenched in their mountain fastnesses, to make such an attempt, with ten times their numbers. Abyssinia can only be subdued by civilizing her people.' The Minister did not seem to relish my counsels and turned to other advisers, chiefly to Munzinger Pacha (who perished in Abyssinia), to the Bishop of the Lazzarists, and finally to Gordon Pacha, whose counsels and acts led to the existing complication, and slaughter of many thousands of Egyptians, sent to subdue these fierce mountaineers."

Mr. Gerard thus describes Johannes,

"The Negus of Ethiopia is a man of great strength of body, and energy of mind, as well as force of will. He is about forty years of age, of middle height, but sinewy and muscular; with most aristocratic hands and feet, although, like his subjects, he marches with bare feet, placing only his great toe in the stirrup, when on horseback, in Abyssinian fashion. His face is oval, with high forehead, large restless eyes, an aquiline nose and wide mouth. His skin is not black, but of a dark olive tint; his hair plaited in an infinite number of small tresses, carefully knotted together at the nape of the neck with a silken cord. He looks more like a Greek or Portuguese than an African. In anger his eyes blaze like burning coals. In speech he is brief, clear and persuasive. I passed three weeks with him at Adowa then (1868) his capital, and therefore draw his portrait from nature. Naturally pious and disinclined to cruelty, with instruction and other surroundings, he would have made an accomplished prince."

Like the Egyptian military operations, the pacific mission of Genl. Gordon, undertaken with his usual reckless disregard of his personal safety, was without any practical result. For several weeks he was virtually a prisoner, although subjected to no hardships or cruelties. We in Egypt felt much apprehension for his fate; but he was finally allowed to depart in peace: it is doubtful whether he was ever allowed to see the King.

More imposing was the mission of Admiral Hewett, whose premature death deprived his country of a most valuable officer, and of Mason Bey, the accomplished American, whose zeal and ability in the Khedive's service, for many years in various high positions, entitled him to a gratitude and recompense, which he has not received—having on the contrary, been set aside for inferior men. But the only success gained was in deterring Johannes from the violent seizure of the Red Sea port he coveted. Mason Bay was, at the time, Governor of Massowah and the adjoining Provinces, which he administered with equal sagacity and courage.

But heedless of the impatience of Admiral and Governor and as though to show his distaste or distrust of their mission, the Negus kept them at Adowa, his capital, for three weeks, in a quasi-imprisonment, before he condescended to allow them to see him, though they were treated with courtesy. When however he did see them—there was no conference, for he played the mute, and barely allowed the Envoys to see the tip of his nose—swathing his head and face, as well as his body in his *shamma*, or toga, embroidered in various coloured silks, in a broad stripe down the centre of the cloth,—a badge of nobility, worn only by the King and his chieftains.

One of the members of the Embassy thus described the appearance and bearing of the King at this formal reception :

"At half-past six in the morning the reception took place, and at sunrise, the beat of the drum announced the coming of the Negus accompanied by a troop of regular horse—he himself bare-headed and bare-footed, mounted on a mule, richly caparisoned with red leather and silver. Over his head a page extended a large magenta silk umbrella—his army, 7,000 strong, huddled along after him, in admired disorder."

The palace consisted of three huts, perched up on a high hill, overlooking the town of Adowah, entered by a narrow gateway, with a signal tower above it. The entry was guarded by two 7-pounder guns, presented by the Admiral. One of the spectators says :

"Facing the entrance and against the circular wall of the hut, on a throne covered with violet satin cloth, and supported on either side by pillows of the same rich stuff, with the cross of Solomon worked in gold thereon, sat the 'Negus Negusti' and King of Zion. On his right stood a servant with a silver-handled horse-hair fly-switch, which he kept swaying to and fro to keep the flies from feeding off the butter on the Royal head. Drawn up just over the tip of his nose, and totally covering the lower part of his face and body, was the shemma or toga similar to the one given by Allula to the Admiral. The King, who was indeed all eyes and ears, scanned us each suspiciously as we approached the throne and bowed. He shook hands with Sir William Hewett and Mason Bey, this movement necessitating the partial uncovering of the body, showing the massive Order of Solomon gleaming on a gown of black silk ; but only for a moment was so much Royalty seen ; and as the Admiral and the Egyptian representatives seated themselves on cane-bottomed chairs provided for them a little distance on the left of the Throne, the toga was up to his mouth again. The Admiral soon settled down to business, and rose to present the Queen's letter, which looked a very formidable epistle as it lay in the pretty blue silk case worked by Lady Strangford. Mason Bey followed with the Khedive's letter, and Captain Speedy with that of Lord Napier of Magdala. The Ras took each letter and held them towards the King, who only bowed. They were then handed to the Chancellor, Allula.

"On issuing into the courtyard we found that all the presents had now arrived from our camp below, so the Admiral to avoid another journey resolved to deliver them at once, and again we found ourselves in the presence of the King. As servant after

servant brought in the numerous bulky presents and placed them at the feet of the Negusti a deep interest was apparent in his keen black eyes, and as the glittering plated weapons came to his view, as box after box was prised open, Johannes gradually dropped his toga from his mouth, and became visibly affected by the sincerity of a mission thus provided with such valuable arguments.

"Now placed on a better footing the King even condescended to smile his thanks, which lightened up his otherwise gloomy face, and made it quite pleasant. It is lean and wan, broad just over the brows, which are perfectly arched, deep-seated large black eyes, a nose slightly Jewish but small, and a mouth and chin showing a weakness that belie the upper part of the face. His colour is almost negro in its blackness, and was much intensified against the whiteness of the shemma."

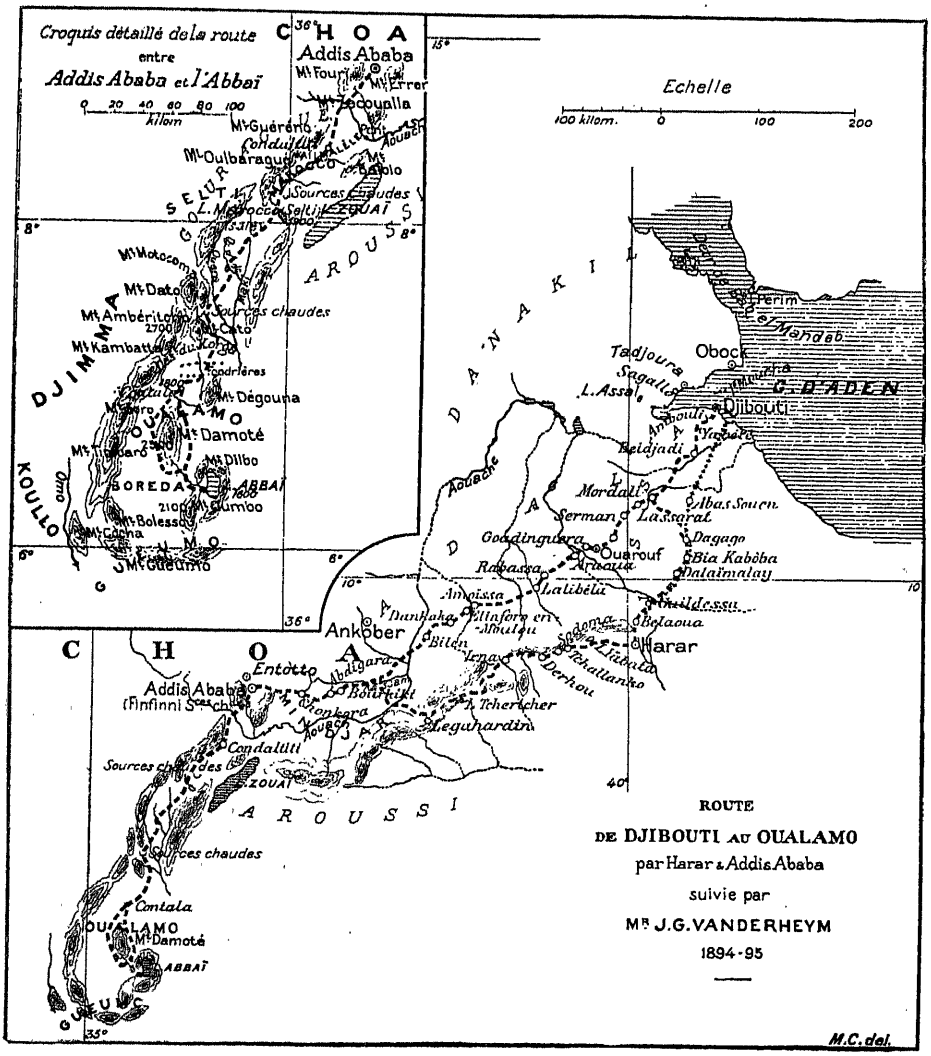
The Embassy was allowed to return home after this reception, having accomplished little by their tedious journey. The King persisted in his policy of annexation until slain in a pitch battle by the so-called Dervishes of the Soudan. No heir of his succeeded him—one of his rebellious vassals—always his rival—MENELIK of Shoa, seizing upon his vacant throne and authority, and, as far as was known was compelled to fight for the maintenance of both with rival Chieftains. A strange fate and melancholy conclusion for the King of Kings.

Doubtless his death removed a terror from Egypt and the Soudan, though not from the Italian occupation, which Johannes regarded with no favourable eye, threatening to expel these unwarranted intruders on the shore of the Red Sea, whose right to be or to remain there was only that of might on the principle enunciated by Rob Roy. To this policy succeeded Menelik and he was destined to inflict the most serious check of modern times to the advance of European troops in Africa. This was mainly due to Russian advice that still, through the traveller Leontieff, rules the situation and the relations of Abyssinia towards Italy and other European powers.

Whether the Kingdom welded together by Theodorus, Johannes and Menelik, will now be broken up by the, usually, dissolving effects of civilization on ancient barbarisms, time alone can show.

The Italian side of the question was given by our esteemed colleague, the eminent statesman, the late Signor Ruggiero Bonghi, in a most valuable paper which appeared in the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" of January 1891, pages 79 to 103. In it the transition from Johannes to the equally strong present Negus Menelik is given. His attitude was summarized in our last issue under the head of "England, Italy and Abyssinia" on page 183, whilst his reign is described in the charming volume by Mr. J. G. Vanderheym (of which we give a notice elsewhere in this Review) as "an expedition" with that ruler during a 20 months' stay in Abyssinia.

We are indebted to the eminent Publishers, the well-known HACHETTE AND CO., for the following serviceable Route-Maps that accompany the book in question.—ED.


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

DISCUSSION ON "THE MEDICAL NEEDS OF INDIA."

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Monday, July 6, 1896, at 3 p.m. The Rt. Honble. Lord REAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Surgeon Col. F. Howard, Surgeon Lt.-Col. J. Ince, M.D., Mr. R. Elliott, Dr. Duka, Rev. Dr. S. D. Bhabha, Rev. R. Wilson; Drs. A. H. Browne, Buendin, B. L. Dhingra, and Frame Gotla; Dr., Mrs. and the Misses Robb; Mrs. and Miss C. P. Drake; Miss Manning, Miss Webster; Dr. F. Roberts, Dr. Tobit; Messrs. Bhultacharji, L.R.C.P., R. D. Dalal, M.R.C.S., M. E. Pavri, L.R.C.P., G. F. Sealy, M.R.C.S., P. Atal, J. N. and Miss Bahadurji; Messrs. D. B. and N. B. Behramjee, Bezonji, M. R. Boyce, G. G. Campbell, R. F. Chisholm, H. R. Cook, C. H. Dady, R. S. Dantra, T. J. Desai, J. R. Kaderbhoy, H. S. Khalil, B. R. Mheta, M. H. Nâzar, C. Price, J. Rait, R. D. Tata, K. C. S. Varma, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

Dr. K. N. BAHADURJI read a paper on "The Medical Needs of India," which will be found elsewhere in this Review.

At the conclusion of the Lecture the CHAIRMAN made the following remarks:—Ladies and Gentlemen, while waiting for an expert to address the meeting, I shall make a few brief remarks on the subject before it, one, I need not tell you, of vital importance to India, and one in which the responsibilities of the Imperial Government are, perhaps, more engaged than in any other that I can conceive, namely, the medical needs of our Indian fellow-subjects. I shall follow the order in which Dr. Bahadurji has treated the question. With a chivalry, which I commend, he began with the medical needs of the women of India, a matter that, at the Queen's gracious initiative, has been prominently before the English Government. We are too apt to forget the pioneers in this movement. One lady especially must always be mentioned with very great respect, and that is Dr. Scharlieb, the first lady, I believe, in the Southern Presidency of Madras who started the work of Female Medical Aid. Next I shall mention a lady who in my own Presidency did work of which it is impossible to exaggerate the value, and that is Dr. Pechey Phipson. We must also not forget the Parsi gentleman who faced what was, at that time, undoubtedly a strong opposition, resulting from prejudice, and who gave large sums to start a hospital, of which the equal is hardly to be found in any other part of the world. The Cama Hospital for Women in Bombay, founded by Mr. Cama, is one of the best Institutions of the kind that I have ever seen. Lady Reay took the greatest interest in its development. The extraordinarily successful fancy fairs organised by her contributed materially to the financial resources of the Cama Hospital. Then we must

not forget the great impulse given to the nursing system in India. Nurses have come from England, but Native nurses have also been trained in India, and I shall put the training of competent Native nurses in India among one of the most valuable aids to medical relief in a country situated like India, for giving that immediate relief which we cannot as yet obtain from the number of female medical practitioners who are at present available. We cannot train female doctors as rapidly as we can train Native women for the nursing service. Since that time the hospitals which have been founded for women in Bombay, due to the great generosity of a Parsi lady, Motlibai, and of Sir Dinshaw Petit, for the diseases of women and children, are so many evidences of what has been done. I speak more especially of what has come under my own observation, but of course in other parts of India the great movement associated with Lady Dufferin's honoured name, and with the names of Lady Lansdowne and of Lady Elgin, has had equally beneficial results. With regard to the other questions mentioned in this paper, the most important certainly is the scientific equipment of the Medical Schools of India. It is quite clear that unless the Medical Schools of India are placed on the same footing as the Medical Schools in all civilised parts of the world, an injustice is done to the Medical Students in India, which must be as soon as possible removed. I am not for a moment saying that the Medical Service of India cannot produce Specialists of renown. At all events, Dr. Bahadurji himself has stated, and I have heard the statement with great satisfaction, that the two gentlemen who were appointed by me in the Medical School of Bombay, one as a Physiologist and the other as a Pathologist, have both developed as Specialists worthy of being mentioned and placed in the same category as Specialists in other Medical Schools. This has been the result of putting a stop to the system which the lecturer has criticised severely—but not too severely—of casual teaching without continuity. In the present condition of Medical Science you cannot entrust medical education in the various branches of Medical Science to men—however able—who are not Specialists. The whole tendency of Medical Science at the present moment is in the direction of greater specialisation. I am connected with the Council of University College, which has to deal with the appointment of Professors for the School of Medicine. I have been very much struck by the number of Specialists who are now required to maintain an efficient Medical School even with a minimum of Professors. I cannot leave the subject of these Medical Schools without alluding to the name of a man who has been one of the most distinguished Principals of the Bombay Medical School and who holds a foremost place in the world of Medical Science. I mean Dr. Vandyke Carter. I am specially pleased to mention him because it was with his approval that I introduced such measures as I considered necessary to strengthen the educational resources of the Medical School. There is not the slightest doubt that it will be to the advantage, not only of the Medical Students of the various Medical Schools of India, if Professorial appointments are thrown open, as they are in other faculties of the University, and given to the most eminent scientific men who are prepared to take them, but it will also be to the great advantage of Medical

Science in general. It is quite clear that the results of Medical Science obtained in one part of the world are immediately taken up in other parts, and this tends to the general advance which, I believe especially in Surgery, has been in recent years most remarkable. Of course, under the financial difficulties with which all Governments—and the various Governments in India are no exception to the rule—have to contend, it is necessary that you should utilise all available resources as the only means by which it will be possible to increase the number of efficient teachers attached to these Institutions; and I believe I am right in saying that at this moment the number of teachers, as compared with Medical Schools in Europe, is below the average. When I was in Bombay, I attempted to give relief to the Professors by the appointment of Honorary Physicians and Honorary Surgeons. That is one of the ways in which it can be done if there is a sincere desire to co-operate among those who are engaged in performing these duties and who need not trespass on each other's sphere of work in this great field. Now with regard to the very important question of the Medical Reserves for the Army. We need not enter upon a long disquisition when we have authorities such as those mentioned,—namely, Lord Wolseley, Lord Strathnairn and others. It seems admitted that it would be a very great advantage all round to have the Medical Reserves for the Army independent of the Civil branch of the Medical Service. There is no doubt that if the Assistant Surgeons receive the education to which they are entitled at the Medical Schools, their qualifications will constitute a strong claim to be employed in the Civil branch. The situation at present is, I believe, even more abnormal than the lecturer has mentioned in his paper, which naturally required to be condensed. There is, as you know, in India a Service which is called the Subordinate Medical Service, and I believe that such offices as that of House Surgeon are in some Hospitals given to members of the Subordinate Medical Service. There is not the slightest doubt that members of the Subordinate Medical Service have not had the education and are not as well qualified as the Assistant Surgeons, and there can be no reason for giving appointments to gentlemen, who have had an inferior education, at higher salaries when you can obtain gentlemen having had a better education for lower salaries. That is an anomaly which strikes me as one which could be removed without any difficulty. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I do not hesitate to admit that there *are* certain difficulties which we cannot overlook. We cannot deal with them as the gentleman who said:—"Here, my friends, we have now come to a very great difficulty; let us look it in the face and pass on." I will look it in the face and not pass on. The difficulty undoubtedly is this: Members of the Medical Service in India have received their appointments on the understanding that at certain periods of their service certain prizes would be given them. That is a very serious matter, and I am certainly not one of those who think lightly of ignoring an understanding entered into with persons who have joined the public service. I could not be a party to that. But it is quite clear that you must at once tell candidates who intend to join the Indian Medical Service that they will henceforth not have any right to appointments for which

they are not fit. Let every opportunity be given them to acquire that fitness. That is another matter. If in the Indian Medical Service gentlemen were found who either on leave or in other ways had obtained special qualifications by scientific work in the great hospitals, whether in India or in Great Britain or in any part of Europe, and had taken up a special subject, I do not think in such a case anyone would object to a member of the Service being specially selected as a Professor of that subject in one of the Indian Medical Schools. But unless a man has these special qualifications, it is quite clear that he should not be appointed to a Professorship in any faculty of a University. Reforms such as India I think has a right to claim must be introduced gradually. If we ask for a gradual improvement, we can obtain it; but we cannot ask for an immediate interference with vested interests, which are the result, as Dr. Bahadurji himself has shown, of a system which is wrong, a system which is entirely antiquated. That system, of course, will have to disappear, but we must not expect that such a reform can be carried out in a day. I claim for the appointments which I made, and which gave fixity of tenure to their incumbents, that I have shown the way in which you can mitigate the evils of the present system. That is a reform which, at all events, can be carried out at once. Let the officers who are appointed to chairs in Medical Schools understand that when once they have been appointed to their chairs they are to devote themselves wholly and entirely to the scientific discharge of their duties, and that promotion in other directions is no longer within their reach, because as Professors they have obtained the blue ribbon of their profession. Now there is one very important point left, and one on which I think there will be agreement among us, and that is the question of sanitation. There, I am bound to say, that my experience is not the same as that which seems to be that of the Government of India. The Sanitary Commissioners whom I have known did not think more of spending their time in the Hill Stations than of working on the plains. Certainly, my experience of Sanitary Commissioners has been rather, if anything—and it is greatly to their credit—that there was an excess of zeal, and that you had to remind them of the advice generally given to young diplomatists: "above all, no excess of zeal." Naturally, sanitation is extremely unpopular with the great majority of our Indian subjects, and therefore anything that is done in that direction must be done with great care so as not to make sanitation more unpopular than need be with the people of India, more especially in the rural districts. You must take care to carry the people with you in this matter. It is wonderful what can be done for sanitation in India if the people co-operate, and I do not think it is at all impossible to convince the people of the advantages to them of the sanitary measures which Government contemplate. Having said that, I am bound to pay a tribute of respect to what the Sanitary Department has done in India, especially in the great towns. If you take the sanitation of a town like the town of Bombay it is simply marvellous, and I could only wish the sanitation of several Continental towns with which I am acquainted were anything like the sanitation on which we pride ourselves in the town of Bombay. And I must add that it illustrates what I have said about the

assent of the people, because the Municipality of Bombay has willingly voted large sums for this object especially for the purpose of securing a water supply that London may well envy. Much remains to be done with regard to sanitation in India, but it is a subject on which most Indian Governments may well pride themselves as having engaged their special attention. I may mention that whilst I was in the Presidency one of the last measures I was able to carry was a Village Sanitation Act, on which Sir Raymond West spent a great deal of time and thought, and which was carried in the Legislative Council with the support of the Native members of the Council. It was an elastic and tentative measure, which took into account the prejudices of the people and aimed at obtaining their voluntary co-operation. Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think I have said enough to show that this question of the medical needs of India opens up an enormous field. In the first place, we want more Female Doctors. I quite agree with what is said in the paper that the greater their number and the more money spent in providing Lady Doctors the better. We want more hospitals for women. We want tenfold the number of nurses, both European and Native; we want the Schools and Colleges in India to be placed on such a footing that they are in every respect the equals of such Colleges and Schools in every part of the civilised world; and we want the Army Medical Department strengthened by well-qualified reserves as well as a re-organised separate Civil Medical Service. The re-organisation by correcting anomalies in the present expenditure need not entail a considerable increase of expenditure. And expenditure of this kind needs no justification, and would, I am sure, meet with the approval of the House of Commons and of the various Indian Legislative Councils as well as of the body which controls Indian finance,—the Council of the Secretary of State for India. (Applause.)

Surg.-Col. F. HOWARD:—My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, when I came to attend this lecture it was not with the intention to speak on the subject; but I cannot help saying that there is a great deal in Dr. Bahadurji's lecture which requires the serious attention of Government. I particularly want to draw attention to the authorities he has quoted, including one, the late Sir William Muir, than whom no abler man ever ruled the Army Medical Department. That officer had a very great experience in India; and if he spoke he did so after mature consideration. For a long time past the subject before us has been in the minds of the Medical Officers of both Services. The present system of passing Officers of the Medical Service from Civil to Military duty, after years of absence from the latter——sometimes 15 to 20 years—cannot be for the good of the Service. Sir Thomas Crawford, who was also quoted, was an old Director-General of the Department and a very able man, and therefore his opinions deserve consideration. The statement has been made times without number, as to the Reserves. I read not very long ago in "The Pioneer" a leading article on the very subject,—on the lesson of the Chitral Campaign. It was said that this was perfectly illusory, had signally failed, and that the medical requirements were not sufficient. This is a subject I think it is desirable to speak a few words on, because it has been written about; the

Military Papers have taken it up, and the Civil Press has taken it up; and I think that now some reform of this Service is absolutely necessary. (Applause.) I wish to add that I speak as an Officer who has now retired from the Service, but who had twenty years' Indian experience out of a total Service of thirty years. I have been in correspondence with various Officers with regard to the Administrative Service, and each and all have been unanimous that some re-construction is absolutely essential.

Dr. INCE:—My Lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I assure you that I feel almost entirely crushed after the remarks of the gentleman who introduced the subject in his able Paper. First of all, let me congratulate Dr. Bahadurji upon the manner in which he addressed us,—extempore, eloquent, clear, and correct in elocution as the last Wrangler. I am proud of him as a member of the noble profession to which we both belong. But Dr. Bahadurji has addressed you from an Indian point of view. The gentleman who last addressed you, Dr. Howard, if I am not mistaken, belongs to another branch of the Official Service, the Queen's Army, as we call it, and not the Indian Medical Service—that wretched Indian Medical Service that cannot produce a man who can teach Obstetrics, Pharmacology, Ophthalmology, and a lot of other things! Did you ever know a baby that could at once run alone? A child learns to run, to think, and to speak; and when you talk of the Indian Medical Service being incompetent to produce men who are able to fill all the different Medical appointments in India, you contradict the history of our profession in that country. The Medical Men of India have been amongst the most brilliant, not only in their own profession, but they have occupied positions of political appointments and in the highest branches of Science; and what has been done we all know can again be done. From these remarks you will infer what I unhesitatingly state, with the utmost deference to our noble Chairman, that there is no need whatever for the refinements and the sub-divisions of labour suggested and recommended in the Paper, and in those eloquent remarks of our noble Chairman. It is, no doubt, a desirable thing that every man in the British Islands should have a pony to ride. But is it necessary? I say that inasmuch as it is unnecessary for every man, woman and child to be provided with a pony in the British Isles, so it is unnecessary and (from a pecuniary point of view) undesirable that the luxuries suggested should be carried out in India. Great stress has been laid on the fact that the ordinary Indian Medical Officer does not know how to teach. Why, all he has got to do, if he is a little rusty in the subjects, is to import the latest editions of the most distinguished works, and if he has got any midnight oil or any zeal (not like the zeal of the Sanitary Commissioners, who are busy-bodies, or like the Sanitary Inspectors in this country, who are the greatest worries in this world)—(laughter)—he can gather in an hour as much as is necessary to teach for a whole year these subjects. (Laughter.) You may think that this is an exaggeration, but I assure you that it is not. It will be all very well in the future—perhaps in the 21st century—and it may be more desirable then than it is now to treat of the medical needs of India; but, at present, considering how difficult it is for us to induce the Indian Government to spare us a single

Sepoy for the Soudan or Suakim, and considering the scarcity of money, I should say it would be useless to urge, as a necessity, the propositions contained in Dr. Bahadurji's Paper. Another thing is this—and let me face it at once: Dr. Bahadurji is an Indian-taught Student. He was brought up in the Bombay College. With what result? He passed his examinations with great distinction; he came over to London almost fresh from this much-abused Bombay, or Indian, College; he goes to the London University, and comes out with honours! What more do you want?

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN:—My Lord Reay, ladies and gentlemen: the matter before you, which has been treated by the Lecturer with so much skill, is a more expert one than I care to deal with at any length, for my connection with the subject has been no more than as Secretary to Government, and for a time as the head of an Administration in which the charge of the Medical Service has naturally taken an important place. Beyond that my knowledge of the subject is limited, and I only rise as representing the East India Association to say a word of sympathy with the cause which has been advocated to-day, and to thank Dr. Bahadurji on behalf of the Association for his very clever and interesting Paper. (Hear, hear.) I would say one word which I think represents the matter rather from the general than the specialist's point of view; and I am quite sure that Lord Reay, who is distinguished for his intellectual and scientific accomplishments, and who has the interests of India much at heart, will agree with me. It is that we must give the natives of India everything that we can fairly give them with due regard to the necessary position of England in India. We want to give them of the best. It is no use to say, "This career is open to the natives of India, and that profession is open to the natives of India," unless Englishmen are prepared to give them in their own country the very best education that can be given in any civilised country to the most highly-trained students. (Loud applause.) This, I say, is a general question. It applies to-day, and in the mouth of Dr. Bahadurji, to Medicine, but it applies equally to subjects like Engineering, Chemistry, Geology, Forestry, and all great departments of scientific education, in which the natives of India, I am perfectly certain, from my own experience, will be in no way inferior to the men of any country in Europe. I would give them freer opportunities of reaching the highest standard; and for this reason I would have all medical institutions which have for their object the highest teaching strengthened; and, in spite of the interesting remarks of Dr. Ince, I would divide as far as possible, and even subdivide, because I believe without division of labour you never can have any very high scientific results. A man cannot be master of everything; and though I quite allow, as Dr. Ince has said, that Doctors have been pitchforked into my profession, which is the Political, yet I am not disposed with Dr. Ince to think they have distinguished themselves very much as Diplomatists. We have several remarkable illustrations to that effect lately, and one of them will be soon exhibited in the Queen's Bench. It is neither reasonable nor just to proclaim the native of India to be inferior to Englishmen, or to say that he is not suitable for a post or appointment, until you have done your duty to him by giving him the very highest education which the British Government can provide. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. BHABHA:—I heard my friend Dr. Bahadurji's Paper with great interest indeed. My Lord, your own remarks as to the necessity for some reform in this matter are so clear that I do not think the Government of India, or the War Office here, can hesitate to say that it is time we should begin and think in what way we can reorganise the Service. In the opening part of Dr. Bahadurji's Paper he made a remark regarding Philanthropists. I am bound to enlighten him that those Philanthropists who sent out the Pioneer Medical, half-educated ladies as medical missionaries, have for the last ten years, ever since the medical profession was thrown open to the ladies—that is, as soon as the Colleges began to grant them diplomas—always secured the services of fully-qualified ladies to go out as medical missionaries; they were the pioneers of female medical education, and female education in every other respect in India. I have great pleasure in thanking Dr. Bahadurji for the able manner in which he has brought the Paper before us, and I trust that the British public will soon take up the question, and support it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN:—I will now call on Dr. Bahadurji to reply.

Dr. BAHADURJI:—I think it would be convenient to follow the order in which the remarks have fallen. In the first place I should beg his Lordship's pardon for mentioning that I have not forgotten Dr. Carter, for though I have not mentioned him by name amongst the gentlemen I quoted in support of what I have said, it is Dr. Carter I quoted to point out how defective the education was that was given in his College, and that the Military Service did not offer a large enough field for the selection of College Professors. As regards the appointments in the Civil Department being taken as prizes or inducements offered to members of the Service, it is true the Service Covenant and Prospectus, and the very history of the origin of the Civil Medical Service meant them to be considered as prizes and prizes only. The Covenant itself is a purely Military one. The Prospectus lays down that members of the Service will be eligible to appointments in the Civil Department. This eligibility to Civil appointment does not mean a *sole right* to them. I do not deny the right of Military members of the profession to seek careers in the Civil Department. On the contrary, I took care to emphasise that, as urged by Drs. Hunter and Birdwood, the Educational and Science appointments requiring special knowledge and training should be thrown open to the profession, including members of the British and Indian Medical Services. What is urged is that appointments in the Civil Department should not be *reserved* for members of the Indian Medical Service, to the exclusion of members of the British Medical Service and the profession outside the Military Services. Whoever is fit to hold a particular appointment should have it, be he a member of the Indian or British Medical Service, or a member of the profession outside the circle of Military Services. And, further, Army officers seeking careers in the Civil Department should look for promotion in their own profession and not in their Military Service. The Civil Department should not be made a convenient means of securing promotion in the Military Service, as is now being done. Only the other day a Professor of Medicine and Principal of his College of several years'

standing vacated his educational appointment to be promoted in his Military Service. If it be the practice to stop all advancement in the Military Service of combatant officers seeking careers in the Civil Department, it ought to be equally applicable to Medical officers of the Army electing to serve in the Civil Department. The reform must, no doubt, be gradual; but it would not be difficult to begin it. It is possible for Government to adhere to their promises in the Covenant and Prospectus of the Indian Medical Service, and still appoint members of the open profession in common with those of the Military Service to places in the Civil Department on the equal terms of special qualification and training, for by so doing the promised eligibility of I.M.S. men to Civil posts is in no way set aside or circumscribed. The difficulty does not arise from the I.M.S. covenant, and it is not because of the I.M.S. covenant that all Civil appointments are held by Military men, but because of the constitution of the Civil Medical Service which has been made primarily Military for the purposes of a war "reserve." How indefensible and illusory this war "reserve" is I have already shown. But the "reserve" question may be best left to be settled by the Military authorities, who know best the requirements of the Army. I have quoted the authoritative dictum of Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Wolseley and the War Office on this subject—which is against the present "reserve" provision. With regard to the subject of Sanitation, I must bow to the Chairman's superior judgment, and his experience of the question. But I might perhaps be allowed to mention that sanitary progress in Bombay is due as much to the existence of an enlightened municipality and officers of the Civil Service, as to the work of Sanitary Commissioners. And now I shall turn to Dr. Ince. I may tell him that it is no luxuries that we ask—the appointment of specialists—nor is it anything that the Government could not afford. He seems to have entirely missed the main point in the argument. I have all along shown for a remodelling of the Department, both Civil and Military, the Government of India will not be called upon to incur any extra expenditure, but on the contrary, they will save something like 30 lakhs of rupees a year, and the departments gain in efficiency. Dr. Ince does not seem to agree with the opinions of members of his own Service best qualified to pronounce on the requirements of Medical education and Science. They have urged that appointments in these important and special subjects should be made from the open profession and not reserved for members of any Service—not even their own. Surely Dr. Ince does not mean to convey that they too spoke from the Indian point of view. I do not say that the Service has not given us good men. What I say is that the present system permits of the appointment of men as College Professors who have to do their work in the easy manner which seems to fit in with Dr. Ince's notions of the standard of lectures in Medical Schools. According to Dr. Ince it is easy enough to lecture to Medical College students. An hour's study of the most recent text-book is all that is necessary before going to the lecture-room. But the difficulties of such professors and the hardship to the students therefrom may be best understood from an instance in point. A professor of Physiology, desirous of giving practical lectures, consulted

the latest edition of a book on Physiology, copied out the list of apparatus required for class demonstrations and laboratory work and passed it on as an indent. The apparatus arrived in due course, but the professor could not set up the different pieces, and the result was that the apparatus was consigned to the cupboards, in which many of the articles were found not so long ago in boxes sealed up and not opened. (Hear, hear.) I am sure even Dr. Ince does not desire any repetition of such experience—in the interests of his own Service. As the Service Gazette laments, there are few things disparaging the Service so much as the system of making appointments to College chairs from members of the Service. I quite agree with Sir Lepel Griffin in his remark that the best possible education should be given in the Indian Colleges, and the only way to do it is as Lord Reay put it: the Medical Schools in India should be placed on the same footing as the Arts Colleges. There is one thing I should have mentioned in reference to what Dr. Ince said about me personally. He is quite wrong when he cites me as an example of what the Indian Medical Schools can produce. My connexion with an Indian Medical School was only as a Professor. (Applause.) My Arts studies were pursued in an Indian College, and Arts Colleges in India do not form the monopoly of any Service. It is in University College, London, that I did all my medical studies, and to it I owe what small success I met with in the University of London. (Applause.)

Mr. ROBERT ELLIOTT:—There has been a little difference of opinion to-day, and, of course, there always is on subjects of this sort, but I am sure there will be none as regards the matter I am about to bring before you, and that is to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay and also to the lecturer. There is only one remark I should like to make as regards what the lecturer has said, and that is his objection to people being pitch-forked from one branch of the profession to another. He must remember that is a thing that goes on every day in England, especially in our Cabinets, and I do not see that we are much the worse for it. I am reminded of what was said long ago in Turkey, that when a man is given an appointment God Almighty at once confers on him the gifts necessary to do it justice, and the real point that has been often looked at—and there is a good deal in it—is that if the heart and faculties are hardened in one line of life, it does not prevent a man taking to another which he may be more or less qualified to hold. With that remark I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Reay and the lecturer.

Dr. INCE:—I have great pleasure in seconding that proposal. I think it will be unanimously carried, and I am only very sorry that I libelled our friend, Dr. Bahadurji. I thought he was a thorough-bred Indian.

Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN:—That concludes the business of the meeting. I am sorry that Lord Reay has been obliged to go to the House of Lords; otherwise he would have liked to confirm the vote of thanks to the lecturer.

The vote having been carried, the Meeting separated.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

DIGEST OF NEWS FROM NATIVE SOURCES IN CHINA.

1. An interesting antiquity has just been dug up opposite Hankow, in the shape of a copper wash-bason, bearing the date A.D. 197, and inscribed with twelve lines of official poetry.

2. The different viceroys and governors have been directed to effect all possible reductions in the specially enlisted regiments of "braves," and also in permanent provincial armies, but they do not by any means all respond with alacrity. The Transport Viceroy has paid off his 100 artillery and 50 cavalry, besides sending 500 "braves" back to the ranks on ordinary pay; but he thinks it rash, and perhaps he is wise, for the Sü Chou rebellion is possibly facilitated by this denudation of troops. The most serious attempts at reduction seem to have been made at Foochow: the total number of land troops in the province is 14,000 men, and of naval troops 7,000, in both cases including specially trained braves: there have been military riots and demonstrations in consequence of these reductions.* The late viceroy of Kan Suh, Yang Ch'ang-chün, was recently censured by the Emperor for enlisting fresh braves without the usual sanction; but his successor T'ao Mu declines to make any reductions, and the viceroy of Sz Ch'wan considers it necessary to enlist two new regiments for service at Ta-tsien-lu, on the borders of Tibet, where it is expected that Mussulman fugitives will shortly appear. The German trained braves at Nanking, in consequence of the attack upon Mr. Krause, have been removed to the Wusung forts below Shanghai; but a good many of the youths are said to have deserted, never having understood that they were expected to leave their homes. The British Admiral has lent the services of an officer to examine the naval students who have been in training at Nanking under an Englishman bearing the Chinese name of P'eng, and the examination is reported to have been very strict. Considerable reductions have been effected in the military forces of Manchuria. Extensive reforms have been introduced in connection with hospital accommodation and proper stowage of arms and ammunition, so far as regards the 30 regiments of German-drilled troops under the General Nieh Shih-ch'eng of Chih Li province. There are also ten regiments of German-drilled troops at Tientsin under the command of the ex-Resident for Corea, Yüan Shih-k'ai.

3. After a good deal of shifting about, it is finally decided that the repairs of the Shan Tung portion of the Yellow River shall in future be under the Governor of that province and not under the River Viceroy, who will henceforth confine himself to the Ho Nan portion. A remarkable proposal has just been submitted to the Emperor by one Jweisün: it is that the whole tribute-rice business should be abolished, with a probable saving in armies, boats, salaries, canals, squeezes, etc., of eight million taels a year. The idea is to purchase the required rice in the open market, and

* See note 1 at end of Digest.

leave the question of its carriage to Peking to competent trade speculators. This expenditure of Tls. 8,000,000 only manages to put down Tls. 4,000,000 worth of rice at Peking.

4. The news from Corea is of an unsatisfactory and conflicting nature. It is stated that the Russian representative has distributed 50,000 dollars to the poor of Chemulpo, and that 350 more Russian marines have just gone up to Söul. The French Minister to Japan is said to have suggested that 5,000,000 dollars of the Chinese indemnity should be handed over to Corea by Japan, and that Japan has agreed. It should be added, however, that the whole of the intelligence concerning Corean affairs has a doubtful look, and must be received with reserve.

5. Scarcity and high prices of rice are reported from many quarters, for instance Hankow, Foochow, Ganking, and parts of Hu Nan. Over 1,500,000 hundredweight of rice have already been sent *viâ* Canton and Pakhoi to relieve the famine-stricken populations of Kwang Si.*

6. There is considerable activity in the direction of foreign studies. The Chinese Minister in Japan has taken charge of 13 youths from Soochow and Ningpo who have gone over to learn the Japanese written language properly. The precise rules governing the new foreign school at Soochow are published in the native papers. The Chinese Minister in Japan has been instructed to apply to the Japanese Government for full information in books printed in pure Chinese on the following points:—Railways; Postal Service; Army organization and methods of conscription or enlistment; Navy Organization; the way in which bank notes are issued; the way the National Debt is managed. The Viceroy Chang of Hankow is also actively concerning himself with foreign schools.

7. The rising on the Kiangsu-Shantung frontier is a serious affair. According to the native newspapers of the 24th July, the troops sent by the Nanking viceroy under General Liu Kwang-ts'ai received at Yüan-Kung P'u a telegram from the Brigadier at Sü Chou, saying the rebels had scattered on receiving the news that troops were on the move, and Liu thereupon marched his five regiments back to Nanking. Sü Chou, where the trouble began, is the great native opium centre in north Kiang Su, on the old Yellow River bed. The latest telegraphic news is very grave, for it appears a large number of Christian settlements have been destroyed. This is part of the Jesuit field in China, which only covers Kiang Su, An Hwei, and part of Chih Li.

8. Excellent new native maps of An Hwei, Yün Nan, and Kiang Si have just been completed under Government sanction.

9. There is no end to Chinese activity in mining. A coal mine will be shortly worked with machinery just outside Nanking. The gold mines of the Mo River in the Amur territory opposite Albazin (once worked clandestinely by Russians) have begun to pay very well; but those just discovered at Sansing, in Kirin Province, are said to be even twice as rich, besides furnishing coal and gold. There are good opportunities in China for practical miners. The Chêh Kiang authorities have authorized the working of coal mines in the upper parts of that province (south-west). A

* See note 2.

Frenchman is assisting the Sz Ch'wan merchants to prospect the coal mines of Kia-ting Fu and K'i-kiang (near Chungking): the last named mines I visited myself in 1881: there is also an iron puddling trade at Sung-K'an hard by, worth £10,000 a year. T'ang Kiung (sentenced to death for cowardice during the French war) does not seem to make much headway with the copper mines of Yün Nan: according to native Chinese, he is a squeezer of the worst type. Besides the copper mines under T'ang, there are 30 silver, gold, spelter, and iron mines (once there were over 60, but the rebellion stopped them); however most of them are flooded. The acting viceroy has decided not to have either machinery or foreign experts, for they are both expensive and fruitful of danger; but as there are no rich merchants in Yün Nan he thinks Government must supply capital, if the existing mines are to pay. Kwei Chou is chiefly noted for its lead. The Nanking authorities are examining the coal, lead, and gold mines near Chinkiang with a view to working them at once.

10. A woman under 30 years of age has been sliced to pieces at Soochow, after lying in suspense for seven years. The crime was husband murder. It is not explained why the Emperor's warrant was so long in coming, but, in accordance with invariable practice, a "nailed cover" was sent from Peking to the Provincial Judge, who ordered the city magistrate to have the woman there and then taken to the Drill Ground and executed at once. In case persons are disposed to disbelieve in the existence of these "slicings," it may be stated that a snap shot of one was taken at Canton, and copies of it are still on sale at Hong Kong.

11. The settlement at Ichang has recently been greatly improved by the planting of trees and levelling of roads along the river bank from the Consulate.

12. As to the Mussulman rebellion: in March last the fighting round the town of Toba was still going on: the last mail brings news that a Colonel has been dismissed for selling Government ammunition for his own profit in good old Chinese style.

13. The Kiang-yin missionary case has been settled for $3,850 and three sentences to death. The Italian missionary affair in Kin-Kang (Ho Nan) has also been settled by Bishop An (? Angelo), compensation coming from the salt funds. There has also been a Catholic riot at Shang-siang in Ch'ang-sha Fu (Hu Nan) where the Augustinians are in charge. A row at Lin-siang, in Yoh-chou Fu, was prevented just in time by the activity of a priest, also named An in Chinese. German Protestants have been chased out of Ch'u-chou (above Wênchow). Protestant converts have been fighting with Catholics at Hwei-an, in Ts'üan-chou (Marco Polo's Zaitun); the native authorities have settled it all, and made the Protestants pay $1,500 damages and give a theatrical entertainment. The Bishop (Preaching Friars) has accepted the apology.

14. The copper-cash question still gives trouble in some places. The Chungking authorities have sent to Hankow for 10,000 of the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung's new dollars, 10 cent pieces, etc., with a view to getting the Upper Yangtsze people used to them. At Hankow silver has gone up, and Mexicans fetch 920 cash, against 860 during the late spring. This is

partly owing to the importation of Canton cash, and partly to the slackness of the silk trade. At Chinkiang, Chang Chih-tung's small silver coins have also been largely imported and are exchanged at a discount of 20 cash as compared with full-sized dollars. The dollar has gone up to 940 cash. At the Emperor's commands, specimens of Chang's dollars have been sent round, and the other viceroys have been instructed to start similar mints. At Tientsin the tael has gone up from 2,575 (local) cash to 2,675. A mint is also active there. Dollars are worth 1840.

15. A Mussulman prince (perhaps of Hami) named Shapenhusoshi, having voluntary subscribed towards China's war expenses, has been rewarded with a yellow jacket.

16. At Foochow the number of applicants for foreign instruction at the new institute has increased from 30 to 60. Captain Sah, of the (lost) Chinese navy, has been engaged at a salary of 500 taels a year to instruct the sons of a local magnate named Liu. The Tientsin College is going on vigorously. The Foreign Office have selected 60 youths from the Peking College to go to Europe; 20 to study the languages and forty to study the arts of war. It is hoped (says the Chinese paper) that they will not this time turn out to be "asses in unicorns' skins" (an expression dating from the 8th century). The Shanghai colleges and schools are numerous. It seems doubtful whether the Peking "Reform Club" is likely to come to anything.

17. The "Hoonim" which puzzles the newspapers so much, is Yün-lin, or "Cloud Forest," in Central Formosa, pronounced Hung-lim in some of the Swatow-Fukien dialects. It is too early as yet to say whether the accusations against the Japanese are well founded. The Chinese, there as elsewhere, are wretched cowards when left to their own mandarins or gentry as leaders, and have not unlikely exasperated the Japanese by dastardly attacks upon outposts or small groups of patrolling troops.

18. After floundering about for several months, the Canton authorities have at last closed with a gambling syndicate for the next *waising* lottery period. The sum is 1,600,000 taels, and the period covered seems to be six years,—*i.e.* as nearly as possible 1,000 dollars a day for the mere *privilege* of gambling: to make this pay, there must be at least 100 dollars a day of profit; and as the prizes run away with 83 per cent. of the takings, it follows that to earn 1,100 dollars a day profit at least 5,000 dollars a day must be received by the sale of tickets. Putting the adult population of Kwang Tung at 5,000,000, it follows that every man and woman must spend $\frac{1}{10}$ of a cent a day, or three cents a month on gambling. The earning power of each married pair, or at least the feeding cost, is probably not over two dollars a month; and, out of these 200 cents, six cents therefore go to gambling expenditure. When it is considered that it only pays to sell tickets in the large towns, it is evident that 12% at least of the total town earnings must go in gambling. In 1874 a *bonâ fide* effort was made to put a stop to it, and the Manchu viceroy Yinghan was dismissed for not obeying orders; but Macao at once took it up, and so in self-defence China has to sanction it. It is a disgraceful business. In Hong Kong it is now illegal to sell the tickets; but they are sold just the same.

19. An enterprising German has been interviewing the Viceroy of Sz

Ch'wan upon silk filatures and minting machinery, and has been instructed to make enquiries and furnish tenders. The native silk weavers of Soochow have risen in a body, and "punched the heads" of all the mandarins concerned: the trouble arose through an informer having given information that the tax of a dollar a loom was only paid on about half the real number of looms. However, peace has been patched up, and the weavers have agreed to pay on 2,300 instead of 1,500 looms. At Hangchow the price of silk has gone up from $27 to $29 and even $33 the hundred ounces, owing to the second cocoon crop having suffered from damp. Silk piece-goods range 30 per cent. higher in price than last year. The Hu Peh crop is also short on account of wet weather. The Sz Ch'wan silkmen have now begun to deal directly with Shanghai, thus avoiding the Hankow middlemen's squeezes. At Chinkiang silk is also scarce, prices ranging from $28 to $29.

20. The tidal wave which did so much damage in Japan seems to have been felt in the Loochoo Islands: the reports from the islands describe it as a "typhoon, accompanied by dust and stones": 800 houses were destroyed, 300 boats sunk, and 200 people killed in various ways.*

21. Trouble has arisen at Newchwaog in connection with the *likin* due during the Japanese occupation: 33,000 taels have already been recovered, but the Tartar-General expected 800,000 local strings (80,000 taels). It is a $\frac{7}{1000}$ per cent. tax on "southern goods," with $\frac{84}{10000}$ per cent. on sugar and tea. It seems that the junks slipped away during the occupation without paying *likin*; but, in consideration of the fact that the Japanese charged higher customs duties, the Tartar-General appears to have let the matter drop after receiving his 33,000 taels.

22. Some idea of what a *likin* station is in China may be gathered from the following, taken from last mail's English papers:—

The Tsingkiangpu correspondent of the *N.-C. Daily News* states that:

The boldness and impudence with which the runners try to browbeat both natives and foreigners who pass is disgraceful to the last degree. They demand money of everyone who passes, even in the face of an official passport. The head-man sits back in his *yamên*, and the underlings will not even carry in one's card to him, or grant an interview unless they are first paid two dollars! They, managers, head clerks, are always "out," and the foreigner is left to the tender mercies of the servants and rabble at the *yamên* door. A few days ago one of these underlings having demanded money, and being refused, after searching the boat and finding nothing dutiable, in his disappointment and spite, threw the foreigner's passport insolently on the floor of the cabin, as he left the boat. Think of a Customs runner daring to treat in this way a passport issued by a foreign Minister in Peking and counter-signed by the Tsungli Yamên! The foreign Consuls of all nationalities ought to make a united protest to Peking against the disorderly manner in which business is conducted at this the greatest of China's inland Custom stations. Foreigners presenting passports ought to be allowed prompt access to the *ta jên*, when they pass the station, and have any business to manage, or complaint to communicate.

* See note 3.

This has been my own experience wherever I have passed a Customs station in China.

23. The new ports of Hangchow and Soochow are going ahead very well. Formerly the Silk Inspectors or "Imperial Tailors" at these ports had a number of petty customs stations under them, but since the Taiping Rebellion they have not been reopened. Any attempt to do so now should be instantly repressed.

24. Sü Chou, where the rebellion has broken out, is not in Hu Peh, as stated in the North China Herald of the 24 July (P. 131), nor does the Yellow River run through or anywhere near that province: Sü Chou is in Kiang Su. The Viceroy Liu has just been trying to induce the Emperor to reduce the Tls. 30 intra-provincial tax on local opium growing around Sü Chou, plus Tls. 30 if exported to other provinces, to Tls. 48 in all, so as to be on a footing with Shan Tung opium, which only pays three octrois, or *loti shui*, of Tls. 16 each. Moreover if taken to Chinkiang for export (though Chinkiang is also in Kiang Su), Sü Chou opium pays to the Foreign Customs an export duty of Tls. 15, plus a half duty of Tls. 7½. A later statement is to the effect that the Emperor has sanctioned a total charge of Tls. 60 the 100 catties on all native opium throughout the Empire.

25. There are signs of extensive steam-launch enterprise being sanctioned in various provinces. For instance, between Chinkiang, Nanking, Soochow, and Ts'ing-Kiang; on the Poyang lake in Kiang Si (tugs); on the Foochow river, etc. But cheap silver enables Chinamen, or foreigners in China, to build them for much less than in England. Still, powerful English tugs might find a good market if properly pushed and advertised.

26. There have been bloody riots between the moulders and ornamenters at the imperial potteries at King-tê Chên, near Kewkiang, and the troops have had to be called out.*

27. There is more talk than work about railways. The new manager, Shêng *taotai* is said to be determined that all the material for the Hankow line shall come from the Hanyang Foundry: it is now considered that Shashih, Siang-yang, and Fan-ch'êng would be the best route. The Governor of Peking, Hu Küeh-fên, is superintending the construction of the Tientsin-Lou-kou Bridge (Peking) Railway: there have been popular troubles in connection with it at Yang Ts'un. The Nanking-Chinkiang Railway scheme seems to have collapsed for want of funds. The Lungchou line is to be undertaken, but with the wretched French Tariff and general *rond-de-cuir* system of Tonquin, no one need be for an instant afraid of the French competition.

28. The Viceroy of Sz Ch'wan has sent the prefect Li Chung-p'ing round by India to assist the Resident in Tibet in arranging the settlement of the Ghoorka-Tibet quarrel, and all other frontier questions, with the Indian Government.

29. A reform in weights has taken place at Ningpo; 20,000 people have been supplied with new scales (16 oz. the catty), and the old ones are being rigorously called in.

30. The tea *likin* collected at Yang-lou Tung (near Hankow) has not

* See note 4.

been diminished in its total this year, despite hard times. The chief purchasers are now Russian. At Foochow the natives say they have lost money. Wênchow has shot ahead with her teas this year. The Yün Nan authorities are afraid of developing the excellent local P'u-êrh Tea Trade on account of the proximity of Burma, and the possibility of mischief.

The very latest news in the native press touching the Mussulman rebellion is that at the Emperor's express order to read them a severe lesson over 3,000 Mussulmans have been butchered by the Chinese mandarins at Si-ning, their wives and children being sold into slavery. It is said their Russian co-religionists are much excited in consequence (5).

The latest news concerning the Süchow rebellion is that on the 9th July four men were executed for their share in plundering the Catholic missions. The two priests (whose Christian names are Ai and Tung) displayed great energy in forcing the Chinese authorities to act vigorously.

The different provincial capitals are to henceforth each have a Chamber of Commerce. The Governor of Shan Si considers that grape wine and animal products, such as skins, hair, teeth, horns, etc., are the sole objects likely to develop a great trade in Shan Si. Wen-shuin city (and plain) is the great grape centre (Lat. 37, Long. 112).

An intelligent Chinaman has recently published an account of his visit to Tonquin. He says that every Chinese, no matter what his status, who lands in the country must be taken by the Chinese guildhouse to the French Resident. He there reports his name and business, pays a poll-tax of $6.50, and is photographed. At Haiphong he found there were about 3,000 Chinese, mostly from Kwang Tung province; but he bewails the falling off in prosperity, and says that most of them would clear out if they could afford it. Besides the poll-tax, they have to pay for each pig, cow, goat, chicken, or duck they keep, and a land-tax of $4 for each *mu* (at present exchange rates 15s. the acre), with liability to confiscation if in arrear for three years. He found the whole Annamese population in rags and wretchedness. Up at Laokai on the Chinese frontier he found gambling the chief "trade": the whole country was over-run by lawless Chinese loafers.

E. H. PARKER.

NOTES.

1. The same thing is now being attempted for Clûh Kiang, but there is serious discontent among the men.
2. Terrible floods have taken place in north An Hwai (Lü Chou), and in Hu Nan. The Hwai Salt Syndicate has subscribed largely for relief.
3. A tidal wave has also destroyed 4,000 lives near Hai Chou on the coast of Kiang Su.
4. As usual it was all about "cash." The rate has now been fixed at 1,000 dollars, instead of 1,200.
5. The report of General Tung confirms all this. Over 3,000 were butchered.

CHINESE NOTES.

The demand for silver.—In 1894 China imported silver to the amount of six million pounds sterling. In 1893 the import was about three and a

half millions. In 1895 it was six millions. During the present year the import has already, July 23rd, reached three millions. Probably the entrance of more silver than before may be partly on account of the diminished demand for opium. Two million pounds sterling of gold were exported from China last year. The China demand for six million pounds sterling worth of silver each year helps to keep up the price of silver abroad. It also tends to lower the price of silver in China for the Chinese have another standard, that is copper cash. The demand for copper is due to the poverty of the people. A copper currency suits their markets because of its divisibility: about eight Chinese cash will buy one English farthing. A cooling medicine can be bought for one cash in a drug shop. But the time for silver is coming. Prices rise and silver as in Japan will be in demand. From this it may be judged that silver will not again fall below three shillings.

Opium.—About 50 miles north-west of Shanghai is a city containing two arrondissements and not likely to have less than 60,000 people. In it there are between 300 and 400 opium shops. Last year, since the accumulation of filth and the increase of poverty led to the need of remedial measures, the two city magistrates announced that every opium shop must be registered, and hang out a registration tablet. For the registration a fee was to be paid. The result has been that the number of opium shops has slightly diminished. To all who give up this trade and adopt another, the magistrates give a few dollars as a reward. This plan has worked well but it shows the weakness of the moral sense of the country, when virtue is not its own reward but needs a money stimulus for its encouragement.

Hankow.—The money pressure is less than it was. One of two cash shop firms which failed will be able to recommence business. The deficit of the other is not great. The fall in silver is checked, and the native bankers are more hopeful.

Soochow.—Exchange is affected by the arrival of Canton new cash. The arrival of 60,000 strings sent the dollar up from 880 cash to 935 cash being about 6 % nearly. The fall of silver last December appears to have been about ten per cent. judged by the cash standard. This is partly owing to the scarcity of copper, but more to the inflow of silver. Thirty-six million taels worth of silver were imported last year. Up to July 23, eighteen million taels worth have been imported this year. The Shanghai value of the Mexican dollar stands nearly constant at 930 cash and this has been the case for half a year. In this way we learn that silver has fallen nearly ten per cent. during a year. It will fall again, but not immediately. The tendency of trade is to equalize exchanges all over the world. A string is a thousand so that 60,000 strings is 60 million cash, or about £7,000.

Property in China.—By the recent slight rise in silver, combined with a fall of ten per cent., we learn that all government and private property, if judged by the gold standard, is slightly improved, but, if judged by the copper cash standard, it has fallen. It may be valued fairly by the current exchange in both cases. The silver tael is now worth 3/- by the gold

standard. It has fallen from 1030 to 930 cash by the cash standard. It will not go up again, till legislation increases the demand for silver in government mints. The Chinese think all the fault of this pressure now felt is in the scarcity of cash. That accounts partly for a rise in the value of cash. Three or four per cent. out of the ten *may* be due to this cause. If so then silver has only permanently fallen six per cent. But the steadiness of the Shanghai market value of the Mexican at 930 cash seems to show that the fall of silver has really been decided, and must be permanent so long as monometallists continue to persuade governments not to buy silver on a large scale for coinage. J. EDKINS.

THE ASSASSINATION OF H.H. JANGI SHAH.

In the last issue of the "Asiatic Quarterly Review" you have taken a view of the causes of the assassination of H.H. Aga Jangi Shah and his son which is likely to be misleading. As you promise to examine the *pros* and *cons* in another issue I take the liberty of placing before you a few facts that may possibly change your opinion.

You ascribe the murders to the bigotry of Ismailians because the late Aga Jangi Shah "went to Mecca at all."

You may perhaps have noticed—it was well known here—that, contrary to the usual custom, he went *first* to Medina and afterwards to Mecca; a proceeding that was far from accidental. It is at Medina that Ismail, the 7th Imam, lies buried.

H.H. Aga Jangi Shah was not the first of the Aga Khan family who went to Mecca. The mother of the present Aga Khan's grandfather, who, woman as she was, filled one of the two important offices of the Ismailians, viz., that of Pir, went to Mecca between 1830 and 1835, taking with her some of the leading Khojas, such as members of the Baba family then at the height of their prosperity and still, though poor, respected and influential. Since her journey two cousins, members of the Aga Khan family, went on pilgrimage from Bombay to Mecca. One of these was Aga Imam Werdi Khan, nephew and son-in-law of the first Aga Khan and cousin of H.H. the late Aga Ali Shah.

It is not to Mecca that the Ismailians object but to Samara near Bagdad. The Shiahs maintain that the twelfth Imam disappeared from there and naturally the Ismailis, who hold as an article of faith that the Imamate continues to the present day, do not consider the place sacred.

To the Ismailis Medina is doubly holy from the fact of Ismail's burial there and thither went Aga Jangi Shah, as a private gentleman, holding no office among the Ismailians it is true, and representing no one.

A visit to Mecca is no way opposed to the religious tenets of the Ismailis. The ancestors of the present Aga, the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt did their best to take Mecca.

As to Syed Mahomed, whom you refer to as a Dai from Kerbela, he was a pronounced opponent of the Ismailis. He wanted to join the party of H.H. Aga Jangi Shah, but was refused permission, and it was a surprise to the members of the family to find the Syed attached to the caravan at Jeddah. The fellow was a sponge and frequently received money as an

alms from Jangi Shah, a man of a remarkably kind disposition. Syed Mahomed could not be shaken off. He was a man more notorious in Bombay than famous and was considered, to use the language of the streets, a *damage lucha* (a ragamuffin with no character to lose). They were not three, but two, Khojas who committed the murders. They are quite unknown in Bombay, and are suspected of having come from Mhowa where a party of Khojahs seceded some time back and became Shiahs of the Asna Ashari type and have since shown so bitter an animosity against the Aga Khan family that the Bombay police feared for the safety of the present Aga, H.H. Sultan Mahomed Shah.

Kindly let me know the result of your perusal of these

Poona, 20th August, 1896. FACTS.

We accept the rectification of the above unquestionable authority on the subject and that H.H. Jangi Khan was not the first and only Agha who had ever gone to Mecca. It appears that four have done so, between 1830 and 1896—a very small number—which shows that even in a creed which may be "all things to all men," it is *unnecessary*, as we have asserted, that an Ismailian should go to Mecca. Indeed, Mecca was, as "*Facts*" states, an object of conquest to the Fatimite dynasty, it was destroyed by the Karmathians, and it is to be held out for destruction in the national song of the Druse Ismailians which we translated in our issue of April, 1893. Naturally the Ismailians would lean more to the Shias than to the Sunnis, in order to establish the sanctity of their own, the 7th, Imám, Ismail, but it is from that point that they diverge, by rejecting the succeeding 5 Imáms including the 12th or the Mahdi, from the orthodox Shias who are called "athna a'sharî" or followers of all the 12 Imáms.

Whether the number of Khojas implicated in the murder was two or three is a matter of detail; the surprising thing is that they should be Khojas at all, for the Khojas are devoted to the Aga family, and if any of them have embraced Shiism, it is doubtful whether they can be called Khojas at all. As to the suspicious obtrusiveness of the principal murderer on his hospitable victim, it resembles what history tells us of the "assassins" who had to carry out a not unusual mission against a supposed Ismailian innovator, but we are quite ready to admit that, in this instance, this view seems to be a mistaken one. The *pros* and *cons* of the question can, however, only be determined by the submission, public or private, of all the facts of the case, but this, we fear, will never happen.—*Ed.*

CAN THE INDIAN ARMY MEET AN EUROPEAN FOE?

LORD ROBERTS at the Conference of the Institute of Journalists on the 3rd Sept. 1896 at Belfast spoke as follows:

"The Indian Army, he was proud to think, was in a thoroughly efficient condition, ready and able to take its share in the defence of the empire in any part of the world where its services might be required."

LORD CHELMSFORD ON CASTE IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

Lord Chelmsford has sent us a highly instructive letter which, while showing the ability of the Indian Army to meet the only European foe that is likely to confront it, bears an important testimony to the military value of the caste system in our Native Army. Caste in India is, indeed, not only the preservative of its social fabric and ancient culture but also a pillar of our own rule:

"The Punjab and Bengal armies have been completely reorganized since the Mutiny time; and are now, I feel certain, quite equal to meet the only European foe that threatens India, viz. Russia, and to give a very good account of itself. But it must be remembered that the Madras and Bombay armies were, until quite recently, under the organization which was introduced immediately after the Mutiny, and which has been found clearly defective. It will take many years before the new system of Class Regiments can produce its effects; and I am afraid that, even then, these two armies will always be inferior, as a fighting force, to the other armies of the Punjab and Bengal, in consequence of the inferior class which alone will take military service in those Presidencies. After the mutiny of the Bengal army, which was then composed entirely of Brahmins and Rajpoots, the attempt was made to enlist low caste natives, and to form them into regiments. These regiments however were a complete failure, were absolutely worthless as a fighting element, and have now ceased to exist. The mutiny of the high caste Bengal Regiments was the result of want of discipline, not of defective organization. The higher the caste, the better is the fighting material; and this has now been discovered.

"The number of class regiments has been increased; and I myself should be glad to see all the class company regiments turned into *one class* corps.

"Caste is the only substitute for 'esprit de corps,' and under good officers who understand how to make use of that powerful lever I am convinced that Indian regiments can be worked up to acquit themselves as well as our best British regiments. A Brigade consisting of three regiments composed of different classes, Brahmins, Mahomedans and Sikhs, would have every incentive to bear itself honourably under fire. It would only be necessary for the officers of each regiment to work upon that class feeling, in order to produce a most wholesome spirit of rivalry; and the fear of one caste disgracing itself in the sight of another, would act as a stimulus to good behaviour, and as a deterrent to misconduct. This system is now in force pretty generally throughout the Punjab and Bengal armies. The low caste regiments have been done away with, (except Muzbi Sikhs, who are the exception which proves the rule, that low Caste Regiments will not fight); Class Company Regiments have been turned into Class Regiments; 'esprit de corps' has thus been produced, and at least one half of the Indian army is, in my opinion, at the present moment quite equal to the task which may possibly lie before it, of meeting an European army in the Field.

"In the Presidency of Bombay, the so-called Plum-pudding system has been abolished. This formation which no doubt saved the army from

following the bad example of the Bengal army during the time of the mutiny did away entirely with any chance of 'esprit de corps.' High Caste, and low Caste, natives were mixed up indiscriminately together, and the native officers were many of them of the low Castes. So long as Caste obtains in India, such a system was fatal to the fighting and disciplinary efficiency of the regiments. The native officer who, on parade, would be ordering about the men of his Company would, when parade was over, salaam to those of them who were Brahmins, and would thus acknowledge the inferiority of his own social position. The British officers had not the lever of caste to work upon; and, in difficulties, would be helpless to raise the 'moral' of their men. The class system has now been introduced, but it has been done at the expense of the temporary disintegration of the whole army. Years must elapse before the good result of the new system will bear fruit; but, when that time has arrived, the Bombay army will be a far more efficient fighting machine than it ever was before. There will always be the difficulty of recruiting the best material, for Mahrattas and Rajpoots of the highest class have not up to the present time shown any inclination to enlist. When however they see the result of the new system and find that they will not be obliged to march shoulder to shoulder with low caste natives, and that the native officers are chosen from high caste men, I have no doubt a better stamp of recruit will be forthcoming.

"As regards the Madras army, I cannot speak from personal experience. I have no doubt however that the broad principles which have been adopted in reorganizing the Punjab, Bengal and Bombay armies, will also produce a most salutary effect on the army of the so-called 'benighted Presidency,' and that its efficiency will be proportionately increased. The Madras Sappers and Miners which accompanied the Abyssinian expedition behaved with great courage, under very trying circumstances, when in front of Magdala, showing that the Presidency *can* produce natives who have good fighting qualities.

"The broad, and sound, principles which are now guiding the military departments in India are 'Class Regiments composed of the best men the caste will produce'—with 'native officers of good family, and superior in caste to the privates under their command.'

"This organization, combined with a system of firm discipline, and intelligent training, carried out by Regimental European officers, acquainted with the peculiar caste prejudices and customs of those under their command, has already produced an army of which the mother country has every reason to be proud; and which, under circumstances that are possible, but not, in my opinion, probable, would acquit itself in a manner which would come as a disagreeable surprise to the European foe opposed to it.

"It will thus be seen that, in my opinion, the whole efficiency of our Indian Army depends upon caste. Should at any future time an attempt be made to ignore that powerful factor in its organization, I have no hesitation in asserting that the fighting efficiency of our native troops, will gradually, but most surely, fade away. It is the only lever by which we can move the numerous nationalities, and Class Divisions, which make up the popula-

tion of our Indian Empire—and, tempered by the good government and even-handed justice, which is the characteristic of our rule in India, there is no fear of our recruiting entirely amongst the higher classes being allowed to act prejudicially to the interests of any of the inferior castes."

A DISCUSSION ON LORD WOLSELEY'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON JULY 29TH, 1896.

A GENERAL writes as follows:

"Whatever may be Lord Wolseley's opinion in regard to the Native Army, I think he committed a grave error in publicly expressing himself as he did, considering his position as the head of the country's Military Forces. As far as I could judge there was no call for him to state his opinion to the Commission on the relative value of Native Indian Troops when opposed to the soldiers of European Armies—whilst, if I am wrong on this point, it certainly was open to him to have either made a technical reply, or to have said frankly that the question was one that he felt he could only answer with propriety if called upon to do so confidentially by the head of the Government."

A VETERAN is of opinion that

"There is much in Lord Wolseley's remarks that deserves attention and any criticism that is likely to lead to improvements in the army should be welcomed with gratitude. I fear, however, that our brilliant Commander-in-Chief is only working into the hands of those who wish to provide for more British officers, whereas the present organization gets the *maximum* of spirited work out of the native officers at a minimum of cost and friction. After all, the whole thing is a question of officers rather than of men, for if the Indian Army is led by officers of the same calibre as those of the English Army, there is no reason why it should not, if needed, be able to meet an European foe, provided, of course, the *English* Army is able to do so. This is the crucial question. In my humble opinion, the English Army is *less* able to do so than the Indian Army, for it has not the same opportunities as the latter, either in experience of actual warfare or in extensive manœuvres. *Neither* has met an European foe, so it is mere conjecture how either would acquit itself in that eventuality, not to mention 'the fortunes of war' which are, proverbially, fickle. Man for man, I think the up-country Pathan and Sikh, the Rajput and the Goorkha and, indeed, native Indian soldiers, as a whole, rather more useful than Tommy Atkins with all his dash and pluck, for they are not so often disabled by disease or drink—are, generally, more abstemious and moral, can endure privations for a longer time, do not grumble and have a high sense of honour, the pride of caste, a filial attachment for their officers whom they obey cheerfully and true religious feeling. With such men, Europe could, *cæteris paribus*, be conquered, but as I implied before, Lord Wolseley's statement is more of a conjecture than anything else."

"Tantæne animis cœlestibus irae!" Is it possible that jealousy of a superior man, though not a superior officer, has induced Lord Wolseley to

deny the state of perfection into which Lord Roberts has brought the Indian Army? It is, no doubt, easier to abandon Gordon or to defeat corrupt Egyptians, than to face an European army, but no one who has had any experience of native troops, will ever hesitate to lead their chivalry against *any* foe. COLONEL.

I see in the "Times" a telegram stating that Lord Wolseley's remarks before the Royal Commission has aroused general indignation in India and are likely to cause discontent in the native army. Allow me to say that they will do nothing of the kind, unless they are misrepresented by those very authorities which have created an agitation against India paying the mite towards the Sudan expedition, when it far more calmly swallowed the camel of the Chitrál expenditure. Indeed, the native chiefs and fighting classes are only too glad of any opportunity of Indian troops distinguishing themselves in imperial expeditions, though the anglicized natives, whom Mr. Dadabhoy represents, are pleased at being able to ventilate any grievance, however small, with impunity and now under high auspices. Be that as it may, I venture to consider that, even as reported, Lord Wolseley's remarks on the Indian Army being unable to meet an European one (unless supported, I take it by British troops) ought to be gratefully received, so that improvements may be rendered possible. OLD INDIA.

Lord Wolseley and Sir Havelock Allen have hit the nail on the head. They are both appreciative of the high qualities of the Indian Army, but it will be noticed that Lord Wolseley in his complimentary explanation to them of his statement before the Royal Commission has not modified it in substance. It is one thing to praise the Native Army for its bravery and loyalty and quite another to admit its efficiency to meet an European foe. Till he does this, his spoken and written words stand as follows: "*We should not like to put our Indian troops in front of European soldiers. I should not like to fight France or Germany or any other army with Indian troops.*" Whether it was diplomatic to say this is another question, but, probably, the truth was already known in all quarters likely to be hostile to India, not excluding, perhaps, Affghanistan.

AN ADMIRER OF OUR "ONLY" GENERAL.

The Indian Army is under deep obligation to Lord Wolseley for speaking out so plainly what every one, acquainted with it in the field, knows in his heart to be only too true. The Sepoy, to stand under fire, must *see* an European comrade or officer. Of the latter there are too few in his regiment and they, it is well known, have to expose themselves more than is needed in their regiments, in order to keep up the spirit of the native troops. This is why a third of the fighting army must always be European. The Sepoy is not fighting for his country or religion, but for his pay, his "salt" and for his European officer and when he loses him, he loses heart. Therefore we must have *more* European officers in native regiments and more European regiments to keep up their spirits. I take

it also that Indian troops are to fight on Indian ground and, there, they are, no doubt, in some respects, superior to Europeans, provided always that British troops are there also. SOLDIER.

INJUSTICE TO MADRAS.

There is one thing on which both Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts are agreed and that is in decrying the Madras Army, the former from prejudice and without knowledge, the latter from prejudice though he has knowledge. Every Secretary of State, Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, globe-trotter, Bengal civilian and officer who arrives in the Punjab, North-West or Bengal is tinged with Simla prejudice.

The injustice to Madras about Burma is flagrant. Bengal has kept all the fat appointments, all the civil appointments. Madras has for 70 years placed its army in Burma and paid for the army out of Madras Revenue. If Madras were not to garrison Burma Simla, would say: "your Madras territory is quite quiet; we will abolish the Madras command; Bengal shall take Burma and Bombay shall garrison Madras and recruit there."

Officers who had done good service in the Mutiny found that their Regiments were disbanded; the number of officers in each corps was cut down, they had no prospects, no hope. The young officers were brought up in discontent and misery. Schools, high wages in civil life and excessive service abroad have made the Madras Army so unpopular that it is difficult to get recruits. Its "family system" is expensive, but it saved India in 1857. The sappers are made of the worst material, but by good officers and plenty of them, by hard work, sufficiency of food, (gained as working pay) by firm pride of regiment and constant fighting they have become equal to the best troops in India.

A MADRAS OFFICER.

DR. CUST ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN NATIVE TROOPS IN EUROPEAN WARS.

In a recent issue of the *Times* is an able protest by one of the most gifted of the Anglo-Indian political writers against the injustice of employing Indian Troops on service, where the interests of British India are in no manner concerned, and then charging the additional cost entailed by foreign service to the Indian Exchequer. Some things are done by the English people with regard to British India, which make the blood of Anglo-Indians boil; they indicate that the public feeling of Great Britain, where its own interests are concerned, has lost all sense of national equity. A notable instance is the attempt of the Lancashire manufacturers to enrich themselves at the expense of the people of India: another is the denial to British India of the right to regulate the taxation of imports according to its own financial requirement, a right which every petty British Colony exercises.

But there is a question of high policy, which lies still deeper: it is very unwise to employ Indian *native* Troops on foreign service Westward of India at all. That occasionally they may be sent Eastward to China or

Japan may not signify, as their experience there makes no impression upon their character.

The modern opinion of the Military Authorities in India, is that class-Regiments are better fitted for war than Regiments composed of several classes: we will not discuss this question: those who had personally to do with the great Mutiny of 1857 may have a different opinion. Sixteen mixed battalions have been reconstituted into class Regiments of Brahmins, Rajputs, Jats, and Mahometans: there already existed class battalions of Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Panjabis. The old principle was "Divide et impera." The separation of Castes into vertical strata prevented the existence in India of those secret Societies, which have proved to be the bane of China.

Now a Regiment, sent to W. Asia, or N. Africa, comes into contact with nations, of whose existence it previously knew nothing, and the soldier enters an environment of new ideas, and new aspirations. In India he knows experimentally of the one great Sirkar, the Sun of his Universe: he may hear vaguely of such persons as the Emperor of China, or the Kingdom of the Russians, but into personal contact he never comes with representatives of those Powers. Not knowing much of History, or Geography, he hears with surprise of Turks, and Arabs, and Egyptians, and French, and Germans, he sees *few* English soldiers—still *fewer* English officers: he hears that England is a little island, a great way off, and that its military power is not to be compared in numbers with those of the other nations, even of the Egyptians. When stationed a considerable period at Suakim or elsewhere he comes into contact with some residents, either sent there with an insidious purpose, or there by chance, with whom he can by some mutually understood language communicate, or he hears portion of the Native Egyptian papers, as edited by French English-hating Editors, read to him with comments: he thus has his first lesson in European Politics: wonder is expressed how such a great warlike race as the people of India, their 250 Millions, can tamely submit to such a petty nation as Great Britain; he is invited to count up the number of all the English in India, and the number of the Native Army, and the Contingents of the Native Princes. The young soldier, full of military aspirations, has notions put into his head, which may develop hereafter. After a sojourn of two years in Suakim on garrison duty, or after accomplishing a march to Berber on the Nile and back, his eyes are considerably opened. If the regiment is composed entirely of Mahometans, religious, as well as political and military, notions are suggested. The regiment returns to its quarters in India considerably changed, and much is talked about of what it saw and heard in Egypt. When the time for the next Mutiny arrives, the effect of the poison there imbibed by our troops will be felt.

The policy also is not worthy of the British Government. It raises and maintains a Native Army in India because of local necessities, not for Imperial purposes. The British Soldier may be credited with readiness to shed his blood for the British Flag, wherever in the world it is hoisted: he was prepared to do so when he enlisted; he has the names of foreign countries on the insignia of his regiment. But under no such circumstances was

the Indian Sepoy enlisted: he is a mere handler of lethal weapons in return for pay, and pension. The contingents of the Native States may have national, or rather provincial, aspirations, and under Holkar or Scindia, one of their own people, might go out to conquest. But this is the last thing, that the British Government can desire: its armed force is only a Police force organized on a military scale for the defence of the frontier, and the maintenance of order. To hire them out to an ambitious British Ministry for service in N. Africa against the Mahdi, in S. Africa against President Krüger, in Russia and Turkey to checkmate the Russian Cossacks, will only be inserting another nail in the coffin of the British Dominion in India. R. N. C.

RUSSIA'S COUNTERMOVE FOR KAFIRISTAN.

In the autumn of 1895, when the Afghan troops entered Kafiristan, enquiries were at once set on foot by the Russian Government which have now had their countermove in the construction of a railway between Merv and Kushk. Mr. A. Zuboff, after describing the country and people on the line of railway as a mine of commercial and agricultural wealth for wheat, barley, tobacco, cotton, silk, cattle and sheep breeding, etc., ends his letter to a Russian contemporary as follows: (Fort Kushk is 6 versts or about 4 miles from the nearest Afghan outpost at Karatepeh, but there is already a Russian village, Alexeiefkoie, 4 miles south of Kushk, whence there are 140 versts through the Andaman pass to Herat):

Such then is the country through which the new railway will pass from Merv to Kushk and Merv has been chosen as the head of it. The next station, Bairam Ali, in the neighbourhood of the Czar's property, which has a great future before it and has grown out of an oasis as small as Yulatan, offers great technical advantages as the head of the line, but Merv has been chosen for administrative and military reasons. The railway line will follow the left bank of the Murgab and then the right bank of the Kushk a little further up Tash-Kepri.* The terminus will be at the outpost of Kushk. It is expected to finish the railway in two years. It is not necessary to say too much as to the military importance of the line; the above information makes it clear enough; but the new line, no doubt, will also have a great commercial importance. Until recently our trade with the north of Afghanistan—Herat, Badgis and Maïmeneh was very small, the business done yearly amounting only to 200,000 roubles (£22,000) though the production of these countries is great. The fact is explained by the hostile policy of the British in Afghanistan towards Russia on account of which our commercial intercourse with the border districts has been fettered by prohibitive measures: for instance, the exportation of corn from Afghanistan into Russia is prohibited. The opening of the railway line Merv-Kushk, will alter this abnormal condition through natural and peaceful means, because it offers such advantages for commercial intercourse that supposing Abdurrahman refuses them England can never have the means of compensating him for their loss. Referring to us, the new line will produce a great economical development in the cultivated strip of land watered by the Murgab where may grow the vine, tobacco, cotton and silk produced, like in the olden time, when the ancient Merv bore the proud name of "Shah-i-Jihán" or "King of the World."

I have thought it likely from the first that the Russian Government would consider itself justified in making use of the Ameer's subjugation of the Kafirs, to present some new claim to counterbalance the altered positions

* Where the Russians defeated the Afghans in "the battle of the Kushk," not the Tash-Kepri which is 244 versts from Merv.

created by the deportation of the Kafirs and the substitution of Afghans in their place. In my opinion the Russians can justly claim consideration; for the Ameer is now placed in a position to act with comparative ease beyond the Russian line of demarcation, should it ever become his, or our, purpose to threaten Russia at that point. The irregular and questionable manner in which the Government has treated our Parliament in the matter has made it impossible to feel satisfied as to "what is truth," but as the saying is "murder will out," let the India Office and Indian Government officials wriggle as they will. The whole Chitral-Kafiristan business is a tangled web of folly and wickedness. It has weakened our position for defence, and opened the door to endless future political and military difficulties. If we had reason to quarrel with the Ameer, he could, and probably would, raise the whole of the North-West frontier tribes against us, notwithstanding the disgraceful treaty which placed the Kafirs beneath his heavy hand. He need only to change "ye cursed ones" into "ye blessed ones," and war drums would resound from every hillside! All our outposts and garrisons not withdrawn in time would be cut to pieces, for in a general rising it would be impossible to succour them. The difficulties and delays incurred during the Chitrál campaign proved the danger we always run with posts far away from support, and this when we had only to fight for the Malakand Pass and had not to meet any combination of tribesmen. The Ameer's cannon, and Maxims, and Infantry regiments armed with repeating rifles, would have been quite another business. At the Paiwar Kotal, Roberts only got through by good luck and pluck. It was really touch and go, and so was the march from the Shutar Gurdan to Cabool, after Cavignari's slaughter. Our Government has acted in so faint-hearted a manner in its relations with the Ameer, that there is no saying what passed between it and the Ameer *prior* to the actual signing of the supplementary agreement as to the Bashgal Valley of December 1895.

He has had the whip-hand of the Viceroy throughout; and he has truly had his revenge for our foolish policy in Chitrál. And the worst of it is, that so long as we continue to occupy positions in the mountains far from our base, and surrounded by tribes that hate and detest our presence and interference, we must continue at the mercy of His Highness!

EX-FRONTIER OFFICER.

BOMBAY AND MADRAS LAND SETTLEMENTS COMPARED.*

Mr. J. B. Pennington has favoured us with the following letter:

"Before replying to Mr. Rogers' criticism on Madras administration, I thought it right to consult the masterly and complete answer of the Madras Board of Revenue, which although ready in 1894, was only officially submitted this year. As an Ex-Madras official, having administered its revenue system, I feel that Mr. Rogers has not understood its peculiarities and has, therefore, too readily assumed that it was wrong, foolish and impracticable. No doubt, in every system, so in ours, common sense has constantly to modify any too hard-and-fast rule. Indeed, of the two systems, that of Bombay is the more rigid, and Mr. Rogers has also under-estimated the

* See the article on this subject in the last "Asiatic Quarterly."

effects of the great famine in 1876-77 which for five years after, as I know, though he states the contrary, threw such enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, that it was necessary to sell them for arrears, simply as a means of bringing them back into the condition of waste land available for occupation. His picturesque use of the word 'evictions' is also misleading, because it is most rare that Madras ryots are 'turned out of house and home' by the sale of their land or even personal property, because we carefully observe the rule that 'no more land shall be sold than is sufficient to cover the arrear.' His statement, therefore, that 3,250,000 people must have been thus evicted is purely sensational, for nothing of the kind has occurred. He has been misled by the confused statistics in the Administration Reports, *e.g.*, as to the acreage held by each ryot, which cannot help being wrong, because a ryot holding land in more than one village (which he often does) is 'returned' as 2 or 3 ryots, whereas he is *one* substantial ryot and not 2 or 3 small ones, possibly 'evicted from house and home' by Mr. Rogers. (I fear that these time-honoured returns still obtain since I left India.) The manual from which Mr. Rogers has obtained his information is merely a historical sketch of the system of the Madras settlement department for the use of the general reader, but not for the guidance of its officers; still it is more complete than would appear from Mr. Rogers' extracts from it. In practice, both the Madras and the Bombay systems are much the same, though the former may have a more scientific theory of assessment and elicits more and better information as to the real value of the land. Under any system inequalities in assessment are unavoidable; some of the worst land in Madras is no doubt over-assessed at even four annas an acre, and some of the best has been perhaps unnecessarily reduced by settlement officers of Mr. Rogers' way of thinking, as he himself remarked of the Ahmadnagar settlement of 1861. All systems of assessment ultimately depend on the honesty and intelligence of the native officials and the energy and devotion of their European supervisors, whether in Bombay, or in the underrated Madras of Mr. Rogers' imagination. Our system is more suited to the genius of the people and to their old customs, being a logical development of the ancient Hindu sharing system; nor are there insuperable difficulties in applying it, as Mr. Rogers supposes, because the produce of each field is known with wonderful accuracy, as I can speak from personal experience, in which I am confirmed by every superior settlement officer. Another error is that 50 per cent. of the net yield approaches a rack rent. Surely this depends on what that yield is; in some cases two annas an acre might be a rack rent, or even a tax on the property itself, but where large tracts pay twenty rupees an acre and are often sublet for sixty, the 50 per cent. on an assessment of 40 is easily paid and such land is never in the market or sold for arrears. It is only on the margin of cultivation that the amount is, practically, a fee for the privilege of possession. In such cases to talk of the hardhearted Government taking 50 per cent. of the net yield is absurd.

"The Board of Revenue point out the following minor errors into which Mr. Rogers has fallen. He does not, *e.g.*, know that the permanent demarcation of every field with stones of a fixed size is a leading feature of

every Madras settlement. The mudbanks which he says are still used in Bombay were given up many years ago in Madras as useless. Mr. Rogers also overlooks the fact that land sold in any one year may (and generally does) include land bought in in the previous year. He also says (in his first letter to the Secretary of State) 'a very large proportion' of the 97,114 acres sold in 87/88 to 89/90 was 'of the valuable description of irrigated land,' whereas only 39,849 acres were sold in the three years referred to, of which only 5,625 were irrigated—evidently too the poorest of irrigation and as the assessment on it ranged from Rs. 3. 4. 2 to Rs. 4. 1. 3 an acre, whilst the ordinary water-rate alone is 3 Rupees.

"The Board state that there were 5,513 defaulters whose property was sold in 1890-91, but if this means *land* the Board show that the number of ryots so sold-up *in that very bad year* was *not* double that in Bombay, and in neither case amounts to ·2 *per cent.* (the Board say, by mistake, ·02).

"It is not at all clear that Bombay is more equally assessed than Madras. The real difference between them seems to be that in Madras we sell the ryot up ourselves: in Bombay we drive him into the hands of the money-lender who does the same with greater harshness and more disastrous consequences. The lamentable condition of the Deccan in recent years, unparalleled by anything in Madras, may indicate that even the Bombay system of assessment is not perfect; no system of assessment will indeed, ever save ryots from the consequences of their own want of thrift. If the Deccan riots and consequent exceptional legislation had nothing to do with over-assessment, as Mr. Rogers asserts, how is it that both the special Commissioners that sat upon the question 'attributed part of the difficulties under which the cultivating classes had suffered and were still suffering to the *rigidity of the Government demand* and the *want of elasticity* in the Revenue system of Bombay'? They even said that 'there can be no question that this was indeed *the main cause*.' Reference is also made to the 'false pride of the people which causes persons without capital to hold on to large extents of shallow land which they are unable to cultivate properly.' This pride is also a main cause of our too frequent sales of land in Madras.

"People who ought to be day-labourers, hunger for the position of landed proprietor, and then if a bad season comes, are inevitably sold up.

"Mr. Rogers seems also to have forgotten the law laid down (at p. viii of his 'Land Revenue of Bombay') that 'the system in each Presidency is *essentially* different, and that each of them to be understood requires separate study'—evidently on the spot. As Mr. Baden-Powell says in the Board's Proceedings: 'No comparison can be more invidious than that of one revenue system with another: no discussion can well be more fruitless. It is impossible to say that one system is, in itself, better than another: the applicability of systems depends wholly on the facts and *on the circumstances of the place*.' Now Mr. Rogers has told us that he has no personal acquaintance with the circumstances of Madras, then why does he discuss them?"

(*To be continued.*)

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

The main points to which I wish to draw the attention of your Indian readers are:

1. That from the Conservative benches, equally with the Liberal, the interests of India can be safeguarded and advanced.

2. That, in fact, this is essential, as it would be a sad mistake to woo only one party and rely upon it for doing good to India. This would naturally make the other callous, if not inimical.

3. That moderation and expediency have to be observed in the discussion of Indian questions. By expediency, I mean such considerations as the temper and time of the House, and also the element of practicability. For instance, it is no use talking in season and out of season about the reduction of military or civil officers, simultaneous civil service examinations and so forth. Then again, the adjournments of the House on the cotton duties question, and the Jhalawar case were most unwise. The House was, on both occasions, in the thick of questions of paramount importance, and it simply laughed and adjourned to the smoking rooms as soon as these subjects were mentioned. The result was that both these important matters were dismissed with scant courtesy, and placed beyond the pale of sound discussion. Another great mistake, which is made by impetuous friends of India, is that they always ask for "divisions." This might do good if there was the least likelihood of a good number of members, on both sides, showing a disposition to take an interest in the question, as happened, for instance, in respect of the Indian Troops to Suakim. *That* "division," although it resulted in favour of Government, gave an effectual lesson for the future. But the divisions on the Cotton duties question and the amendment of Sir W. Wedderburn about a Committee of Accounts were a complete fiasco, and they did this harm, that whereas at their proper time these subjects would have secured some favourable consideration, *these* "divisions" simply sealed up both the subjects.

4. The same considerations apply to "Questions" *Verbum sapienti.*

M. P.

MADAGASCAR.

The mistake made by France in annexing Madagascar as a French colony instead of a Protectorate has caused rebellion or resistance both where former Hova authority would have helped to keep the peace and where the new invaders were not even known by name. As a matter of fact, there are numerous little kingdoms, or rather queendoms, where the lover of the ruler is the Prime Minister, in which the name of France has not yet been even heard. Both the Sakalavas and the Fohivalos are on the war path and years of desultory fighting may yet convince the French that in Madagascar they ought rather to have imitated the system of their Tunis protectorate than the failure of their Algerian Colony.

ZANZIBAR.

In punishing the Arab supporters of the unsuccessful claimant, Khalid, to the Zanzibar throne, it should not be forgotten that we cannot afford to

put entirely against us "the Arab interest" in East Africa. Seyyid Bargash made the usual mistake of enlightened Orientals, that of trusting too much to European advisers, with the result that he was left with the Star of India and the shadow of his former power. A Rule of succession scarcely exists in Zanzibar and we, at all events, in appointing the late and the present so-called Sultans have not followed any law except that of our supposed interests. To confiscate the property, therefore, of the unsuccessful adherents to *any* party is not generous, nor was it chivalrous in a giant Power to burn down the palace and to sink the poor disused Zanzibar gunboat that fought so bravely to the last. According to Muhammadan theory, the eldest son should succeed to his father's dignity and sword, but the Arab custom is, as in Turkey, to look to the eldest surviving male member of the ruling family, a brother or uncle, as "the coming King." In Afghanistan, however, this has not been attended to, for there the eldest son, although not of a royal mother, has been designated as heir-apparent to the exclusion of the Amir Abdurhaman's full royal son and of his brothers, Yakub Khan and Ayub Khan. In Persia, a second fully "royal" son has succeeded as Shah to the exclusion of the eldest. Indeed, for every succession there can be alleged some good reason, that of might being right, the successful everywhere being patriots and the failures rebels. Perhaps, if abstract justice were observed, Abd-ul-Aziz, who is now on a pension and under surveillance in Poona, might turn out to be the rightful heir to the Zanzibar shadow. A.

THE LATE RAJA SUCHEYT SINGH.

Nothing can be more sad than the recent miserable death of one of the proudest Rajput chiefs in a London lodging. Raja Sucheyt Singh of Chamba announced on the death of his ruling full brother that he—the recognised successor—meant to govern without the aid of the British Resident, though he was grateful to him for past services, and was forthwith displaced by the Indian Government in favour of an obscure half-brother, who had to be brought from the plough to misrule Chamba and disgrace himself. He was soon deposed and his son enjoyed a long minority under British tutelage. In the meanwhile, Sucheyt Singh, who was popular among his people and brother-chiefs, moved the Gods of the Simla Olympus, of the India Office, of Parliament and of the Press in vain for his restitution and unwisely threw himself into the hands of lawyers and busybodies who made him fight to fill their own pockets or to air their importance. He refused the small allowance of Rs. 5000 offered, as a *solatium*, by the Indian Government, even when they had accumulated to a large sum, for, as he said, "a Rajput cannot disgrace his family shrine." Finally, he had to struggle against starvation and, therefore, accepted the Government subsistence allowance, much too small for the new wants awakened in him by long residence in Europe. After living on a 6th floor in Paris, where he cooked his own food, he died miserably in London as a lesson to all those natives who seek their rights through other than "the usual channel."

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE PINHEY.

We deeply regret the death of Mr. Justice Pinhey, the learned and painstaking Vice-Chairman of the East India Association. His knowledge of Sanscrit and of Indian Law, as also his popularity with natives, coupled with a long training in the conduct of official business, rendered him eminently qualified for the position which he filled in the Association, where his loss is greatly felt by his colleagues on the Council and the Members of the Association and others who came in contact with this genial and honest-minded gentleman and scholar. He was born in 1831 and died at Eastbourne on the 21st August. His funeral was attended by the representatives of various societies to which he belonged.

THE MOPLAS.

We trust that the scandal of shooting down, as in March last, practically unarmed Moplas, instead of taking them prisoners and enquiring into their grievances, will never again be repeated. They went out to die, as no one would hear them. No stricter Muhammadans exist anywhere. We may have something to say in an early issue about their songs and the style of their Mosques, which is unique. In the meanwhile, we are glad to find that, where employment is given to them in the fields, they prove to be most docile and industrious labourers.

LI HUNG CHANG.

We present to our readers a coloured portrait of Li Hung Chang in his yellow jacket that has been published in *le Petit Journal*. The reproductions from photographs in English papers are literally correct, but they are not so characteristic of the illustrious Chinaman, under whose heavy look the keen observer can perceive the typical native astuteness. Of this an example may suffice. Li Hung Chang, who met few Chinese or other scholars here, is reported by one who knows him to speak English well, yet he employed a distinguished interpreter so as to gain time for his replies and to watch, as an amused spectator, any effect the questions to him might create. We have also received a coloured drawing of a massacre in Crete, which, *mutatis mutandis*, might stand for an often-enacted scene in those parts of Kafiristan where the houses and women offer a singular resemblance to those of Crete and where, if turbans are substituted for the Fez the Turkish soldiers would look not unlike the Afghan Ghazis destroying the infidels, or Káfirs.

THE ABOLITION OF INLAND DUTIES IN CHINA.

With regard to the news telegraphed from Hong Kong, that Lord Salisbury will not be satisfied with anything else than the abolition of all Inland Customs' duties, including Likin, in the event of his consenting to the doubling of the foreign import duties, allow me to say that it matters not what Lord Salisbury may insist on, as the Chinese Mandarins have their own way in levying (or squeezing) such duties as they may choose, when once the goods are away from a Treaty Port.—SINENSIS.

Muscle and Brain.

We are glad that Ranjitsinjhi has shown, by even beating Dr. Grace, what proficiency Indians can acquire even in a game that is so peculiarly English as cricket and we believe that he will similarly distinguish himself in the more serious struggle of life. We have, however, known young chiefs, brought up by English tutors anxious to save themselves the trouble of teaching, that were excellent billiard or polo players, or who drove admirably a four-in-hand, but yet knew nothing of the people, or wants of the country that they might be called upon to govern. India has always been famous for its Pehliwans, runners, bold riders and acrobats; what it asks from English education is not merely a development of muscle, but also of knowledge, character and brain.

THE MALAY STATES.

With reference to Baron de Ravisi's article on the Anglo-French Convention and the one on Malay States, I may say that I was well acquainted with the doings of M. Deloncle and his companions, not only in Siam and the Malay States, but also in Burma.

The Kra canal was taken up by the French in the early eighties, if not before, surveyed by them and condemned, and then they sought and found the present Singora scheme, which they tried to carry out by an English Company, but did not succeed.

The Foreign Office and the Straits Government were all along informed of the scheme.

As to Johore, I know its whole history, and I was acquainted with the late Sultan when he was twelve years old. He was always a kind-hearted, and, for a native, a very advanced man, anxious to see his country prosper, but unable to do as much as he would or could, owing to his extravagance, hospitality and generosity.

I learn that the present Sultan and his minister the Dato Mantri are introducing regularity and economy in the administration of the province, but still require sensible advice on various subjects connected with its prosperity and progress.

As for Singora, this is a port on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula in about 7.20 N. and 100.30 W. It has a shallow and barred port leading to an inland sea. During the N. E. Monsoon the sands, at the entrance of the harbour, are said to shift a good deal. Senex.

"Dalip Singh."

You once raised a discussion as to the origin and etymology of the name Dalīp. I noticed the other day in the "Actes" of the Geneva Congress, 1894, Deuxième partie, p. 96, that "Dilīpa" is the name of one of the personages in the Mahābhārata, Books VII. and XII. It is thus of pure Sanscrit origin and being used in a classic, a good name for a Hindū. As to its etymology I can say nothing, but I dare say Mr. Beames has already said all that can be said. I forget whether he pointed out the use of the name in the Mahābhārata. W. Irvine.

"AS OTHERS SEE US."

An undeniable instance of Hindu wit is given in a recent number of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. It illustrates Mr. Jacobs' "As others see us." Imagine a Hindu Pantheon, where, instead of Indra and other Deities, the Christian God presides and Jesus, Moses, Muhammad and the Apostles hold council. This will avoid any suspicion of blasphemy in referring to what follows. The proceedings begin by both Italians and Abyssinians praying against one another, as the only ancient and loyal Christians, but their deeds are such that they are referred to the common law. Emperor William kindly offers to proclaim God's glory if He will help him to keep Alsace and Loraine, but the matter is not gone into. The Armenians petition to be protected against the Sultan and the Sultan against the Christian Powers, but the prophet Muhammad declines to interfere in this case. He joins instead in arbitration with Jesus in that of Chitrál or "Muhammadans versus infidels"—Kafirs, "this as a Foreign Office matter being kept a profound secret." In Africa, Christians pray for success, because they bring the Bible to the savages and in return only want to massacre them with Maxim guns, take their lands and goods and build up a Colonial Empire. "Is it for this, says the King sorrowfully to Jesus, that you died on the Cross?" The gem, however, of the proceedings is in the following which, we undertake to say, will be forgiven for the sake of the genuineness of its wit:

"A petition reached the throne, praying for the forgiveness of the sins *of the neighbours of the petitioner*. The King smiled graciously and said, 'This is very good of the applicant, but what has he done *of his own sins?*' The Secretary replied with folded hands: 'May it please your Heavenly Majesty, the *petitioner is an Englishman*. He thinks that he has his privileges; at least, as an Englishman, he will manage it somehow or other to push himself into Heaven.'"

Professor Almagro Cardenas, the learned custodian of the Alhambra, is bringing out a profusely illustrated *magnum opus* on the Antiquities of Granada of which we hope to give further particulars in our next issue.

Experiments are being made at the *Imperial Institute* on two Burmese turpentines—Pinus Khasya and Pinus Merkusii; as also an Indian Jute—steeped and unsteeped, and treated with Tamarind ash.

We have received from our Syrian Correspondent an account of the creed of the Matavalis which, together with his Druse Catechism, may find space in a future issue of this Review.

We have to thank the Panjab Government for an interesting report by the well-known Numismatist, Mr. C. J. Rodgers on the *Sangla Tibba* or rock of Sangla which rises about 200 feet above a level plain near a Railway Station of that name on the Wazirahad and Lyallpur line. Mr. Rodgers shows that this curious natural feature was sufficient to attract the attention of, say, Fakirs and that a small temple may have existed there, but that it never had any historical importance. Arrian's Sangala, which gave so much trouble to Alexander the Great and which he razed to the ground,

was in the Bari Doab, 3 days' march from the Ravi, a large city, strongly fortified and not the Sangla rock at all. Mr. Rodgers then shows from "the Buddhist Record of the Western World," compiled before 713 A.D. that neither their old nor their new towns of *Sakala* could have been anywhere near the present Sangla, thus destroying both the Alexander and the Buddhist identifications by the veteran Archæologist, the late Sir A. Cunningham.

I maintain that we cannot give the native charge of *important* districts:—they can hold small districts and manage them well enough—such as Mandla, Betul, Chindwarra and others in the C. P.; but either a Mussalman or a Hindu would have failed in Nimar, in the crisis described in last April's *A.Q.R.* I suppose Mr. Nundy is the Christian pleader of that name who used to practise in the C. P. H. W.

As we are going to Press we receive a number of articles from France and Russia by distinguished writers on the subject of the silence of the English Press regarding the obliteration of the Kafir race, so interesting to all classically educated men, by the connivance of the Indian Government. It is pointed out that no confidence can, in future, be felt in the professions of humanity of a people, whose very religious Societies are guilty of time-serving in a matter that has involved the forcible conversion of the Kafirs to Islám. 100 signatures of French savants have been added to the Appeal from, and to, the learned Societies published in our April issue.

We are much disappointed in being compelled to postpone to next issue the 2nd Part of Mr. J. Beames' admirable paper on Buddhism. His first Part has justly been hailed by scholars as, by far, the most correct, as it is the most lucid, account of the theory of that system. The next will deal with its practice and we have no hesitation in saying that there is no writer on Buddhism who could not learn much from Mr. Beames' paper, whilst to the general reader both parts form the first really intelligible and trustworthy guidance that has ever been presented. His "plain account of Buddhism" sets right alike specialists and dreamers who have hitherto confused the subject.

The 3½ p.c. loans of 1853-54 and of 1893-94 (the latter on much too short a notice) are to be reduced to 3 p.c. on 1st January next and others are to follow shortly, making the amount so converted about 100 crores. We also hear that the interest on the deposits (over 9 crores) in Postal Savings Banks in India is to be reduced from 3½ to 2¾ p.c., which, if successful, may cause the 3½ p.c. (reduced) loans to rise in value.

Our eminent Canadian contributor, Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, is preparing a work on "QUEEN VICTORIA: Her Life, Reign and Imperial Influence" to which Lord Dufferin is contributing a Preface.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

MR. H. R. ALLENSON; 30, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

1. *A few Flowers from the Garden of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi*, by MAJOR W. C. MACKINNON. This is a daintily-bound little volume of verse, consisting of portions from the Bostan or garden of Saadi. The selection includes ten Chapters or "doors" to knowledge—"Báb"* (whence the name of the sect "Bábis"), namely: "justice and governing," "kindness," "love," "humility," "resignation," "contentment," "cultivation and good manners," "gratitude," "penance," and "prayer." The English rendering which the translator deprecates as "halting," is not unworthy of the original and often has an easy grace that helps to inculcate the maxims of the poet. The booklet is dedicated to Mrs. Mackinnon in the following verse, taken from Door VII., story 2nd:

> "Surely God's favour is on him bestowed
> Whose wife makes glad and prospers his abode."

MR. GEORGE ALLEN; RUSKIN HOUSE, LONDON.

2. *The Tale of King Counstans, the Emperor* (old French Romances done into English, by WILLIAM MORRIS, with an Introduction by JOSEPH JACOBS). This is a delightful book, in a quaint dress of type and paper. As the introduction declares, the first tale, "King Counstans the Emperor," is, "in effect, a folk-etymology of the name of the great capital of the Eastern Empire." Constantinople in this view is not the city of Constantine, but of "Coustant the noble"; whilst Coustant or Constant is again explained as "*costing*" too much—the city that costs too much. So runs the story. In it the Emperor Coustans' daughter, being led to look upon a far-travelled handsome youth when he was asleep, falls in love with him, and expedites the marriage by "feigning the Emperor's seal and consent." This simple narrative is translated in language alike dignified and sweet, thanks to the genius of William Morris.

MESSRS. JOHN BARTHOLOMEW AND CO.; EDINBURGH.

3. *A Political Map of Africa, according to the most recent treaties.* The Edinburgh Geographical Institute has rendered another of its many services to science by bringing out, under the auspices of one of the best Publishers of such subjects, a Map of a Continent which now so much attracts public attention, from the statesman and administrator to the exploiter and filibuster. We see in it, more plainly and easily than in any other, the countries and regions of influence that the various nations of Europe now misgovern or govern without the consent of the natives. Even the still existing and neutral territories are given, and he who wishes to study the further prospects of the mysterious Congo State, the possibilities

*"When I this Treasury began to build
I made ten doors each with instruction filled." ("*Scheme of book.*")
"The Sublime Porte" is called "Báb A'lía" or "The High door."—*Ed.*

of a Franco-Muhammadan Empire, the precarious holds of Turkey, the bearings of Treaties whose histories are not fit for publication, and other results of European rule or intervention, as well as follow the progress of events throughout the Dark Continent, cannot do better than procure this Map.

A. AND CH. BLACK AND CO.; LONDON.

4. *Studies in Judaism*, by S. SCHECHTER, M.A., Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge. We are scarcely able to determine whether the fascinating volume before us will appeal more strongly to Jews or non-Jews. Eminently Jewish in character, the subjects treated of by a scholar of Mr. Schechter's reputation must, through the manner in which they are presented, be a revelation to those within, as without, the communion, to which the author himself belongs. The book must be read through, from beginning to end, in order to afford an indication of its intrinsic value as regards topics widely apart in point of importance and gravity. To those interested in such an old historic religion as the Jewish, there can be no more important questions than those discussed with rare force and ability under the titles: *The Dogmas of Judaism*, *The History of Jewish Tradition*, *The Law and Recent Criticism*, and *The Doctrine of Divine Retribution*. There is something charming in the biographical sketches dealing with Nachman Krochmal, Elijah Wilna, Nachmanides, and with the sect known as the Chassidim. And who can fail to be interested in the articles so lucidly put before the reader which speak of the Child in Jewish Literature, of Woman in Temple and Synagogue, and the Earliest Jewish Community in Europe, meaning Rome?. There is a wealth of information in the work itself, and by no means the least important characteristic of the work is the pleasing style and attractive manner in which it is written.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.

5. "*The Vigil*," by CHARLES MONTAGUE. This story of Zululand is a wholesome tale—and although a story within a story is very easy reading. Our interesting protégé, or rather victim, Cetywayo, finds a prominent place in these pages, as also do diviners, medicine-men, and, of course, lovers whose hair-breadth escapes from lions and crocodiles provide the required thrills. For the purposes of artistic unity, Cetywayo is represented as a warlike monarch, though he was a man of peace till forced into war by Sir Bartle Frere's ultimatum of December, 1878.

The story is told by a Zulu over a camp fire in the South African bush, whilst the "Vigil" was anxiously kept amid the "appalling moans" of hungry lions. The style of the author is natural and the illustrations are attractive.

MESSRS. CH. EGGIMANN AND CO.; GENEVA.

6. *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*, by PROF. E. MONTET, D.D. This is a charming Manual, if such a description be not irreverent in connexion with such a subject. It is intended for elementary religious education in

Swiss and French Schools (wherever the latter admit any religion at all), and it is certainly "indicated" for translation into English for the use of our Schools of whatever denomination. It is admirably illustrated, not only with the stock Biblical drawings, but also with Assyrian and Egyptian portraits in point, and with characteristic Hebrew specimens. When a learned Semitic scholar, like the author, can give the results of his erudition in an attractive form, so that a child can understand him, he achieves the greatest triumph for the cause of knowledge. On this result we can congratulate Dr. Montet. His Manual contains the last results of Scriptural learning and yet is as pleasant (though more orthodox) to read as Renan's Life of Jesus. Indeed, there is no controversy in it. The Manual contains two maps, one of Palestine during the time of the Judges and Kings—and the other of the countries traversed by the Hebrews before the conquest of Canaan.

MR. T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

7. *The Karakorum and Kashmir*, by OXAR ECKERSTEIN. We were, at first, inclined to wonder why this book was written and how a publisher came to print it, even at the author's cost, when we remembered that similar reading of the lightest kind had been issued on difficult subjects by "one of the most successful publishers of the age." Nothing so well becomes this book as its end,—in other words, its Appendix of useful routes in countries that have now descended from fairy-land to become the happy hunting-ground of 'Arry, British and foreign. At the same time, we are bound to acknowledge the sympathy of the writer for the Kashmîris, in whom, like Mr. Lawrence, he discovers excellent qualities, although he has a great contempt for "the heathen," to whom, for all that, he dedicates this volume of impressions of his journey. He takes, however, good care not to overpay them, and when he rewards them with sums varying from one anna to 4, he takes their irony or resignation for effusive gratitude. He crosses a difficult glacier from Nagyr (which he spells correctly) to Askole, and would, apparently, have done more, if Sir M. Conway had let him, but nothing of importance was to be done in the absence of the leader of the expedition, whilst the leader himself was too rapid in his movements to undertake ascents which Mr. Eckerstein's Swiss experience had taught him might well be attempted. The author finishes with a good deed, in his opinion, by successfully showing to a native stonedealer how he can sell a stone worth, say, Rs. 60, to an American for Rs. 800. Might we suggest that this operation is worthy of his "Anglo-Indian," to him the type of European degeneracy among Eastern surroundings?

8. *The Mystery of the Laughlin Islands*, by LOUIS BECKE and WALTER JEFFERY. In this age of book-making, it is enough for a book to be quaintly bound and printed in order to obtain the reputation of wit for its contents. This little volume, 8 inches by 4, is printed on greenish-yellow paper, has 94 pages of text, with about 120 words in pretty brevier type in each page, swimming in an ocean of margin, and 14 pages of advertisements. What should be more successful? But then there is also some substance drowned in padding of more or less verbiage supposed to be sailor-

like, but neither parliamentary nor racy. It narrates how in 1794 one "swab" Capt. Locke had taken six convicts surreptitiously away from Sydney and had then, in order to keep a handsome woman among them for himself, landed the rest at the then unknown Laughlin Islands, as also his mate Barker, the father of an innocent girl, also a convict, who had given £100 to Locke to aid in her escape. In 1836 an American, Captain Warren, visited these islands, and there found a half-caste race of natives, descended from the convicts, who had, however, been thrown to the sharks for attempting the life of Barker. He was shown a tombstone which was erected by Locke in Barker's memory and that of his daughter. "The Mystery of Laughlin Islands" tries to show that Locke, partly under compulsion and partly from remorse, had, years after the exposure of the convicts, tried to look them up and had found that all had died.

MR. HENRY FROWDE (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE).

9. *India; forty years of Progress and Reform*, by R. P. KARKARIA. This volume is virtually a eulogistic biography of Behramji M. Malabari, the distinguished Parsi, as a littérateur and social reformer, and one of the noble host that have left their mark upon India. When, in the early part of this century, there was some fear lest Hindu culture should be based solely on the indigenous classics and vernaculars, Lord Macaulay stood stoutly forward for English education. Unfortunately his counsels have prevailed to the decay of Oriental Scholarship and the rise of a shallow and discontented community who have ceased to be natives and are mere caricatures of Englishmen. Malabari, however, is one of the best products of English education, whether as an author or a philanthropist, for he soon perceived that any European influence to be effective in such a vast population as that of India should make use of the indigenous tongues. His first poems were accordingly written in the Gujarati language, one of the derivatives of Sanskrit. Indeed, he composed this volume of poems rather in the highly Sanskritized dialect of Gujarati than in the form used by the Parsis, as might have been expected. Later on the young poet became a journalist, and is now the proprietor of *The Indian Spectator*, the staunch friend of the child-wife and the child-widow. Lord Ripon naturally had a high opinion of that weekly, which is certainly one of the best published in India. Malabari is said to live a toilsome and retiring life—and, in Western eyes, one of abnegation. In 1894 Malabari published his now well-known "Notes on Infant Marriage and enforced Widowhood"; and having paid two or three visits to England, he composed a volume, "The Indian Eye on English Life"—a work enabling John Bull to see himself as a generous and candid Indian sees him.

MESSRS. HACHETTE ET CIE.; LONDON AND PARIS.

10. *Une expédition avec le Négous Ménélik*, by J. G. VANDERHEYM. This "yellow-cover" book, which contains 68 illustrations, is by a French merchant, with a Dutch name, who seems to have also been employed by his Government as a quasi-political agent. He was 20 months with the Emperor, who has given such a lesson to the Italians, and he almost fore-

tells from Menelik's contemptuous treatment of an Italian Envoy what was likely to happen. He describes a ferocious expedition against the Walamo, in which he accompanied the most Christian King of Abyssinia, who could well give points to the perpetrators of Armenian atrocities. However, annual crusades against the Mussulmans and the heathens are necessary in Abyssinia to keep up the faith in its ancient purity or savagery. M. Jules Clarétie, of the French Academy, writes a long and appreciative letter to the author, whom he considers to have thrown, by far, the fullest and truest light on a country and a ruler, who is both an ancient prophet and a modern leader, believing, as he does, in dynamite, regretting the Italians he has killed, and ordering Abyssinian postage-stamps to be struck in Paris. Above all, does M. Clarétie go into raptures over the Abyssinia war-song :

"Sing, O Vultures,
You will soon have in pasture
The flesh of men."

We strongly commend this book to those who would like to know something of the inner life of the Abyssinians.

MR. O. HARRASSOWITZ ; LEIPZIG.

11. *Die Sprache und Schrift der Juc'en*, by DR. WILHELM GRUBE, Professor an der Konigl. Univ. zu Berlin. 1896. We regret to have only a limited space to devote to a work of such real importance to Oriental philology. The Juc'en are those Niu-tchi, as the Chinese and Manchus call them, who have conquered the northern portion of the Chinese Empire, have relegated the Songs to the south, and have founded that Empire of Kin whose history has been bequeathed* to us by the first Emperors of the Manchu dynasty. The language of this people who have played such a distinguished part in the extreme East was absolutely unknown to us up to quite recent times, with the exception of some few dozen words,† and what is worse, the inscription preserved in this dialect roused curiosity without being able to satisfy it. Prof. Grube, who had already begun to decipher these hieroglyphics, was destined to give us a Juc'en-Chinese Vocabulary, the knowledge of which may lead to the deciphering of these mysterious characters. In it we find already a long list of 871 Juc'en words with their pronunciation (?) and meanings in Chinese. Unfortunately, this pronunciation is given in Chinese characters which render it in a very uncertain manner. This is the subject-matter of the first part of the work. Prof. Grube has added to it a list of the characters arranged after the number of strokes, then an alphabetical list of Juc'en terms, and a Vocabulary of these words transcribed according to the Chinese method, translated into German and compared with equivalent Manchu words. It is here especially that the knowledge of the author shows itself in the most remarkable manner, for under the Chinese dress which disguises them he has succeeded in finding the original words and their Manchu equivalents.‡

* See my translation, "Histoire de l'Empire d'or ou de Kin." (Paris : Leroux.)

† See my treatise, "Niutchis et Mandchous." (Paris : Leroux.)

‡ For instance, puh kuo=boo ; ohluteh=erte, etc.

The second part is composed of twenty short texts in Chinese and Juc'en, with a transcription and translation of the Tartar characters. Prof. Grube shows clearly what the Juc'en text is worth, composed by a Chinese who knew nothing of its grammar. We cannot say more of it except that this new work does great honour to its author, who has rendered by it a signal service to Oriental literature and who will soon give us the key to the hitherto mysterious inscription. C. DE HARLEZ.

12. *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's.* The volume before us is an admirable compilation of articles, of interest in different ways, joined together in brotherly concord to do homage to one of the greatest living scholars upon the attainment of his 80th birthday. It is the outward expression of the wish voiced by one of the contributors on behalf of "so many devotees of *Moritz Steinschneider*, that he, whose herculean labours on behalf of the Science of Judaism have never been surpassed, may abide among us in blessed peace of body and mind for yet many years, for his presence is now more than ever an impetus to his disciples and a guarantee for the future." The volume consists of some 500 beautifully-printed pages, about half in Hebrew and half in various European languages, and deals with subjects widely apart in scope and interest, all of which, however, are more or less valuable contributions to Hebrew Literature. It is impossible within the narrow limits at our command to give an account of the various articles, or to do justice to some of the contributors who are veritable savans. To mention but a few particulars, Dr. George Kohut's (New York) opening pages, viz.: a Bibliography of Steinschneider's writings is not only a most appropriate gift, but is a most valuable source of information. Dr. Gottheil is the other American contributor. The names of Harkavy and Neubauer, Goldzieher and Güdemann, Kaufmann and Bacher, Friedmann and Friedlander speak for themselves in the republic of letters. We have two contributions on the "Song of Songs," an important article on the Qirqisâni MSS. in the British Museum, some Chapters on the original of the Etz-Hajim, as also contributions by Berber, Bloch, Hirschfeld and others. In a word, the volume before us is eminently worthy of the great names which stand at the head of the articles contributed, of the hero—Moritz Steinschneider—whom these scholars have delighted to honour, and of the occasion on which this *Festschrift* has been presented to the hero and to the world at large.

MESSRS. H. HENRY AND CO.; LONDON.

13. *Thus spake Zarathustra—A book for all and none*, by F. NIETZSCHE; translated by A. TILLE. Nietzsche, whose influence on German youths Dr. Nordau takes to be a proof of the "Degeneracy" of this age, had written a work which a careless English reader might somehow connect with Zoroaster. The learned translator, who is a Lecturer at the Glasgow University, compares it to *Piers the Ploughman* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. As a matter of fact, the work has not even the relation to Zoroastrianism, that so-called Theosophy has to Buddhism, or the Salvation Army to Christian Theology. On the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, "Thus spake Zarathustra" is precisely what Zarathustra did *not* speak,

nor any man, in his senses, *could* speak. Nietzsche himself tells us that the fundamental idea of his Zarathustra originated in August, 1881, in the Engadine! It is none the better for this, though it gives us that insight into Nietzsche's philosophy (?), which attracts the weak minds of a generation that swallows the most varied information without digesting it. Even the so-called historical part of this book runs mad, as may be inferred from its sub-title being "a book for all and none,"—"'No,' said Zarathustra, 'I do not give alms. I am not poor enough for that.'" Regarding the saint in the forest who worships God by singing songs, he remarks "he hath not heard aught of *God being dead.*" He "teaches *beyond-man,*" but this stage is fidelity to *Earth*, there being still much of the woman in man, who is "an ape in a higher degree than any ape." The body should rule the soul. "Man is a rope over a precipice connecting animal and beyond-man" may contain the germ of a fine thought, and so may other sentences in the medley of words of which the Nietzsche-Zarathustra is composed. There may be much undreamt Philosophy in the ravings of lunatics or in the wisdom that follows on the consumption of much beer and tobacco, but it defies analysis. Yet there are passages of some sweetness in Nietzche's rhodomontades, such as those when Zarathustra tries to bury the dead rope-dancer. As for the so-called Zarathustra's speeches, these too are full of contradictions. In the "three Metamorphoses," however, it seems clear "that the spirit becometh a camel, the camel a lion and the lion at last a child." Of "the Chairs of Virtue," we can make nothing, except that it has something to do with sleep "which is no small art"; yet we feel that we are acquiring it as we go on, and are only too glad that "'blessed are the sleepy: for they shall soon drop off. Thus spake Zarathustra." The following sentiments are as *fin de siècle* as they are, unfortunately, human: "If ye have an enemy, return not good for evil: for that would make him ashamed; but prove that he has done you a good turn," "rather be angry," "if ye be cursed, curse a little also." Of "Little Women, old and young" he says:—"Everything in woman is a riddle, which has one answer: child-bearing;" "Let your honor be in your love; little else doth woman understand of honor;" "Man's happiness is: *I will*, woman's: *He will.*" Yet "marriage maketh an end of love, which is many short follies, being one long stupidity;" "Even the most cunning buyeth his wife in a sack." There are, no doubt, some other gems of the kind, but it is like trying to make up a packet from needles that have been scattered in a haystack.

14. *Federation and Empire*, by T. A. SPALDING, LL.B. This well-known and competent author contends at the outset that the British Constitution has been built up not by specialists, but by the people, and urges that, as the supreme problem of the day, the subject of federation must ere long be seriously faced by Englishmen. Parliament is suffering from over-pressure, of which the consequence is partial paralysis in administration; whilst distinct legislation for different sections of the Empire is at the bottom of it all. By a number of tables the author makes it clear that, from its commencement to the Union, Parliament passed, decade by decade, an increasing number of federal statutes—those relating to Great Britain as

a whole, and to England in a still greater degree. The Acts passed for Scotland alone rarely reached one-fifth of the number which were registered in the Statute-Book for England, whilst for Ireland and the Colonies the ratio was so small as to be practically nil. From 1817, the date of the Exchequer Union, English legislation advanced at the cost of the Federal. Parliament was unable to effect all the legislation demanded of it by reason of the claims of the séparate States—as opposed to those of a federated Empire. In the decade 1851-60 this over-pressure on Parliament became pronounced. It was the self-same period when foreign and colonial debates reached their lowest percentage, and when in consequence a grave danger threatened the State. Under the present inefficient system other evils arise. The doctrine that the governed should assent through their representatives to the laws by which they are governed, is imperilled; Members of Parliament are likely to have their sense of responsibility sapped; and finally, instead of political parties, political groups arise. Mr. Spalding points out that in her membership of 495 out of a total number of 670 M.P.'s, England is the predominant partner, Scotland and Ireland being to that extent at a disadvantage. Actually, Scotland has been forced into an incorporation with the rest of the United Kingdom for which at present there is no longer any political need. Indeed, she protests against her separate State-interests being lost sight of, and now demands a greater control over her own affairs. In Ireland the conditions which made for union were less obvious than in the case of Scotland, and whilst in the 16th and 17th centuries England's trade policy forced her down to a lower level than that of her sister kingdoms, the offer of union brought her no adequate compensation for the surrender of her nationality. The author names four conditions which may combine to bring about federal government. Two are essential—that the countries be connected closely by locality, history and race, and that their desire be for unity. Two are "probable" only—that before federation the States should be in some way allied, and that the inhabitants of each feel a stronger allegiance to their own, than to the federal, State. Although India is scarcely alluded to, it is clear that that great Dependency has a vital interest in the subject, as is shown by her vigorous protest against being taxed for the African campaign. As a remedy our author would devolve local business upon State Assemblies—at first tentatively—granting a larger measure after a period of acknowledged success. To the Imperial Assembly or the Federated Government matters of a general character would be entrusted,—as national defence, colonial interests, customs, and all taxes. As a national problem of real interest to each of the three States (he here speaks only of Great Britain) the question should be removed out of the arena of party politics.

15. *With Wilson in Matabeleland*, by CAPTAIN C. H. W. DONOVAN. This is a story well told of the heroic Major Wilson and Capt. Lendy, who lost their lives in Matabeleland in so gallant a manner, when hunting down Lobengula. He gives all honour to Lobengula, "who acted throughout in a noble manner," as also to Mr. Rhodes who originated, Dr. Jameson who undertook, and Major Wilson and others who carried out, the great enterprise of annexing Matabeleland to the British dominions. We

wonder what the author would say now about this great undertaking? It appears that in it Capt. Lendy had the honour of proving for the first time the "inestimable worth of the Maxim gun" on the bodies, we suppose, of the natives. It is characteristic of the temper of Wilson's troopers, who would say that they would rather follow Wilson to hell than any other man to heaven, and we certainly agree with Capt. Donovan, who was sent away by Major Forbes to take the despatches to Bulawayo before the final catastrophe of the party, when he in manly tones reprobates the avaricious treachery of a couple of troopers who stole the money and suppressed the message that would have saved the lives of Major Wilson, of his comrades and even of Lobengula.

MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO.

16. *Queen Móo and the Egyptian Sphinx*, by AUGUSTUS LE PLONGEON, M.D. We do not admire the Oxford Don who said that what he did not know was not knowledge or was not worth knowing, for there are many things that are yet undreamt of in the philosophy of the wisest; still we confess to some scepticism with regard to the Troano manuscripts which are to teach us that the Maya civilization of Yucatan inspired the civilization of Egypt. We are told that, as America is geologically the oldest continent, so its civilization is also the most ancient, and goes back at least some ten thousand years before Christ. We are assured by Dr. Plongeon that he offers no theory, but leaves the reader to form one from the facts of history which he submits, and which he and his wife have laboriously collected in their researches among the ruined cities of the Mayas. There may be seen sculptures and ornamentations to which Dr. Plongeon has found an alphabetical key, and which certainly give surprising revelations to all those who have received a liberal education. For instance, we are told that Isis and Osiris correspond to Queen Móo and her brother husband Cóh, whose charred heart was found by Dr. Plongeon in a stone urn at the Chichen Mausoleum. It appears that one prince Aác courted Móo and murdered her husband. This appears to be the true version of the temptation of Eve by the serpent, which is, again, the foundation of the Christian religion according to the author, "which, since its advent in the world has been the cause of so much bloodshed and so many atrocious crimes." *Ab uno disce omnes* and, although the language of the Mayas is "still spoken by thousands of human beings," it should first be studied linguistically, before it is used conjecturally to upset all the received notions of chronology, history and philology. The book is heavily, though handsomely, got up, and it may find readers among those in search of whatever appears to be new or startling.

17. *The Journals of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.* We have received three journals of this Society, which is not only the first in its specialities in India, but also takes a place of equality with the very best Anthropological Societies of Europe. We undertake to say that there is more of the inner life of India to be learnt from its pages than from many more voluminous official reports and blue-books put together. We trust to be able to show this in a future exhaustive review of a publication that

has hitherto almost passed unnoticed. At present, it will suffice to indicate its contents by a mere enumeration of the subjects dealt with. No. 1 of vol. iv. begins with an account of the position of "the horse in ancient Irán," and continues with startling statistics regarding "suicides among Parsees in Bombay." Some of the omniscient younger medical men in India may read with advantage the paper on "Surgical instruments of the ancient Hindus," whilst the charming narrative of the Bharwad Jang or "Shepherd's Wedding" will be attractive to all readers. No. 2 has "Notes on the Kayasthas of Behar" which we trust we can supplement with further revelations regarding a caste that can be more orthodox than the Brahmins and more Mahomedan and English than the Mahomedan or English rulers of India. "Indian folk beliefs about the tiger" are very interesting, but the paper on "Ancestral property among the Hindus" is simply invaluable in these days when neither the Privy Council nor Indian judges care about Sanscrit or Hindu law. "Notes on 'the study of vice,'" on an "Archæological tour in North Canara," and on "Nágar Brahamins" complete this interesting journal. Vol. iii., No. 8, starts with the "Opening of some pre-historic graves in the Coimbatore district," gives an account of the Dhangurs and Dhávárs of Máhábleshwar, and deals with "Death Ceremonies among Hindus," which, *inter alia*, invest cremation with a spiritual significance and a tenderness, alas, wanting in its European imitation.

MR. JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON.

18. *Gold;* a Dutch-Indian Story for English people, by ANNIE LINDEN. An old gentleman, Mr. Van Riemskerk, of Amsterdam, who had long lived in Java, needs information obtainable only from native documents in that Dutch possession. This information will enable him to complete a book on the composition of which he is engaged. Warned by Dr. Smit that the state of his liver will not permit of his travelling in the Tropics, the father sends his son on the errand. To the gay youth love is a more potent attraction than literature. A captivating Marie "with eyes the colour of the sea, and as deep," crosses his path in Genoa. A formidable rival arises in the person of one Termuller; but, through every temptation, Marie remains true to young Van Riemskerk, and follows him to the land of the "*golden mountain of Moa*," which was never before visited. He, at last, finds the precious manuscript rolls only to see them crumble into dust. The priceless gold mountain also is a snare, for the curse of death falls on whoever walks on it. There are some striking episodes in this story and its course of true love does not run smooth, much to the interest of the reader.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON AND NEW YORK.

19. *His Honor and a Lady*, by SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN (Mrs. Everard Cotes), and well illustrated by A. D. M'CORMICK. People who wish to know "how to get on" in India, should study this novel. To make love to a Lieutenant-Governor's wife seems to be one of the means for a Secretary to Government of becoming a Lieutenant-Governor himself, though it is to the credit of "a lady," when she becomes a widow, to

refuse the hand of him who has helped to bring her husband with sorrow to the grave. A manuscript attacking the "Chief" of Bengal is sent to her, by mistake (?) and the stupidity of a native Clerk, which, compared with a cutting from a Calcutta newspaper, convicts her lover of having undermined him whom he was bound to support officially and professed to admire personally. That this blow was due to a rival who married a friend of the new Lieutenant-Governor *va sans dire*, but other means for getting on are plentifully indicated. One takes to Sanskrit, another to Sanitation, a third to other Indian affairs, but one and all use the native stalking-horse in order to obtain official loaves and fishes, except the old Lieutenant-Governor, who dies a victim to his sense of duty on a visit of inspection to a malarious district and who has had the courage to tackle the incubus of English higher education in favour of instruction in technical and other practical instruction. Bengali Editors, the morals of Anglo-Indian flirtations and inanities generally are also described.

20. *The History of Mankind*, vol. i., by PROFESSOR F. RATZEL, translated by A. J. BUTTLER. In the introduction to this monumental work by our leading ethnologist, Dr. E. B. Tylor, the praise that is bestowed on it by him as surpassing, especially as regards its 1116 illustrations, any popular work on man hitherto published, is far from being exaggerated. In the words of Professor Virchow, the father of the science of anthropology, no such extensive attempt has ever been made to represent our knowledge of the lower races of mankind. It is almost unnecessary to say that a liberal house, like Macmillan and Co., has shown itself worthy of its antecedents and reputation by bestowing on this *magnum opus* all the care of the publisher's art. The first volume, which consists of nearly 500 royal 4to. pages, is yet easy to hold and to consult and the innumerable illustrations, some of which are gorgeously coloured, almost invariably fall within their proper places. The price also, 12s., puts what is practically an *édition de luxe*, within the reach of every school, library, and the home of every educated man. To do justice to such a work is impossible within our compass. We are glad that the translator has kept to English spelling, as far as he could, in what is intended to be a book for the people as well as the learned, and that he has preferred *tattoo* and *taboo* to the would-be scientific *tatu* and *tapu*. The first book in this volume lays down the principles of ethnography as regards language, religion, science, art, etc., in a lucid manner, though it may contain conjectures that we cannot always endorse, but when we come to the *facts* in book II., and deal with the races of Oceania, the Australians and the Malays and Malagasies, we get a wealth of well-attested information regarding them, the importance of which it would be difficult to overrate. We shall certainly have occasion to use it as a most welcome book of reference on the subjects of which it treats, and that come within the special scope of this review.

MESSRS. MARSHALL BROTHERS; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

21. *Behind the Great Wall*, by IRENE H. BARNES. This is another volume of missionary literature issued by the Church of England Zenana Society. It deals with such subjects as "Chinese Women as Evangelists";

"The Cry of the Chinese Children"; "Chinese Girlhood," etc. Some interesting portraits are given—notably of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, Miss Flora Stewart and others who have fallen victims to the fury of "the Vegetarian Sect."

MESSRS. METHUEN AND CO.; LONDON.

22. *A History of Egypt during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties*, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., LL.D. The publication of this, the second volume of Professor Flinders Petrie's History of Egypt, has been unduly delayed, but not, we believe, through any fault of the author; its appearance will, however, be welcomed by all students of Egyptology. Though containing much more matter than the first volume, it comprises only the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties, the growth of matter under the writer's hands having rendered impossible the inclusion of the nineteenth dynasty, which was at first proposed. As in the first volume, the rule of leaving no fact or monument referring to the regal history unnoticed has been maintained throughout, and the latest discoveries, even those made last season by Professor Petrie at the Ramesseum and the temples surrounding it, are embodied in the text in their proper place. Special attention is paid to the alteration in the inhabitants of Egypt themselves, and their arts and modes of thought by the great infusion of Asiatic blood through the wholesale importation of captives, male and female; and later on the rise of the Aten heresy is traced to the personal influence of Queen Tyi, to the withdrawal of which, in the course of events, its rapid fall is with great probability assigned. Much labour has been devoted by Professor Petrie to the arrangement of the cuneiform tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna, and the unravelling of the account they give of the downfall of the Egyptian power in Syria, and, as in the first volume, many new chronological arrangements are suggested; we cannot say that we consider these to be in all cases proved, nor indeed does Professor Petrie say more respecting some of them than that they are the best solution he can offer of the existing difficulties from the materials at present in his hands. He and other explorers are, however, accumulating fresh matter so rapidly that, at the present rate of publication, the early volumes of the history bid fair to be in some respects obsolete before the last is in print. Thus Professor Petrie's own great discovery of the season before last, that of the intruding—probably Libyan—race which cut Egypt in two between the sixth and tenth dynasties by the occupation of a long stretch of the Nile Valley is not—for the best possible reason—recorded in his first volume, and it would be well, in our opinion, if he would add to each volume as it comes out a brief notice of all discoveries affecting the sections of the history previously published. If this could be done in such a manner as to enable each addition to be inserted in its proper place in rebinding the series, it would be a great convenience to the student, and add something to the value of an already invaluable book. This suggestion may be of a rather novel character, and may require some ingenuity to carry out, but it will perhaps rather commend itself the more to Professor Petrie on that account.

MR. JOHN C. NIMMO; LONDON.

23. *Naval and Military Trophies, and personal Relics of British Heroes.* —This is a publication that appeals to every patriot and to every artist. A more gorgeous set of coloured illustrations of these British historical trophies does not exist. No Eastern potentate, or Indian Raja, should be without these Imperial 4to. volumes and water drawings by William Gibb, described by R. R. Holmes, introduced by Viscount Wolseley and dedicated to the Queen. Beginning with "the Bible and Scarf of General Gordon" we seem to see him put his hand on a volume of Thomas Aquinas before an astonished Meeting of the Cabinet that asked how he hoped to keep the Soudan. "The Sword, Gold Mask and Axe of the Ashantee King" followed by the "Dirk, Sword and Cocked Hat of Lord Nelson" precede "the Sword and Scabbard" found on the dead body of Tippoo Sahib on which we have inscriptions that would appeal both to Shiahs and Sunnis: "O God! O Ali," and also "Abu Bakr, Umr and Othman." Part II., if possible, surpasses Part I. "The Crown of the King of Delhi" is a magnificent plate and so is the "Cloak of Napoleon I." This part concludes with the "Main-Royal-Mast Head of L'Orient" and the "Swords of General Wolfe and Captain Cook." Of course, every mess, and we would add every drawing-room in England, should contain this brilliant production, so creditable to the enterprise of its publishers and to the genius and patriotism of its contributors.

MR. GEORGE REDWAY; LONDON.

24. *The Transcendental Universe*, by S. G. HARRISON. The author of this little work approaches the study of transcendental knowledge in a manner which, from the nature of the subject, is inconclusive. He claims that the Theosophic Revival is a rebound from the Agnosticism of recent years. He maintains that in Theosophy, as an Eastern development of thought, may be found a guiding-light in these days of dark unrest.

Occultism, the Evolution of the God-idea, the Cabalistic Sephiroth, and the Seven Kingdoms of Nature are all dealt with in their relation to the transcendental Universe, and an attempt is made to disarm the criticism of the reader by a frank censure of "Madame's" ignorance, and perversion of facts.

BERNARDO SEEBER; FLORENCE.

25. *The 9th volume of the Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society.* The volume begins without an introduction or List of Contents, plunging us *in medias res* of a continuation of a treatise in the original on Jaina Metaphysics by the able Sanscritist F. L. PULLÉ. Whilst the eternity of the world dispenses with a creator, there is yet an omniscient God in that atheistical creed. SIGNOR RUGARLI then gives us a translation of the Pehlevi book of Ghershasp, which is of great interest to those who study the heroic characters of Zabul, Kabul, and Kandahar, whence originally came a tribe, now destroyed, of the Hindukush Kafirs. MONSEIGNEUR DE HARLEZ follows with an admirable rendering from the Chinese Mi-Tze on Universal Love, the foundation of the happiness of families as of the

State. Music, like all pleasures, is condemned in it as a waste of time, in opposition to the Confucian advocacy of music as "soothing the savage breast." The obscure subject of Egyptian philosophy, which has gone so much beyond any other in its subdivision and classification of the spiritual and material human body in regard to immortality, is well dealt with by G. FINO. The scholarly L. NOCENTINI then treats us to a charming Chinese account of 24 acts of filial devotion that move heaven. To these "ancient facts recorded daily" he adds some amusing Chinese fables. In the "vicissitudes of a type like Muladeva," the libertine, the gifted PAVOLINI introduces us to a Cagliostro and Casanova from the sedate Sanscrit and then proceeds to an analysis of the Florentine MS. of the Kathârnava in which there is an amusing story of a thief being respited for telling his secret of sowing gold. Only an honest man can do so, but as the King, the ministers, the police and even the Judges, have, at one time or the other, taken what does not belong to them, no one can sow the gold, so the professional thief's life is saved and he becomes the favourite of the King. Mr. PRATO then gives an account that is well worth reading of "the sun, moon and stars as symbols of beauty in Oriental languages, being notes of Ario-Semitic philology." This valuable volume finishes with reviews of recent Oriental works.

MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK AND CO.; CALCUTTA, 1896.

26. *Hindu Castes and Sects*, by JOGENDRA NATH BHATTACHARYA, M.A., D.L.—No Anglo-Indian official and no student of the caste system should be without this book; although the author is no blind admirer of it, he yet admits that the continuance of the culture and the practical solidarity and generally high morality of Indian society are due to it. The bravery of the Rajput and the taste of the art-industrial workmen are alike its results and when English education succeeds in destroying caste, it will also have sapped the foundations of our own rule. The author also clearly shows what in these laxer days alone excludes a man from caste and what the nature of that penalty now is. Unconsciously he also shows that most of the Indian reformers had been men who had fallen out with their caste and had sought to rehabilitate themselves by either subservience to the foreign ruler or by popular agitation. The "ideal" of caste is to be perfect in the position in which one is born, and the Brahmin who marries a sweeper's daughter degrades himself quite as much as the maiden who wishes to rise above her caste. "Caste" properly understood is the introduction of the highest duties and manners of "noblesse oblige" into the lowest section of the community and to give a well-understood position to every man in it, irrespective of the vicissitudes of fortune. We do not agree with all the author says about the personal selfishness of Buddha, the ignorance of Yogis, the hypocrisy of the followers of the weaver, Kabîr; nor do we always find that his references to names and things Muhammadan are strictly accurate, but we certainly do consider that the book is the *only* thread that has hitherto been given in the labyrinth of Indian caste. No matter what Indian race, sub-caste, or sect; however complicated may be the maze of the internal relations of one class of the Indian com-

munity to the other, this book will be an initial, and generally trustworthy, guide to them all, far more so, than the valuable, if prejudiced, "Hindu tribes and castes" of Mr. Sherring, or even the admirable official enquiries of Mr. Risley, so far as they have gone. In the latter, indeed, we notice an occasional subordination of facts to the last ruling scientific craze or terminology of the day. In some of the ethnographic questions issued by Mr. Ibbetson and others to elicit the often jealously concealed facts of caste we rather find provocations to withhold them from the too inquisitive foreign enquirer. What can also be more pseudo-scientific than an attempt to classify races by the size of their noses? What could lend itself more to would-be learned verbiage than the application of the terms of endogamy and exogamy to the subject of Gôtras, and what can be more insulting and likely to defeat enquiry than the official question No. 25: "Do they (the caste) habitually prostitute (1) their unmarried (2) married women"?

MESSRS. WARD, LOCK AND BOWDEN; LONDON.

27. *The Girl at Birrells.* An Australian Story, by THOMAS HENEY. For the lack of books on Australia during the first 50 years of its history ample atonement is being made in recent years. The author of this volume, if not an Australian, is thoroughly conversant with the bush, its squatters, the beauties of Australian flora, and the hazards of its treacherous climate. Love, naturally, has a place in the story, which is well told. The persons in it belong to all classes, some vegetating about Marropinna, an isolated "block" in New South Wales—others making a name for themselves in cosmopolitan Melbourne. Prospective settlers in Australia might do worse than read this book before they start. They would enter their new sphere under more favourable conditions than accompany "novi homines" who have no previous knowledge from books of the countries in which they intend to settle.

28. We have received from the author MESROVB J. SETH* a "*History of the Armenians in India*" from the earliest times to the present day. As Lord Byron says: "It would be difficult perhaps to find the annals of a nation less stained with crime than those of the Armenians." Their existence as a nation dates as far back as the year 2111 B.C. according to the author, when Haik, who still gives his name to the Armenian race and language, assumed the supremacy of his people. He was a son of Togarmah, a son of Gomer, the son of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah. They would therefore be older than the Jews as a nation, for Abraham was born three centuries later than Haik. The antiquity of the Armenian nation is attested by Herodotus, Strabo, and other ancient writers and by the cuneiform inscriptions on the rock of Van in Armenia which have been deciphered by Prof. Sayce. We cannot follow the author in his learned, but clear, account of the history of this ancient race, now being exterminated by their former protectors, the Turks. The Armenians, certainly, have fewer vices than almost any other living people. Three and a half millions of them live in Turkey and nearly two millions in Russia, which did not

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dare to tackle the Armenian question out of fear of spreading the revolutionary feeling to its own subjects. In India there are only 25,000 of them, where they enjoy universal respect. According to the author, they accompanied Semiramis, as faithful allies in her invasion of India, with which country the Armenians had held early commercial intercourse and had afforded a fitting welcome to two fugitive princes of Kanauj before the Christian era, in the early period of which Kasi, the modern Benares, was the headquarters of the Armenian merchants, but the influx of the Armenians into India dates from the palmy days of the Mogul Empire and Akbar the Great actually adopted the son of one, Jacob, before his own son Jehangir was born, whose birth in 1570 he attributed to the erection by the Armenians of a Christian church at Agra. We must leave the reader to obtain more information regarding the Armenian Colonists in India and their promulgation of an Armenian literature in that country by a perusal of this interesting little book, which, no doubt, proves that they have done much by their enterprise and attainments to help the British in inaugurating their rule in India. This adds to the claim that the Armenians have upon English sympathy in their present day of trial. The Indian Press has been very favourable in its notices of Mr. Seth's history, and Mr. Gladstone in acknowledging the receipt of a copy says *inter alia:*

"I continue to regard with acute pain and shame the triumph of wickedness in Turkey over the whole civilized and Christian world. I know of no similar disgrace upon record. The only and limited mitigation of these feelings is found in a deep reverence for all those Armenians who have preferred their faith to their life."

29. We have received a most useful "*Hindu Classical Dictionary*" on the Gods, Avatars, Vedic and Puranic times, Rakshasas, Rajas, ancient authors, etc., compiled by DEVI SAHAI, late Minister of Kashmir, with much care. The work is written in Hindustani, but the names are both in that language and in Sanscrit or Hindi. We cordially recommend it to all students of ancient Hindi Literature. The book is printed at Lahore in the Khádim lit-álîm Panjab Press. The only fault that we can find in it is that the title is merely a transliteration in Urdu of the English words "Hindu Classical Dictionary" instead of having an indigenous Sanscrit or Hindi appellation.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the *Church Missionary Atlas for India* (8th revised Edition) which contains Maps, of which that on the distribution of languages and its explanatory note are, probably, the most complete and correct that have hitherto been issued.

Our thanks are also due to *Messrs. M. and A. K. Johnston*, geographers, Edinburgh and London, for their "Map of South Africa." This is a strongly-mounted map which gives a clear conception of the country where military operations are at present taking place. The small towns and rivers are easily discernible, their names being printed in large type. The colouring of the different districts is harmonious and yet distinct: the scale is 20 miles to the inch.

We have received a pamphlet on "The political value of our

Colonies," by the able hand of Mr. A. F. Calvert, whose article in this Review our readers will remember. Suffice it to say, that the pamphlet, which embodies an address delivered by Mr. Calvert before the East St. Pancras Conservative Association, suggests reasons and ways, *inter alia*, for forming, in addition to the existing Parliaments, an Imperial Federal Parliament in which the Colonies (and we would add the Dependencies, as in the case of those of France) will be represented along with England, Scotland and Ireland.

The Kàrnâmê i Artakhshîr i Pâpakân, being the oldest surviving Records of the Zoroastrian Emperor Ardashîr Bâbakân, the founder of the Sâsânian Dynasty in Irân, by DARAB DASTUR PESHOTAN SANYANA, B.A. (Education Society's Steam Press, Byculla, Bombay), the review of which we are obliged to postpone to our next issue.

An interesting and well-illustrated booklet has also reached us on the *Moscow Coronation Cruise of the "Midnight Sun"* to Russia in Whitsuntide 1896, compiled by ARTHUR A. SYKES. This was a delightful trip organised by Dr. Lunn and the Messrs. Perowne which lasted 26 days, and embraced the five Northern capitals of Europe.

Die Chinesische Inschrift auf dem Uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun, translated and explained by PROF. DR. G. SCHLEGEL (Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise), which we hope to review by January.

Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, Volume III., containing the following interesting papers: "*Volcanic and Earthquake Phenomena of Japan*," by PROF. J. MILNE. "*Notes on the History of Lacquer*," by E. HART. "*A Note on the Form of Japanese Temple Roofs*"; "*A Note on the Key Pattern in Japan*"; "*The Japanese Musical Scale*," by F. T. PIGGOTT. "*Aspects of Social Life in Modern Japan*," by the VEN. ARCHDEACON A. C. SHAW. "*Court and Society in Tōkyō*," by F. H. BALFOUR.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt also of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien;—Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meridien, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—The American weekly, called *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Public Opinion*, (London);—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique*, (Paris);—*The Canadian Gazette*, (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review*, (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde*, (London and Paris: Hachette);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: The National Press);—the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine;*—*The Art Bible*, Pts. 12, 13 and 14;—the three last numbers of *The Strand Musical Magazine;—England's History as pictured by famous Painters;*—*The Navy and Army illustrated;*—"*The Way of the Cross*," a Pictorial Pilgrimage from Bethlehem to Calvary;—the last 6 from Geo. Newnes and Co., London.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA.—Before the close of the Parliamentary Session, Lord G. Hamilton made the annual statement relating to the finances of India. The first point which he dealt with was the closed accounts of the year 1894-95, showing a total surplus of Rx. 1,248,000. Then came the revised accounts for the year 1895-96, which he called a very remarkable financial year, and one which, he hoped, marked the commencement of a new epoch in Indian finances. The Chitral expedition had cost 160 lakhs. The Government had had to meet an expenditure of Rx. 2,840,000 more than was anticipated, yet the revised accounts showed a surplus of Rx. 905,000. The revenue showed an increase of Rx. 1,400,000, largely due to the exceptionally high price of opium. The expenditure had been kept down as much as possible and the total increase at the close of the year was only 50 lakhs, as against 284 lakhs, thus showing an improvement of 234 lakhs. With regard to the present financial year 1896-97, two decisions were arrived at by the Indian Government, viz. that the Famine Insurance Fund, which had been reduced, was to be raised again to Rs. 1,000,000 and that an important additional expenditure was to be bugeted for various Army improvements. The increased expenditure under the above heads would amount to Rx. 968,000; but taking into consideration various improvements and fallings-off the estimated surplus would still be Rx. 463,000 for the present year. The Secretary for India has thus been able to show a surplus for each one of the three years dealt with. The figures would even be more satisfactory, if they could be detached from the unfortunate fluctuations of the exchange. The Secretary hoped that under the existing favourable financial conditions a reduction of taxation might before long be looked for.

Sir W. Wedderburn's amendment as to the East India Accounts being each year examined and reported on by a Select Committee was negatived by 110 to 30. Mr. J. H. Roberts contended that it was desirable to revise the arrangements under which political control was exercised over Indian Princes and Chiefs. Mr. Bhownaggree objected to the system of combining executive with judicial duties in the same officers which at present prevailed in India.

The Forest Department has issued papers on the preparation and fostering of tannin industry with a view to creating a new source of revenue for India and the Forest Department. In the remarkable development of the rhea fibre there is also a source of unused wealth in store, as well as in the exploitation of the indigenous drugs to which attention is now being drawn. The Government of Madras has thrown open a large block of reserve forest on the Anamullay Hills of 120 square miles for coffee cultivation.

The mileage open for Railway traffic has reached a total of 19,678 miles, representing an increase during the year of 823 miles, the net earnings amounting to Rs. 14, 11, 73, 200 which is considered as eminently satisfactory. It is understood that the Government of India will provide

28 crores of Rupees for the purposes of Railway extension during the next three years and that there is to be an annual Conference of the chief Railway officers, presided over by the Viceroy.

Lord Elgin is signalising his term of office by the vigorous prosecution of Public Works, but it is held that if the present grant were increased 50 per cent. for the next ten years, there would still remain much to be done in saving the country from the direct effects of drought.

Lord Elgin has declined the request from the Managing Committee of the Imperial Institute for a supplementary grant of £800 towards the cost of the Indian Section in addition to the annual subsidy of £1,000, on the ground that India "has so far derived no advantage from its connection with the Imperial Institute that are in any way commensurate with what the Institute has received and is receiving from India."

The Govt. of India is making efforts to come to a friendly undertaking with the priest-rulers of Tibet in the hope of averting hostilities between Nepaul and that country and it is understood that the Chinese Government will second these efforts through its Amban at Lhassa.

The Volunteer movement attracts considerable attention. The total strength of the present Volunteer establishment in India amounts to about 28,000 men who are enrolled and of these about 25,000 are efficient.

A Petition has been presented to Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy by some orthodox Parsees of Bombay urging the necessity of memorializing the Govt. of India in favour of their being allowed to set aside in trust moveable and immoveable property for the due performance in perpetuity of certain religious ceremonies.

Mr. H. S. Barnes, officiating Foreign Secretary, has succeeded the late Sir James Brown at Quetta.

Dr. Grierson of the B.C.S. has been placed on special duty for the compilation of a survey of the languages spoken in the greater part of India.

Mr. Francis W. Maclean, Q.C. succeeds Sir W. Comer Petheram as Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta.

Capt. Bingley, 7th Bengal Infantry, has won the United Service Institution Gold Medal for his paper on the improvement of transport in India.

Capt. Deasy in his expedition to Tibet is trying to solve the vexed problem of the origin and connexions of the rivers Brahmaputra, Salween and Mekong.

M. Sven Hedin, the Swedish traveller, writes the *Turkestan Gazette*, has discovered to the East of the Yarkand Tarim, at 40½ deg. of latitude a whole group of hitherto unknown lakes.

The entire body of public opinion in India, so far as it could find expression in the Legislative Council and in the Press condemned the Secretary of State's proposals as to India being charged with the expenses of the Indian contingent employed in the Soudan expedition.

Lord Wolseley's statement before the Royal Commission on Indian Military and Civil Expenditure regarding the inability of the Indian troops to face an European army has excited considerable comment in military and political circles and provoked much indignant protest from the Indian Press and generally. Lord Wolseley has, however, sent forth a dis-

claimer to the effect that in his opinion the Indian Army was as perfect as it can be for the purposes for which it exists, but he has not, as yet, withdrawn or explained the specific statement made by him before the Royal Commission.

Lord Cromer, who was also examined before the Royal Commission, said that he did not think that the financial system should be changed without consulting high Indian authorities. He was in favour of a permanent Court of Arbitration which should determine differences that arose between India and England; he also thought that members of the India Council should be allowed to write "confidential" memoranda to the Secretary of State for India giving their reasons for dissenting from the rest of the Council.

Lord Cromer's views regarding the sometimes mischievous effect of Parliamentary interference in Indian matters, such as the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, are fully endorsed at headquarters in India.

Lord Roberts in responding to the toast of "The Army" at the conference of Journalists at Belfast said that: "The Indian Army, he was proud to think, was in a thoroughly efficient condition, ready and able to take its share in the defence of the Empire in any part of the world where its services might be required."

The National Congress leaders complain of the operation of the Arms Act, their argument being that the population is loyal and law-abiding and that it is a hardship on the people who cannot protect themselves against wild animals.

The Secretary of State for India assents to the proposal of the Indian Government to raise the paper currency from eight to ten crores of rupees.

The new three per cent. rupee loan of four crores has been floated at a good premium. This success is said to have much encouraged those financiers who have always contended in favour of the advisability of converting all the Indian loans to a 3 p. c. basis.

Official returns show a remarkable development of trade in BURMA. The trade with Western China, Shanland, Kareni, and Siam for the three years is valued at 626 lakhs as against 375 in the preceding triennial period.

A prospectus has been issued for the foundation of a company by Messrs. Rothschild to take over the work and extend the existing system of railways.

The Burma-China boundary demarcation is being discussed at Peking between the British Minister and the Chinese Government.

A Legislative Council for Burma will be created early in 1897.

THE NATIVE STATES.—The Nawab of Rampur has been invested with full powers of government and the Political Agent has been replaced by a Native Civilian in the capacity of general adviser or assistant.

There is no intention on the part of the Government of India to alter the decision regarding the deposition of the Maharaja of Jhallawar and the State is now being provisionally administered by a British Political Agent.

The Travancore Government have engaged the services of an English lady doctor for its Medical Department.

The Maharaja of Vizianagram has offered a lakh of rupees towards the expenses of the Suakin expedition and the Bikanir Native Council a camel corps for service in the Soudan, but the Government in both cases declined the offer with thanks.

An exhibition of Indian Arts and Manufacture has been successfully organized at Hyderabad (Deccan). Nawab Vikar-ul-umra, who formally opened it in August, is doing good service for the industrial development of the Nizam's dominions by encouraging such enterprises.

The Begum Sahiba of the Carnatic (the present head) has been accorded the rights that she demanded from the Government of India.

The Nawab of Dacca was seriously ill at the time of the completion of this Summary.

The demarcation of the boundary between AFGHANISTAN and India, as provided by the Durand Treaty in 1893, has been brought to a conclusion by the operations of Col. T. H. Holdich and Capt. A. H. MacMahon, who have respectively traced with some brief intervals, the Perso-Baluch line northwards from Kuhak and the Afghan-Baluch line westwards to the trijunction point of Afghanistan, Persia and Baluchistan.

No particular explanation is given of the reasons of the surrender to the Ameer, of Bashgal and Arnawai, which were not included in the Durand Treaty, except that it was through a misreading of the same. But much is made of the occupation of the Mittai Valley in Bajaur by Afghan Militia, this incident having brought also into prominence the fact that about 100 miles of Indo-Afghan frontier remain unfixed between Asmar and Lundi Kotal in the Khyber.

Umra Khan has settled down in Kabul where the Ameer has given him a large plot of land for life for his maintenance.

Sirdar Habibullah Khan has been invested with greater administrative powers by his father, the Ameer, who himself now only deals with the most important questions.

Sir S. Pyne is to visit England shortly when the question of a representative of His Highness in England will again be brought forward.

From an account of the subjugation of Kafiristan written at the request of the Ameer from facts supplied by the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, the translation of which is in another part of this Review, it appears that the Afghans spent three days in slaughter and plunder after the first victory and in a general *battue* of Kafirs afterwards, till finally the remaining men, women and children came in and avowed their allegiance to the Ameer and their adoption of the Mahommedan faith.

The Governor-General of TURKESTAN has requested the Russian Geographical Society to send some scientists to Shignan and Roshan next summer for the purpose of making a thorough exploration of those regions.

CHINA.—Li Hung Chang, after his tour on the continent, where he visited Russia, Germany, Holland, Belgium and France, arrived in England on August 3rd and was received with all respect and honour. He de-

scribed the essence of his mission as: "to make an enquiry into the state of the principal European nations, to form closer relations with the Governments of these nations and to bring them messages of friendship."

The matter of the Concession that he wished to obtain from England, namely the increase of the Chinese customs' tariff has not yet been settled. Other matters under CHINA, as also HONG KONG and COREA are specially dealt with *in extenso* elsewhere in this Review.

From JAPAN we hear that the Government and others have done their utmost to relieve the sufferers in the late seismic wave and earthquake. Owing to discussions in the Cabinet, regarding the appointment to be made to the vacant post of Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Japanese Premier, Marquis Ito, Count Itagaki, Minister of the Interior, and Baron Ito, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, have tendered their resignations. The Emperor has appointed Count Kurado as Acting Premier.

In FORMOSA, the rebellion has scarcely as yet been finally dealt with. Those fully acquainted with the situation do not doubt that, as in Corea, so also in Formosa the demeanour of the lower classes of the Japanese has not been calculated to win native sympathy. The policy of the Tokio Government has, no doubt, been guided by conciliatory motives, but their senior officials have shown a want of capacity to restrain the cruelties of their soldiery.

According to the latest news from the DUTCH INDIES, occasional successes on the Dutch side mark the progress of the campaign with the Achinese. The rebels are losing ground and a general desire is felt to conclude hostilities. It is announced from the Hague that Col. van Vliet, Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch forces at Atjeh, has been superseded by Col. Buger. It is proposed to lay a cable between Atyeh and Lombok.

In PERSIA things run smoothly. The Shah has officially stated that henceforth public posts, dignities, and military titles as well as decorations, will be granted solely on the merits of the candidates; that no money considerations will be allowed any weight in the matter, and that he himself declines all money presents. Mahomed Reza of Kerman, the murderer of the late Shah was hanged on the 12th August.

In TURKEY IN ASIA the state of affairs is most desperate. The horrors also committed at Constantinople have aroused a wave of general indignation against the Turks and against the inaction of European diplomacy. It is held that the failure of Europe to deal in time with the misgovernment of the ARMENIANS has brought about the dreadful calamity on these unfortunate people and that unless the Armenian problem is solved by all the powers acting energetically together, the only alternative is a European war. Dr. Lepsius, the distinguished traveller, a son of the eminent Egyptologist, has published in the Berlin State-Messenger (Reichsbote) a series of Chapters from his forth-coming work in which he estimates from Consular Reports and personal knowledge the number of Armenians killed since last year at over 100,000.

On the DRUSES of the Hauran, where hostilities continue, we have a special article in this issue to which we refer our readers for detailed information.

News from EGYPT and that part of the SOUDAN which is being restored to Khedival authority is satisfactory. The expedition greatly suffered from a series of unforeseen accidents, which would have seriously marred its success, had it not been conducted by officers of large experience in frontier warfare. The Nile, on which they had to rely for transport, rose very late, so that the seven sternwheel steamers could not pass the second cataract before the end of August. Cholera spread consternation throughout the army and cost some valuable lives. Intolerable heat, followed by violent storms and floods, the latter causing great mischief to the railway, were other impediments. The Governor, Col. Lloyd Pasha and 4 other British officers, prostrated by the terrible climate, have been obliged to leave for Suez. In face of all these difficulties, the preparations were completed with great success and the forward move on Dongola was begun. The flotilla at the disposal of the force consisted of the seven sternwheelers, the three new steamers from England and 200 sailing boats. The expeditionary force, after concentration at Fereig, advanced on Kerman, on the East bank, where, at the opposite Fort Hafir, Wad el Bishara, the Governor of Dongola, made an unsuccessful resistance and was severely wounded. Dongola has since been occupied and the Derwish power, at any rate, in that province, has collapsed.

The Sultan of ZANZIBAR, Hamid bin Zaid, died suddenly on the 25th of August. Khalid bin Barghash proclaimed himself Sultan and took possession of the Palace. On refusing to surrender in favour of Hamud bin Mahommed, the British nominee, the Palace was bombarded and the pretender escaped to the German Consulate. The new Sultan has announced his accession to the Powers and matters have settled down again.

TRANSVAAL.—Dr. Jameson and his fellow-defendants have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. He himself to 15 months, Sir John Willoughby to 10 months, Major White to 7 and Col. White, Col. Grey and Major Coventry to 5 months each. The last-named has since been released owing to ill-health. After undergoing for a short time ordinary prison life, they are now confined at Holloway Gaol as first-class misdemeanants.

A Select Committee consisting of 15 members has been appointed just before the recess of Parliament, which is to collect evidence and information about the circumstances of the raid and the general troubles of Johannesburg.

Sir Jacobus de Wet, recently Her Majesty's agent at Pretoria, gets a special retiring pension and Mr. W. C. Greene, Secy. of Legation in the Diplomatic Service, has been appointed in his place. He will sail for South Africa on Nov. 7.

Reforms are now being made by the Volksraad and the Transvaal Government is doing all in its power to assist the mining industry and thereby advance the general interests of the country. The burghers have armed themselves since the raid in order to prevent any recurrence of such an event, but the avowed desire of the President is to live on friendly terms with England.

The five officers who took part in Dr. Jameson's raid and were convicted at the recent trial have been permitted to retire from Her Majesty's service and the eight who were discharged from Bow-street have been severely censured by the Adjutant-General and ordered to return to duty.

SOUTH AFRICA.—We have no space to enter into the details of the Matabele rebellion, suffice it to say that it has been a long and stubborn fight and that some of the victories were dearly purchased. The policy adopted was to wear out the rebels and it is believed at Bulawayo that had the whites continued fighting for another month, the rebels would have been forced to lay down their arms through hunger. Be that as it may, on August 21st Mr. Rhodes, with three companions, rode into the Matoppos and conferred with 10 chiefs and 34 heads of towns, the result being their practical unconditional surrender. This settlement, it was thought, would mean the end of the Rhodesian troubles; but renewed severe fighting has taken place and a complication has arisen through the shooting of the Makoni Chief. Major Watts, who caused it, has been placed under arrest and a court of enquiry is to investigate the affair. Still, there is every prospect of affairs soon reverting to their normal state. The only real guarantee of peace, however, would be to remove, as far as possible, the grievances under which the natives labour.

From WEST AFRICA we hear that Capt. Branlot, formerly the companion of Capt. Binger, has returned to Grand Bassam from Kodiakofi; the most northerly French post on the Ivory Coast. He was sent thither to see whether Samory's overtures of submission were serious, inasmuch as he had solicited British protection, but he refused an interview and thus for the seventh time trifled with the French authorities.

The Imperial Court at Tanga in German EAST AFRICA sentenced Schröder to 15 years' imprisonment with hard labour for his atrocious conduct towards the natives.

Major Lothaire's trial for putting to death the English trader Stokes has resulted in his acquittal. The "Gazette," however, a recognized organ of the Congo State, sounds a necessary warning in the remark that notwithstanding the recognition of the rights of war involved in Major Lothaire's acquittal, the action of the Belgian officer must on no account serve as a precedent in analogous cases in future.

The revenue of the CAPE COLONY this year shows an increase of £1,448,089 as compared with the previous year. The Government has proclaimed a liberal rebate of duty on almost everything required for mining; they have formed a Colonial Defence Commission, consisting of seven members. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, the Cape Premier, when addressing a meeting in London the other day, said that the Colony had nothing to do with the Jameson "raid" and that it was a question to be dealt with solely by the Imperial Government and the Transvaal. With regard to the condition of the natives in the Colony, he thought that looking at it as a matter of peace, the position was satisfactory.

In the CONGO STATE an expedition is set on foot under the command of Baron Dhanis against the Mahdists who are awaiting the attack in strong force. Mr. A. Parminter, who has been in the service of the Congo State

since 1884 in a communication to Reuter's Agency makes grave allegations about the treatment of the natives by the subordinate officers of the Congo State. Stringent official rules have since been issued on the subject.

MADAGASCAR is in a condition of anarchy from one end to the other. From the time the French removed the late Prime Minister, Rainilaiarivony, who was so to speak the keystone of the arch in the government, things went from bad to worse and before order is restored, except in Antananarivo where there are French troops, the island will not be safe for Europeans.

AUSTRALIA.—The Hon. H. M. Nelson, Premier and Colonial Treasurer of South Australia, delivered his financial statement in the Legislative Assembly. The revenue for the past year, he said, amounted to £3,642,000, thus surpassing that of any previous year. The value of the total trade of the colony was now £13,926,000.

Sir John Forrest, the Premier, in his speech on the WESTERN AUSTRALIAN Budget, stated that the colony's revenue was three times as great as Tasmania's and the public debt was only half. Western Australia was abreast of South Australia with regard to her revenue, while the public debt of the former was only one fifth of that colony's. Sir Gerard Smith, the governor of Western Australia, opened the new railway from Coolgardie. Sir J. Forrest announced further schemes of railway construction and added that the Government had laid down during the last six years over 1,000 miles of railway and had extended the telegraph system. The Governor had originally been opposed to the water scheme, which had just passed the Assembly, but after going fully into the matter, he had become a strong believer in its usefulness. The expenditure of £2,500,000 has been sanctioned for providing the Coolgardie goldfields with water. The gold exports from Western Australia during August were valued at £112,164, against £64,780 in July.

Lord Brassey, Governor of VICTORIA, held a conference of the masters of the British ships in the port of Melbourne on the decreasing number of British seamen employed in British ships. The Victorian Cabinet has prepared a draft State Bank Bill. The new institution is intended to absorb the savings and to make advances to farmers &c. on the basis of the Crédit Foncier system. The report of the Royal Commission to enquire into the irrigation trusts in Victoria severely condemns the Minister responsible for expending loans on the construction of works.

The QUEENSLAND Legislative Assembly is revising the tariff of the colony.

The NEW SOUTH WALES Assembly resolved that a plébiscite should be taken on the tariff question, and that if protection were adopted it should not be reversed for five years. A Bill has been introduced to suppress juvenile smoking.

CANADA.—Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, the first French Canadian Premier of the Dominion, has been accorded a magnificent reception by the citizens of Ottawa. He promised that he would endeavour to aid agriculture, trade and commerce and to encourage arts and letters; he also declared for tariff revision as the only step towards free-trade, and said that immediate steps would be taken to settle the Manitoba schools question. With

reference to the latter the Manitoba Cabinet has already approved a basis of settlement which is satisfactory.

A controversy on constitutional matters occurred between Lord Aberdeen and the late Ministry a few days before the Government resigned; a lengthy correspondence on the subject has been presented to Parliament at Ottawa. Lord Aberdeen contended that Sir Charles Tupper's Ministry was formed when no Parliament existed, their Acts were in an unusual degree provisional, and as a Government should withhold all Acts which may embarrass the succeeding Government, he withheld consent to appointments of Senators, Judges and public officers generally. Sir Charles Tupper, on the other side, showed that his Government continued in full possession of their official authority and functions as long as they retained the seals of office, and reproved Lord Aberdeen for seeking information directly through the Clerk of the Privy Council, instead of through the Premier or Minister in charge of that Department! Holding such contrary views, Sir Charles Tupper had no other recourse but to tender his resignation and that of his colleagues. The papers admit that Lord Aberdeen's action was tantamount to the dismissal of his advisers. The Liberal journals vigorously defend his action, whilst the Opposition Press condemn it.

The claim of Spain to participate in the advantages conceded by Canada to France under the commercial convention with that country has been admitted by the Dominion Government.

Mr. W. S. Fielding has been returned for Queen's county, Nova Scotia. Mr. A. G. Blair, Director of Railways and Canals and Mr. W. Paterson, controller of customs have been elected to the House of Commons.

Lord Mount Stephen and Sir Donald Smith, who continues to hold office as High Commissioner of the Colony, have given a permanent endowment to the Royal Victoria Hospital at Montreal of 40,000 dollars a year.

Sir Charles Tupper has been unanimously chosen leader of the Opposition. Sir Mackenzie Bowell will lead the Opposition in the Senate.

Lord Russell of Killowen has visited Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa where he and his party have been the guests of the Governor-General.

Li Hung Chang has had an impressive reception in Canada, where he was the guest of the Dominion Government. He embarked on one of the Canadian Pacific Express steamers for Hong Kong on September 14.

With regard to the enforcing by the United States of the Alien Labour Law against Canadian working men, Mr. Laurier is endeavouring to secure the withdrawal of the measure.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded, during this quarter, of:—Col. P. L. Bellanny (Bhootàn Expedition);—the Honble. R. Read of Ottawa;—Surat Khanum Efendi, Queen of the late Ismail Pasha;—Lt. Moule at Umballa;—Munshi Fakrudin-bin-Mainudin, nearly 100 years old, historian of Guzerat;—Mr. Rhodes Morgan of Madras Forest Dept.;—Lt. Haworth, Hyderabad contingent, 5th Lancers;—Rear-Admiral John Clarke Byng;—Major John Bergman, V.C.;—Sir Leonard Tilley;—Lim Kim Sang, one of the oldest residents of Rangoon;—General G. F. Hogg, C.B. late Bombay Corps;—Major General Waller Rolandson, late

Madras Infantry;—Capt. W. P. Elgee;—Rev. C. B. Symes;—Vice-Admiral Vignes;—Prince Farrukh Mirza, son of the late King of Oudh;—Sir Attar Singh Badhauria, of Ludhiana;—Major Adam Smith of the Calcutta Volunteers;—Sir T. Pender, the Electric Cables King;—Lt. Col. C. A. Macdougall of the Bombay Staff Corps;—Col. R. Home of the Royal Engineers;—the Honble. J. Davies of Sydney;—General T. G. Kennedy, C.B., late of Indian Staff Corps;—Major Hawkins Rohde, in the Transvaal;—Lt. Col. J. Spratt of the Durham Light Infantry;—Capt. Codrington, 3rd Sikhs;—Lt. Garnet Wolseley;—Dr. W. Lockhart of the London Missionary Society;—Aga Lutuf Ali Khan, brother of the present Aga Khan;—Rainilairivony, Prime Minister of Madagascar;—Dr. John Lang, formerly of China;—Colonel Egerton Todd (Indian Mutiny);—Lt. C. A. Earle (Central India);—Lt. H. H. F. Farmer (King's Royal Rifle Corps), of enteric fever in the Soudan;—Major R. Owen, in the Soudan;—Lt. Genl. the Hon. A. G. C. Chichester;—Mr. J. J. Enslie, British Consul for Hiago and Osaka;—Major-General Farmar;—Captain Fenwick and Surgeon Capt. Trask of Cholera in the Soudan;—General A. Tisdall (Shahabad campaign);—Pandit H. H. Dhruva, the learned Gujarati and Sanscrit Scholar;—Lt. Genl. Sir W. K. Elles, commanding the Bengal Army, of Cholera at Nainital;—Mr. E. Fitzgerald at New Zealand;—Dr. A. S. Grant Bey of Cairo, Surgeon-in-Chief to the Egyptian Government Railways;—Major-General H. Tod Tucker, late of the Bengal Infantry; Lt. General Sir Harry B. Lumsden, C.B., K.C.S.I., who had a distinguished military career;—Rear-Admiral J. Whitmarsh Webb;—Lt.-Col. Justin Ch. Ross;—Surgeon-Major H. Saunders of the Army Medical Staff;—Senator Sir David Macpherson, late Minister of the Interior, Canada;—Lt. General B. Walton (Indian Mutiny);—Mr. R. H. Pinhey, late Judge High Court, Bombay;—Raja Sucheyt Singh of Chamba;—Hamid bin Thwain bin Said, Sultan of Zanzibar;—Sir Joseph A. Crowe;—Sir William James Moore, K.C.I.E., honorary physician to the Queen;—the Hon. Sir George F. Verdon, K.C.M.G., formerly Agent-General for Victoria in England;—H. J. Rivaz, Judge of the Chief Court, Lahore;—Nawab Sir Abdul Ghani of Dacca;—Col. G. Cadogan Thomson (Indian Mutiny);—The Hon. P. P. Gillen, Commissioner of Crown Lands for South Australia;—General Sir E. Selby Smyth.

23rd September, 1896.



N. 52

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